The
AITH WARYAGHAR
# of the
~~MOROCCAN~~ RIF

An Ethnography and History

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1. INTRODUCTORY: THE MOROCCAN TRIBE

ORIENTATION

This book is an anthropological account of the mode of life, social structure, and political and religious institutions of a Muslim and Berber-speaking tribal society, the Aith Waryaghar, located in the Central Rif mountains of Northern Morocco.[1] The tribe will be referred to as stated, and not by their Arabized name of Bni Waryaghal (spelled "Beni Uriaguel" in Spanish orthography and "Beni Ouriaghel" in French), by which they are more usually known in the literature. We do this for two reasons: first, to pay them the compliment of calling them by the name which, in their own language, they call themselves; and second, to avoid any possible confusion with a much smaller Arabic-speaking tribe named Bni Waryagil ("Beni Ouriaguel") who are located in a neighboring region, the Southern Jbala, to the southwest of our people. (The Aith Waryaghar themselves explicitly reject any notions of kinship with their almost-namesakes, and the resemblance is quite fortuitous.) The Rifian tribes bordering and neighboring the Aith Waryaghar will also be referred to by their Berber names, where these show differences from the Arabized names given them in the literature.[2]

In this book, the word "Rifians" will be understood to refer only to the Rifian Berber-speaking inhabitants of the eastern half of the stretch of territory (at most, some 200 km. long by some 100 km. wide), running west to east from Tangier to Melilla (Rifian *Mritsh*), and, from north to south, from al-Husaima and the Mediterranean to just below Aknul.

A point that will be stressed repeatedly in one way or another throughout this book is that the notion of "tribe" in Muslim North Africa and the Middle East is a relative one. A few words should be said here about the Rifian tribes as groups, in order to mark them off, in some ways, from their neighbors. The six central Rifian tribes, which inhabit the back country behind the present port of Al-Husaima,[3] are the Aith Waryaghar, the Ibuqquyen, the Aith 'Ammarth, the Igzinnayen, the Axt Tuzin, and the Thimsaman.[4] With the exception of the northern clans of the Aith Waryaghar in and around the alluvial plain of Al-Husaima, they all live in rocky and mountainous terrain. The Eastern Rifian tribes, on the other hand, from Midar to Melilla, all inhabit relatively flat, open and rolling country. Since the Kart River passes through the territories of most of the Eastern Rifian tribes, they will be henceforth collectively labeled Kart tribes, to avoid confusion with the six Central Rifian tribes. These Kart tribes (the Thafarsith, Aith Wurishik, Aith Sa'id, Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, Ikibdhanen, and the five tribes of the Iqar'ayen: Aith Bu Ifrur, Aith Sidar, Aith Shikar, Imazujen, and Aith Bu Gafar)[5] all tacitly view the nuclear six as being "more Rifian" than they themselves are.

To the west, there are three clusters of Rifian-speaking neighbors, all of which have collective names. Scatterings of a fourth group include several small tribes that have either completely or almost completely lost Rifian speech to Arabic (Targist; Aith Yittuft, which is still half and half; Bni Bu Frah; and Mtiwa dyal Bhar), tribes that have lost their Sinhaja Srir speech to Arabic (e.g., Bni Gmil) and tribes that show a mixture of Rifian and Sinhaja Srir speech (e.g. Aith

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[1] For a summary account, see David M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Rifian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda, Revista de Investigaciones Marroquies*, II, 1, 1954, pp. 51–86. I have since that time changed my own views on the orthography of the tribal name. For supplementary information, see my "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif," *Tamuda*, VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171–237.

[2] The criterion of relevance is the difference in spelling in the two names, and in the pronunciation *gh* and *g*. A perusal of E. Lévi-Provencal, *Textes Arabes de l'Ouergha (Maroc Septentrional)*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, IX, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922, pp. 12–13, indicates no place nor lineage names held in common between the two tribes, even though there was fierce fighting between 'Abd al-Krim and the French in the Bni Waryagil in 1925.

[3] Spanish *Alhucemas*, French *El-Hoceima*, this town was called *Villa Sanjurjo* during the Spanish protectorate period. In 1960 it had a population of 11,262. The name itself is locally said to derive from Arabic *al-Khuzama*, "lavender," a plant extensively found in the region. The port of the old Muslim city of Nakur was called al-Mazimma, and this name still survives in the name of an irrigation ditch, Dharga nj-Bzimma, near Ajdir; and 19th Century French "Albouzeme" derives from the same source.

[4] Today, the Aith Waryaghar, Ibuqquyen and Aith 'Ammarth depend administratively on the Province of al-Husaima, the Igzinnayen on that of Taza, and the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman on that of Nadhur (Nador).

[5] In Arabic: Tafarsit, Bni Wulishik, Bni Sa'id, l-Mtalsa, Bni Bu Yahyi, Kibdana, and the five tribes of Qal'aya: Bni Bu Ifrur, Bni Sidal, Bni Shikar, Mazuja, Bni Bu Gafar—again, badly transliterated versions of the Arabic forms constitute the "official" tribal names on the official maps.

Break-up of deliberation over land dispute in the Aith 'Abdallah, with Qaid Muh Abarqash on mule at far left (1953)

Men and boys of Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955)

Author (at right) and notables of Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955). Photograph by J. R. Erola

Mazdui). Of the three major clusters, two are small and one large. Going from east to west, the first is the Sinhaja Srir or "Gunstock Sinhaja,"[6] a confederation of eight small tribes (the Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Aith Bu Nsar, Zarqat, Ktama, Aith Bshir, Taghzut and Bni Bu Shibt),[7] in most of which there are some clans that speak Arabic and others that speak their own form of Berber, which is largely unintelligible to Rifians. One tribe (Bni Bu Shibt) is now entirely Arabic-speaking, and the men of all these tribes are fully bilingual in their own Berber and in Arabic—whereas most Rifians are not. The second cluster is the Ghmara, a confederation of nine small tribes (Bni Mansur, Bni Silman, Bni Khalid, Bni Zjil, Bni Ziyyat, Bni Buzra, Bni Grir, Bni Smih, and Bni Rzin), which may or may not have been descended from a common ancestor,[8] and among which there are clans in two tribes (Bni Mansur and Bni Bu Zra) who still speak their own variety of Berber (Shilha Buzratiya),[9] different from both Rifian and from the Sinhaja Srir languages. Third is the *Jbala*, the Arabic term for "mountaineers," an ethnic catch-all for all the Arabic speaking tribes (some thirty or forty in all) that inhabit the extreme western part of the chain as well as its southwestern spurs. The subject of the languages spoken in the Rif will be discussed further in Chapter 13.

Although there are strong cultural and structural similarities between the Aith Waryaghar and their neighbors—the Ibuqquyen, the Aith 'Ammarth, the Igzinnayen, the Axt Tuzin, and the Thimsaman, to name only those other Central Rifian tribes to which frequent reference will be made—the Aith Waryaghar have always been the numerically and politically predominant group in the region, with a population in 1960 of 75,895. Even though their predominance is of a *primus inter pares* type, it was for these reasons that they were selected for field study.

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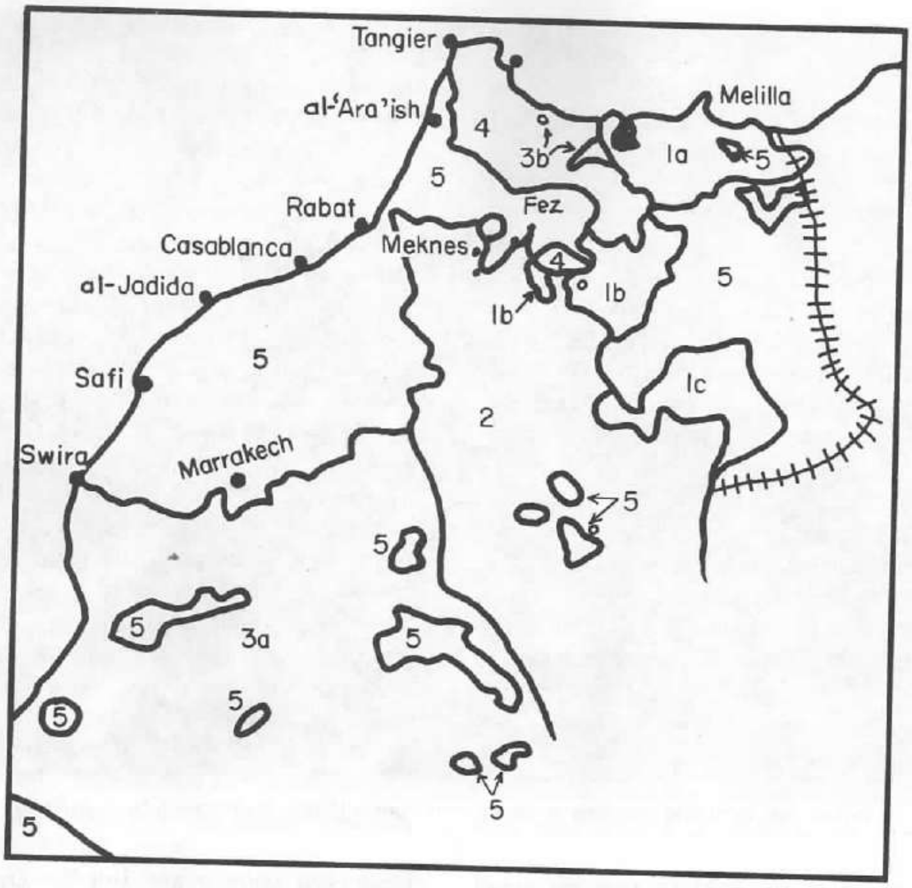
[6] So called because one of their tribes, Taghzut, famous for leather working and wood-carving, used to make flintlock guns as well.

[7] Again, in Arabic, these are: Targist, Bni Yittuft, Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Bni Mazdui, Bni Siddat, Bni Khamnus, Bni Bu Nsar, Zarqat, Ktama, Bni Bshir, Bni Bu Shibt, and Taghzut. For details on speech distribution for each tribe see F. S. Vidal, "Ensayo Sobre Lingüistica en el Rif Occidental" Africa, nos. 46–7, Madrid, Oct–Nov. 1945, pp. 32–7, and R. P. Esteban Ibañez, O. F. M., *Diccionario Español-Senhayi*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1959, Introduction.

[8] Julio Caro Baroja, "Una Encuesta in Gomara," in same author, *Estudios Mogrebies*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, pp. 123–151.

[9] G. S. Colin, "Le Parler Berbère des Gmara" *Hesperis*, IX, 1929, pp. 43–58.



Map I: Linguistic Map of Morocco Showing Geographical Position of Aith Waryaghar (Shaded in—■)
Code: 1a—True Rifian
1b—Ait Warayin
1c—Ait Saghrushshan
2—Tamazight
3a—Tashilhit
3b—Sinhaja Srir and Ghmara
4—Mountain Arabic Jbala
5—Bedowin Arabic

The Rif is a harsh land, and the Rifians are harsh and hard-headed people—none of them more so than the Aith Waryaghar. The central problem of the region, economically and demographically, is extreme poverty of terrain coupled with overpopulation (which is today particularly acute); this problem Rifians themselves have attempted to resolve either through heavy indulgence in bloodfeuding, or, later in time but still coexistent with the feud, through labor migration, or both. One can without exaggeration make the statement: "Poverty and/or overpopulation results in bloodfeuding and/or labor migration." This, in a nutshell, expresses the dynamics of Rifian society. And if to this we add the factors of agriculture, tribalism, and Islam, we have, in effect, a sociological sum total of Rifian culture, behavior, and values. Although labor migration has today completely replaced the bloodfeud, this book will consist largely of modulating variations upon these themes.

Much of this book will be devoted to an ethnographic description and analysis of the Aith Waryaghar as they existed before effective European (i.e., Spanish) control was imposed in 1926; and therefore, although our orientation is primarily structural, not a small part of the methodology used in research and in presentation of the material has been that of historical reconstruction. A number of the institutions and activities to be described I have not myself witnessed, as they no longer exist, and have not existed since 1926 or a few years earlier. While in the field, I therefore had to spend much time querying old men (the ambiguities of whose replies I mistakenly attributed to senility, in the early stages of my research). These men invariably preface any attempt they make to describe sociopolitical conditions in the Rif with the phrase *dhi r-waqt n-ar-Ripublik*, "in the time of the *Ripublik*," the last being a European-borrowed term that refers to a period embracing virtually all of known Rifian history prior to the advent of 'Abd al-Krim, the Reformer of Customary Law, in 1921. Paradoxically, however, 'Abd al-Krim's self-styled *Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya*, or "Rifian Republican State," has most emphatically nothing to do with the retrospective *Ripublik*. What Rifians term *Ripublik* is referred to in the two other main Berber-speaking areas of Morocco,[10] and among Bedouins of the Western Sahara, as *siba*, literally, in Arabic, "anarchy, abandon;" this notion, which revolves around that of marginal or dissident tribalism and the particular applications of this concept to relations between tribes and central governments, will be discussed in detail presently. But no matter which term is used, *Ripublik* or *siba*, the word represents in the eyes of old informants a real nostalgia for the "good old days"—or "bad old days"—when they were young. And in those days, it should be added, the Rif, which is bordered on the north by the Mediterranean, one of the world's busiest traffic circles, was far less known either to social science or to the world at large than other, far more remote parts of the African continent.

DEFINITION OF "TRIBE"

It is useful to take as a point of departure the definition of a tribe as given in that unfortunately always outmoded work, *Notes and Queries in Anthropology:* "A tribe may be defined as a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory."[11] It is also useful to compare this with Evans-Pritchard's classic definition, to the effect that ". . . a tribe has been defined by (1) a common and distinct name; (2) a common sentiment; (3) a common and distinct territory; (4) a moral obligation to unite in war; and (5) a moral obligation to settle feuds and other disputes by arbitration. To these five points can be added four further characteristics: (6) a tribe is a segmented structure and there is opposition between its segments; (7) within each tribe there is a dominant clan, and the relation between the lineage structure of this clan and the territory system of the tribe is of great structural importance; (8) a tribe is a unit in a system of tribes; and (9) age-sets are organized tribally."[12]

The *Notes and Queries* definition is fine, as far as it goes; but it does not go nearly far enough. It raises more questions than it answers, namely, how coherent and how autonomous; and it says nothing whatsoever about the crucial issues of the relations of the group with other groups of the same order, or of its relations with a wider society of which it may be part, or of its relations with a (presumably) higher power, such as a central government. As for Evans-Pritchard's definition, we can only agree, and most emphatically, with points (1), (2), and (3); with (4) and (5) we agree also, but with a very serious reservation in the case of (5) that will be discussed later; the key phrase in both instances is that of "moral obligation," which involves the often extremely great discrepancy between ideal and actual behavior. Evans-Pritchard states that these points were all recognized by anthropologists prior to his own work; and his own principal contribution, the focal point of his categorization, lies in point (6), which has been the centerpiece of all subsequent segmentary theory. We contest the notion in (7) that a dominant clan must of necessity exist within the tribe, but the second half of this point is indeed true, so far as the lineage structure of all the clans and the territorial system of the tribe is concerned. Point (8) we certainly agree with, since to our way of thinking, no tribe is a completely self-contained unit, nor has it ever been; but we would submit that Evans-Pritchard has not placed enough emphasis on this cardinal point and that he has, in fact, left unsaid a major inference to be drawn from it. Point (9) simply does not apply here, for age-sets are quite foreign to Muslim lands and Muslim thought.

The two sources above by no means exhaust the definitions by social anthropologists of the term "tribe." Though Evans-Pritchard's definition is of course a far more workable one (in our context at least) than that given in *Notes and Queries*, both have a major defect: there is about each a curious finality, much as if to say that a tribe is the highest political grouping that can exist, and that it exists apart from, divorced from, and isolated from other such political groupings. No doubt this defect was, in each instance, unintentional, but it is nonetheless there, at least implicitly. It stems from the long-nurtured preoccupation of social anthropologists with the "narrow approach," with intense concentration on small-scale societies, a preoccupation that has sometimes blinded them to wider issues, to the roles of their small-scale societies in the context of wider societies of which almost all of them now form part, and to the *continua*, the links, between the various parts of the whole.

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[10] (1) The Sus Valley and the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas mountains; and (2) the Middle Atlas, Central High Atlas, and Eastern High Atlas, the domains respectively of *tasusit* (or *tashilhit*) and *tamazight* speech, both of which are only partially intelligible to Rifians.

[11] 6th Edition, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, p. 66.

[12] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, op. cit., p. 122. This is the original statement about segmentary systems, and I find it of extreme significance in terms of my own argument in this book that in point (6) only "opposition" is mentioned and not "balance." The one does not necessarily imply the other.

It is worth mentioning here that the great majority of English or English-trained social anthropologists have based their definitions of tribe and tribalism on fieldwork in black Africa. Thus, taking up Evans-Pritchard's definition in reverse order, age-sets, for instance, are of crucial importance in the social structures of certain East African pastoralist tribes, but they are most un-Muslim. It may seem a truism to say that among Muslims, whether tribesmen, villagers, or townsmen, the stamp of Islam is unmistakable and all-pervasive; but the point cannot be stressed enough. Therefore, exit Evans-Pritchard's criterion (9). Speaking from personal experience regarding (7), I have found "dominant" clans among Bedouin tribes of northern Saudi Arabia (these are always clans that traditionally provide the top *shaikh* of the tribe in question), and indeed they may exist among other Near Eastern Arab tribes (whether Muslim or Christian) as well. But I would state categorically they are not to be found among any tribes in Northwest Africa of which I have personal knowledge. Among North African tribes all clans are, in theory, equal and egalitarian. And Evans-Pritchard's point (5), implying as it does that a tribe is the biggest unit within which it is deemed proper to mediate in the event of feud or other conflict, is in a sense the most inapplicable of the lot, from the point of view adopted here: for as Gellner[13] has cogently argued, one can assume that the whole of Muslim North Africa and the Near and Middle East, the warp and woof of Islam, is virtually one tribe;[6] and naturally enough, the Muslim conceptual dichotomy between the *Dar al-Islam* or "House of Peace," the House of Islam, and the *Dar al-Harb*, "the House of War," by which is meant the whole outside world, fully supports and buttresses this point of view.

But lines have to be drawn somewhere; and although certain "tribes" of black Africa show certain very important structural features in common with certain other "tribes" of Muslim North Africa and the Middle East, they exhibit other features (such as Evans-Pritchard's age-sets) that are completely lacking elsewhere, and still others (such as Evans-Pritchard's "dominant" clans) that may exist in some of the regions of tribal Islam (e.g., among Saudi Arabian Bedouins) but not in others (e.g., among North African Berbers and Saharan Bedouins—I have in mind the Rgibat of the Western Sahara in particular).[14] One might refer to the system of dominant clans as a "weighted" segmentary system, and to that in which all clans are theoretically egalitarian as an "unweighted" system.[15]

We now focus on these and yet other arguments for and on the tribal situation in Morocco. One reads (especially in the publications of political scientists and high-level journalists) statements to the effect that Morocco is a transitional country. In general terms, nobody could be in more agreement with this assertion than I, for it implies that, in certain spheres, the country is struggling not only to break with its past and to "modernize" itself, but, equally and conversely, to retain, selectively, certain social institutions that have been central to the maintenance of its Islamic tradition throughout its history. But, with all due apologies to the political scientists and journalists, few if any of them have provided adequate descriptions of the "base level" of traditional Muslim society and culture in Morocco; and not one of them has asked himself the question, as Berque has done in a brilliant article, "What is a North African Tribe?"[16] I shall attempt now to answer this question, for Morocco at least, first from a historical and then from a structural point of view.

The Bases of Moroccan Political Sociology

For our purposes, the years before establishment of the French and Spanish protectorates in 1912 will be regarded as the "base level" period of traditional Moroccan culture (this period, it should be noted, lasted longer in the Rif and the Central Atlas, because these areas were not finally pacified until 1926 and 1933, respectively). Although the situation has changed considerably since then, it is a central fact of Moroccan history and political sociology that prior to the protectorates the country was unified, theoretically, under a sultan, and divided up, in actuality, according to three basic axes: an "Arab-Berber" axis, an "urban-tribal" axis, and a *makhzan-siba* or "government-dissidence" axis.

The first axis, Arab-Berber, is essentially linguistic. Arabic is the national language of Morocco, and it was officially declared as such in the constitution promulgated by King al-Hasan II in 1962; but it is only spoken by three-fifths, at most, of a total population tabulated in 1960 at 11.6 million and estimated today (1967) at more than 13 million. Berber is another language, or rather, another set of languages, entirely; it is spoken mainly, but not exclusively, by three different kinds of tribal "minority groups," all of which live in difficult mountainous terrain. These three groups are (1) the sedentary, agricultural *dhamazighth*-speaking tribes of the Rif; (2) the transhumant[17] *tamazight*-speaking Berber tribes of the Middle, Central High, and Eastern High Atlas (geographical terminology in Morocco can be clumsy) and of the Jbil Saghru; and (3) the sedentary (though partly transhumant), agricultural *tashilhit*-speaking tribes of the Western High Atlas, the Anti-Atlas, and the Sus Valley. "Berber" and "tribal" are by no means completely equivalent terms, since "tribalism" embraces virtually the whole of the rural population, nearly 85 percent of that of all Morocco; but the two terms have nevertheless tended to become fused in the minds of most modern Moroccans, who regard Berber tribes today as the skeleton in the national closet. Berbers represent, in this sense, both the autochthonous and (with certain exceptions) the most change-resistant elements of the population.

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[13] Ernest Gellner, "Saints of the Atlas," in Julian Pitt-Rivers, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, The Hague, Mouton, 1963, pp. 145–157.

[14] Cf. David M. Hart, "The Social Structure of the Rgibat Bedouins of the Eastern Sahara," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 16, no. 4, 1962, pp. 515-527.

[15] I am very grateful to Dr. Erich Alport of Oxford for this comment; Ernest Gellner, elsewhere, refers to "pure" (of Berber type) and "impure" (of Saudi Bedouin type) segmentary systems.

[16] Jacques Berque "Qu'est-ce que c'est une Tribu Nord-africaine?" in *Hommages a Lucien Fèbvre, Enetail de l'Histoire Vivante, Paris:* Armand Colin, 1953, Vol. I, pp. 261-271.

The second axis, urban-tribal—and this term rather than urban-rural is used intentionally, because "rural" and "tribal" were completely coterminous in Morocco before 1912—is a socioeconomic one. All the cities were Arabic-speaking, while the tribes were divided roughly in half, with Arabic-speaking tribes tending to be geographically nearer to the urban centers (of which there was a fairly substantial network) and Berber-speaking ones tending to be further removed from urban influences. But these groups were not mutually exclusive—far from it. The "continuous tissue," as Berque[18] calls it, of Maghribi (i.e., North African in general, but Moroccan in particular) society was expressed, on all levels, through an intimate linkage between town and tribe, both of which were always extremely conscious of belonging, immediately, to a wider Moroccan society under a sultan, and of belonging, finally—without stretching the point too far—to the *umma*, the total Islamic community, of which that Sultan, as a (regional) Commander of the (Western) Faithful, was one of the most revered and honored members.

The third axis, *makhzan-siba* ("government-dissidence"), was political. These terms need some contextual explanation. The principal underlying thread throughout all of Morocco was religious in character; it was, and is, orthodox or Sunni Islam of the Maliki rite (aside from a small, mainly urban Jewish minority). On the local, and especially the tribal, level, however, religious needs were and are catered to by a great army of local saints (given the questionable appellation of *marabouts* in French and *morabos* in Spanish), who, alive or dead, "personalized" Islam to the illiterate tribesmen. The saint cults spread like lightning through the Moroccan countryside when the first Sufi mystics, eastern or homegrown, arrived or developed in the 12th century A.D.; and the literate and urban Religion of the Book, to use Gellner's terms,[19] has waged a perpetual polemic against the illiterate and tribal Religion of the Shrine, which, more or less unmindful of the citified attacks against it, has continued on its own path through the centuries. (It should, however, be noted that on more than one occasion in Moroccan history, puritanistic movements have swept the countryside.) In this situation we have the socioeconomic axis of "urban-tribal" transferred to a religious plane.

Orthodoxy, in theory at least, is dominant; and political power was dynastic and centered in the person of the Sultan, a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and the holiest (again in theory) of all the saints. The Sultan was thus the spiritual and temporal head of the whole Moroccan Muslim community. He had all the appanages one would expect for a figure of his extreme personal charisma (extreme, at least, for Morocco, a nation of doubting Thomases, who have always been very reluctant to attribute charismatic power to any save a very few individuals). These included a large court with numerous ministers, among which a strong division of labor (with perhaps more accent on the division than on the labor) and a high degree of protocol were emphasized, and a standing army that also served as a tax-collecting force.

Because the Sultan, in order to keep the peace in his domain, had to be on the move continuously, crossing tribal territories to get from one urban center to another, the court and the army moved with him. All the urban centers, and the tribal lands surrounding them, were entirely under government control, and were therefore known as *blad l-makhzan*, or government land; and the inhabitants of the *blad l-makhzan* did not fail to pay their taxes to the Sultan when called upon to do so.

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[17] Transhumance, in its classic form, involves two main moves a year; up into the mountains in spring to pasture the sheep and live in tents, and back down into the valley in the fall to cultivate and live in permanent houses. For confirmation, cf. Harry W. Basehart, "Transhumance," in Julius Gould and William J. Kolb, Eds., *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock, 1964, p. 724.

[18] Berque, op. cit., 1953, p. 264.

[19] Gellner, op. cit., 1963, p. 147.

In fact, the *blad l-makhzan* covered only the Gharb, the Atlantic coastal region, and the adjacent plains of western Morocco, considerably less than half the total area of the country. Most of the rest of Morocco is either mountains or desert or combinations of both, and virtually all of this was *blad s-siba*, or Land of Disorder and Dissidence[20]—as seen, of course, from the point of view of the *makhzan*, the Land of Government and hence the Land of Order. From that of its members and practitioners it was, rather, a permanent institutionalization of the "doubting Thomas" syndrome mentioned above, one that crystallized into a system of what will here be called "organized acephaly," to be discussed below. This land was entirely tribal land, and most of it was Berber in speech. In it, the Sultan was acknowledged only as spiritual head of the country, and in it taxes were seldom if ever paid, despite numerous punitive expeditions undertaken by the army, often on an annual basis when the Sultan was a strong and energetic one. Even strong Sultans had to extract taxes by force.

In other words, the difference between the conditions evoked by the terms *makhzan* and *siba* was in essence one of payment or nonpayment of taxes (although the nonpayers would no doubt have preferred to think of it as "withholding"). The dichotomy between *makhzan* and *siba* is in my opinion the central fact of the total Moroccan political system in the years preceding our hypothetical "base level;" it has, in a post-Independence work by a modern Moroccan scholar,[21] been reevaluated as a kind of optional or "social contract" situation à la Rousseau—one could opt to be within the pale or beyond it. This view is both challenging and challengeable. It is challenging because of its implication of the existence of an "intermediate zone" between the two areas where the tribes (exemplified by those of the Jbala and by some of those of the northern Middle Atlas) were characterized by a continual shift, behaviorally as well as geographically, from "orderly" to "disorderly" conduct and back again. That such a zone did indeed exist was pointed out by Capdequi for the Jbala as early as 1923.[22] This view is challengeable, however, because it fails to account for the very real entrenchment in one or the other system of those individuals and/or groups who lived far from the fluctuating peripheries. The theory has, nonetheless, a refreshing conceptual elasticity, most unlike the rigid position taken by many French writers on the subject.[23]

General Observations on Moroccan Tribal Structures (1): Segmentation

A glance at the 1958 or 1962 versions of the *Carte des Tribus*, or at almost any introductory chapter of a general work on Morocco, will indicate that the country has upwards of 600 more or less discrete units that can be considered "tribes," each with its own name, its own territory and boundaries, etc. The meaning of the term "tribe," however, depends on the context in any given case. The Arabic word most frequently used to denote units of this kind is *qabila* (Moroccan Arabic *qbila*, with its Berber equivalent *taqbilt*, and Rifian *dhaqbitsh*); but the *qabila* concept not only differs from one end of the Arab and Muslim world to the other, it even shows some very sensible differences from one region of Morocco to another. It may or may not be an ultimate sociopolitical unit in its particular regional context, and it also may or may not be socially homogeneous in that same context. It may consist of less than a thousand members or more than two hundred thousand, although really large tribes in the latter range very seldom, if ever, act corporately, unless threatened by an equal or superior external force. The data from the Aith Waryaghar provide interesting and ample documentation on this score.

There are, however, other contexts involved, aside from the regional one, which essentially involves a number of other groups or units more or less of the same general order as that of the group under consideration. There is a wider and quite different context, based on the fact that social relationships may very often extend not only beyond the borders of the group or tribe in question and beyond those of other like groups or tribes, but into the towns and cities as well; for in this wider context, tribe and town (the latter subsuming the presence of the central government), while often antagonistic if not actively hostile, form an unbroken continuum, already implied in the *makhzan-siba* dichotomy discussed above. This continuum, taken to its logical conclusion, extends throughout the whole of Muslim society in the Maghrib and the Middle East, and is in fact that total society's dominant underlying characteristic. This characteristic caused Coon to label the region at large, in a most apt phrase, "a mosaic of peoples."[24] And as in a fine Fez mosaic, it is the interconnections between, and regular occurrences of, particular patterns (such as that of the partial opting out discussed above) that give the whole its organic unity and continuity; for taken isolated and out of context, such patterns are quite meaningless.

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[20] Not "Insolence," as Coon, *Caravan, The Story of the Middle East*, New York: Holt, 1958, Chap. 16, would have it, though this is an attractive notion!

[21] Mohammed Lahbabi, *Le Gouvernement Marocain à l'Aube du XXe Siècle*, Rabat: Editions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1958, pp. 43-45. Cf. also the review of this book by Ernest Gellner, *Middle East Journal* XV, 1, 1961, pp. 70-90.

[22] Mauricio Capdequi y Brieu, *Yebala: Apuntes sobre la Zona Occidental del Protectorado Marroquí Español*, Madrid 1923, pp. 37 sq.

[23] Cf. Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, 2 vols., Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949-50, vol. II, pp. 356-358. The author of this work perpetually grinds the *makhzan-siba* axe in order to show that it was France who pacified the country and that (at the time of writing) Moroccans were not yet ready for self-government. A much more recent collective endeavor, J. Brignon, A. Amine, B. Boutaleb, G. Martinet, B. Rosenberger, and M. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris: Hatier and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale, 1967, p. 313, takes with full justification, a totally opposite point of view, one which is both timely and refreshing. But at the same time the notion of *makhzan-siba* opposition is dismissed as being of no account, and the fact that the Sultan was recognized everywhere as the supreme leader of the national community, even by those segments of that community which refused to pay him taxes, is presented as though it were an original idea—which it is not. The "dissidence" factor, too, is attributed entirely to colonialist intrigue on the eve of the establishment of the Protectorate, a natural reaction to the doctrinaire positivism of Terrasse's earlier work. But the view it represents is equally one-sided, on the other side, for the whole idea now enters the arena of ideology, or rather, that of conflicting ideologies, as opposed to that of scholarship. That the condition referred to by the synonymous terms *Ripublik* and *siba* was most certainly a fact, however, has been unanimously attested by all my informants.

Muslim tribes are all characterized by an anti-isolationism in this sense; their members are fully cognizant of the fact that they are parts (whether large or small) of much wider and unhomogeneous political entities (I hesitate to use the word "nation" for the total traditional framework, although it does of course apply in the Moroccan case). On the other hand, they are isolationist to the extent that they have preferred to maintain their own separate identities as tribes. This identity is generally one that causes central governments to react to it as "the tribal problem."

We have seen that in Morocco some of these tribes are Arabic in speech and some are Berber; but what, despite their linguistic differences, do they possess in common? The answer is, a very great deal. There are differences in nomenclature; that is, an Arabic-speaking tribe may be referred to as *Ulad X* or *Bni X*, "children" or "sons of *X*," whereas a Berber-speaking one may be referred to as *Ait* (and in the Rif, *Aith, Axt* or *Asht*) *X*, "people of *X*;" but these are in fact small differences—and the ultimate result is clearly the same. We should perhaps refine the matter more by saying that, strictly speaking, Arabic *ulad* and *bni* mean "children" or "sons" and *ulad* is a cognate of *tamazight* Berber *araw* and of Rifian *dharwa*, "sons" or "children," and that Arabic *ahl* is a cognate of Berber *ait*, "people"—all, of course, always followed by a proper name and implying "people *of* Someone or Something or Someplace," here designated by *X* (the terms in both sets of languages for "people" in general, in the aggregate, are quite different and do not in any case fit into the present framework of ideas).

What must be stressed here is the importance of the ultimate referent, *X*, which is usually either one of two types of name: (1) the name of a given locality, usually a tribal point of origin; or (2) the name of a common agnatic or patrilineal ancestor, whether real or putative, and whether or not he is actually traceable genealogically through the male line. The question of traceability in this sense has great structural relevance, for if *X* is so traceable, we have then the makings of a lineage system; and if not, we get the makings of a clan system, although in Morocco it is in fact the rule, as we shall see, for both systems to exist side by side, or rather, for the former system to be encapsulated within the latter.

These two types cover most tribal names in Morocco, but not all of them; one may also occasionally find a name, *X*, that was an illustrious one in the medieval Maghrib and that has "reappeared," as Berque puts it,[25] here and there, as a "bud" or an "onomastic emblem" on the North African landscape. (Examples are Masmuda, Sinhaja, and Zanata, the favorites of Ibn Khaldun, which were, very much later, grossly overworked conceptually by at least three generations of historically oriented French North Africanist scholars. The real significance in the re-emergence of such names lies in the absence of their significance; for the French scholars invoked them to explain "origins," whereas in reality they explain nothing, nor are they intended to by those groups that bear them other than as the vaguest possible connection with a semi-mythical past.) Another possibility: if we find only a name, *X*, unprefixed by *bni, ulad, ahl,* or *ait*, the *X* in this particular case may be in some way descriptive of the group in question, or a nickname (referring either directly to them, or, more likely, to a character trait or physical peculiarity of their founder-ancestor; and if it should be a nickname given them by a neighboring group, it is also invariably uncomplimentary); or, as sometimes happens, it may be a name that none of its bearers can account for, either etymologically or traditionally.

Descent, as in most tribal areas of the world, is unilineal, reckoned through the line of one parent only, and in this case, it is agnatic or patrilineal, traced through the male line only. (This is true for all Muslim Middle Eastern cases, save for some of the Saharan

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[24] Coon, *Caravan, The Story of the Middle East*, New York: Holt, 2nd Ed., 1958, passim.

[25] Berque, 1953, op. cit., pp. 262-4. His word for "bud" is *bouton*.

Twareg, who also not only speak a Berber language but have the only Berber alphabet extant, *tifinagh*, and who still contain one northern subgroup, Kel Ahaggar, which claims matrilineal descent patterns.[26]) In no other society in the World, perhaps, is the dichotomy between the sexes, and hence sex segregation, so sharply emphasized as in Islam; women may and often do have very considerable importance "behind the scenes" and in certain particular cultural domains (such as sorcery), but their structural importance, in most Muslim groups, is close to zero. This severely agnatic orientation of Muslim social structure has its territorial and morphological reflection in virilocal or patrilocal residence, for after marriage a wife goes to live with her husband and his kin group, almost never the other way around.

Most Muslim tribes thus far studied undergo a process of subdivision, concretely expressed through time and space, known to anthropologists as segmentation (a process shared by a great many black African tribes as well). Allusion has already been made to segmentation and to segmentary theory, and we now define the process. Its first principle is that each tribe, whether it bears the name of a putative common ancestor, that of a putative point of (common) origin, or one of the other types of name, is segmented or subdivided into a number of *clans* (in Morocco, seldom more than five, with no exceptions in the Rif);[27] each clan is segmented into subclans; each of these is segmented into a number of large lineages, which again themselves segment into smaller lineages—and again, and again, right down to the level of the nuclear family of father, mother, and unmarried children. The major point about Moroccan tribal segmentary systems is that they contain all of these units, each one being encapsulated within the one immediately above it. The bigger the unit, the less easy it becomes to trace descent, until a point is reached where the descent factor either becomes inapplicable or is paid only lip service.

We have commented above on the notion of the ability, or lack thereof, of members of a given kind of social unit to trace their ancestry step by step (genealogically) to a "grandfather" common to them all; and it is this notion of traceability or nontraceability that social anthropologists regard as a determining factor in the definition of the social unit in question.

The members of a clan think of themselves as all being unilineally descended from a common ancestor *X*; but they also admit that they are quite unable to trace all, or even most of, the genealogical steps between themselves and *X*.[28] The notion of subclan is an extension of the same idea: the clan itself is segmented into two or more subclans, and their members, likewise, are unable to trace, genealogically, the exact steps involved back to their own ancestor, to their own particular point of fission, so to speak, from the clan under consideration. The ancestors of subclans are often conceived of as being the "sons" of the ancestors of the clan in question; but since this is not genealogically verifiable, there always remains an element of doubt.

But with a lineage, all such steps are, by definition, traceable, and thus the largest-level lineage (or, to follow Evans-Pritchard, "maximal" lineage) embraces the largest unilineal group within the system that is able to trace such descent. The smaller, lower-level lineages within this group fission off (or scission off; both phenomena will be discussed in Chapter X) at lower or more recent points in time on the total genealogy.

In Morocco the smallest unit, the nuclear family, is only seldom in itself a residential unit. The residential unit is far more apt to consist of an extended family of either (1) a father, his wife or wives (in cases of plural marriage, one gets polygynous families and/or households), and his married sons and their wives and children (daughters marry out); or (2) a variable number of brothers and their wives and children, in fraternal joint families and/or households, which may or may not (generally the latter) continue to hold their property in common after their father's death. A married daughter theoretically counts as a member of her husband's lineage group, and she should (again, theoretically) even assist him in feuds or quarrels against her own brothers.

Often a stranger (as locally conceived) has moved in, with the consent of the group, and tied himself in to the main lineage group affinally (i.e., through marriage) or through clientage (i.e., by working for a member of the occupying and protecting lineage). The resulting "stranger" lineages form part of the total segmentary system of the clan or tribe in question,

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[25] Johannes Nicolaisen, *Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Roekke, IX, Copenhagen: Danish National Museum, 1963, pp. 476–77. One doubts whether the views of Briggs (suggested by those of Gordon Gibson for the South African Herero) on double descent among the Twareg, neat though they are, should be taken too seriously: cf. Lloyd Cabot Briggs, *Tribes of the Sahara*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 134–5, as well as same author, *The Living Races of the Sahara Desert*, Peabody Museum Papers, XXVIII, 2, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1958, pp. 87–8.

[27] I allude here to the *khams khmas* or "five 'fifths'" notion of tribal structure, widespread in Morocco, which will be discussed in detail for the Aith Waryaghar in Chapter 11. Cf. also my article "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Mediterrannee*, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65–95.

[28] In Muslim societies, the notion of "clan" does not necessarily imply exogamy, which it generally does elsewhere.

although, because of the agnatic descent criterion, they still remain "strangers" *vis-à-vis* the "inner circle" of the group, no matter how long they have been among them. (At least this is or was the ideal, to which the Aith Waryaghar attest certain exceptions in fact.)

In the segmentary system of any tribal group, certain segmentary levels are more important, both structurally and functionally, than others, and there are many more levels of segmentation than there are terms for them in Arabic or Berber. In this fact alone we may perceive the essential looseness and fluidity of the system, as well as the capacity for growth of each group (ecological, mortality, and other factors being equal). A particular segment is always named (*Bni X*, *Ait Y*, etc.), and the names of segments, despite the growth process, always remain the same, illogical as this obviously seems when considered in a time perspective. But designatory terms in Arabic and Berber, such as those for tribe, clan, and lineage, can and do apply to two or more given levels of segmentation at the same time. Each *bni* produces another *bni* or an *ulad*, and each *ait* produces another *ait* or a *dharwa*, over time, and the names involved are generally if not invariably those of ancestors who have left the most male progeny; other, lesser ancestors, particularly those who left only daughters or who died without issue, are genealogically unimportant, and are either telescoped or simply forgotten.

We now come to the second basic principle of segmentary systems: that of opposition between segments. Bohannan likens this, aptly, to the "balance of power" concept of political science, and puts the matter thus:

> . . . The principle, in agnatic groups, is an extremely simple one. It is a projection of the idea that my brother and I are antagonistic to each other only so long as there is no person more distantly related to us who is antagonistic to both of us. I join my brother against my half-brothers. My half-brothers join me and my full brothers against the group of our father's brothers' sons. They join us, against our father's father's brother's sons.

Thus, Bohannan goes on to say, "in a group of this sort, which is carefully structured internally, the same principle separates the subgroups at one level (i.e., a lower one) as joins them at another level (i.e., a higher one) of the structure."[29] Again, this is the ideal; but as we shall see, there are other factors crosscutting this ideal that sometimes render it unattainable in practice.

Following Evans-Pritchard, many anthropologists have insisted on diagraming the principle. For purely theoretical purposes this is not really necessary (although it might be in concrete cases), simply because the notion has an easily perceptible internal logic. Although the descendants of two brothers, *X* and *Y* (and we may call these descendants *Ait X* and *Ait Y*), may fight against each other, they join forces if attacked by the descendants of the brothers' patrilateral cousin *Z* (i.e., *Ait Z*) because, although *X*, *Y*, and *Z* all go back ultimately to the same common ancestor (and thus, presumably, to the same point of fission), *Ait X* and *Ait Y* are more closely related to each other than either one of them is to *Ait Z*.

General Observations on Moroccan Tribal Structures (2): Tribal Economic and Political Systems

Each tribe has a given name and a given territory, and each clan within the tribe has its corresponding subterritory. Thus the overall system of tribal land ownership is in effect nothing but the segmentary system, which is conceived in terms of genealogical time, projected spatially upon the ground. This principle is extremely important for an understanding of the complexities of Aith Waryaghar social and territorial structure; for the subclan within the clan and the lineage within the subclan each have their corresponding territory within the clan territory.

The linguistic axis of Arab-Berber cuts across certain features of the overall tribal system: many Arabic-speaking tribes, for instance, conceive of themselves as descended, each one, from a common ancestor, but other tribes (particularly in the Jbala, in the northwestern part of the Rifian chain) were built up more on the toponymy principle, with heterogeneous clans merely coming in and occupying territory that eventually became that of the tribe in question. The same is true of Berber-speaking tribes: those in the Rif and those in the Western Atlas-Sus-Anti-Atlas region, as well as, apparently, those transhumant tribes in the Middle Atlas, tend to be organized along this heterogeneous clan principle; and those in the Central High and Eastern High Atlas and the Jbil Saghru region tend to be organized on the principle of common ancestorship.

In general terms, an economic correlation can also be made here: the bulk of the tribes structured on the heterogeneous clan principle, whether Arabic- or Berber-speaking, are sedentary agriculturists who live the year round in fixed houses, while the bulk of those structured on the common ancestor principle are either transhumants or nomads (although the transhumant tribes of the Middle Atlas appear to be an exception and to be composed of heterogeneous clans). Their transhumance involves two well-defined moves per year: up into the mountains to pasture their sheep and to live in goat-hair tents in spring, and back down into the lower valleys, where their permanent houses are located, in the autumn. Nomadism, on the other hand, involves clock-round continuous movements, always in search of pasture and water, and particularly with camels; in this case the only dwelling is a tent which is of the same type, essentially, as that of the transhumant, and there are no houses.

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[29] Paul Bohannan, *Social Anthropology*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963, pp. 137–38.

Another feature common to most, though not all, Moroccan tribes is the existence of resident holy men (most of them not only claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad, but possessing genealogical evidence, either in written Arabic or in their heads, to back up their claims) who form lineages or even whole clans apart (or, ideally, somewhat apart) from the rest of the tribal community. They may reside within a community or on its frontiers with other such communities, and their job is the arbitration of conflicts, both inside and outside the tribe. Such conflicts, in tribal Morocco before the protectorate, were very much the order of the day. It can be, and has been, argued that feuds and wars, far from promoting the disintegration of the tribal system, provided in fact the main force that kept it going. This state of affairs led French and Spanish investigators of a generation ago to categorize the tribal systems as "organized anarchy"[30]—not, perhaps, quite the right label, for "anarchy" implies a total lack of government; but they were nonetheless on the right track. Given the existence, especially in Berber regions, of a system of representative councils superimposed at the major levels of segmentation, a system in which the power of any one councillor at any given level was effectively checked by his peers, we prefer to call Berber political systems in the mountainous areas of *siba*, where a virtually complete egalitarianism prevailed, "systems of organized acephaly." This was particularly true in the "dog-eat-dog" political context of the Central Rif.

Another generalization can now be made: nomad and transhumant tribes tended to engage in intertribal warfare, while sedentary tribes generally engaged in intratribal feuds. In the Rif, as we shall see, each tribe was literally split in half, and when the two halves were not fighting against each other, feuding continued just as intensively on a lower level, amongst the lineages of a single clan. In some cases, including that of the Aith Waryaghar, the overall system of alliances, called *liff*, actually crosscut the overall segmentary system (as expressed in the Waryaghar case by the crucial notion of *khams khmas* or "five 'fifths' "); and this is precisely what is meant when we say, echoing to some extent a view recently put forth by Peters,[31] that a simple segmentary model is simply not geared to explain everything. It is a useful conceptual (or even analytical) tool but it is only a means to an end and in no sense an end in itself. In the Rif, again, only the holier of the holy men abstained from fighting; the rank-and-file holy men fought among themselves, although not, as a rule, against outsiders (i.e., lay tribesmen). And the holier holy men, wearing their white robes and emanating *baraka* (the God-given ability to work miracles), lived up to the prestigious role and status assigned them by the community by seeing to it that wars were interrupted by seasonal truces for harvesting, etc. At the same time they received helpful "perks" through annual offerings from their constituents, as well as a cut off the top when fines for murder were imposed by the council.

For murder, under certain controllable circumstances, was indeed punished. Another feature of the tribal system all through Morocco is the existence, in almost every tribe, of a weekly market, called *suq* of so-and-so, the word *suq* being followed by the name of the day of the week it is held and then by the name of the tribe. Market day is not only a day of economic exchange, but one of social intercourse, where people see their friends and exchange news; and above all, it is a day of peace. The tribal council met in or just off the market precisely to see that this peace was not violated, as well as to deliberate on other issues that had come up during the course of the week. In the Rif, any man who murdered another on any of the paths leading to the market, on market day, had to pay not only bloodwealth to his victim's agnates (which the latter generally did not accept, preferring to take vengeance either on the person of the murderer or on that of one of his patrilineal kinsmen), but, in addition, a prohibitively heavy fine to the council. If the murder was committed in the market itself, furthermore, this fine was doubled because the peace of the market had been "broken," as Berbers say. If the murderer could not pay, the councilmembers descended upon him in a body, burned his house, cut down his trees, and confiscated his livestock. And the murderer himself had to flee to another tribe in order to escape the wrath of his victim's kin.

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[30] Robert Montagne, *La Vie Sociale et Politique des Berbères*, Paris: Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Francaise, 1931, p. 74; and Emilio Blanco Izaga, *Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, MSS., 1935. Blanco Izaga discusses this concept more cogently for the Aith Waryaghar in the Rif than Montagne does for the tribes of the Western Atlas.

[31] E. L. Peters, "Some Structural Aspects of the Feud Among the Camel-Herding Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Africa* (London), XXXVII, 3, pp. 261-282.

Woundings, too, were fined accordingly, as were thefts of larger livestock. In the Rif, however, theft of animals was as uncommon as murder was common: it is far more current in the Central Atlas, for instance, where the mode of proof through trial by collective oath also reached its greatest development and intricacy. The council among Rifian and Western Atlas Berbers was the body politic, and before the advent of 'Abd al-Krim in the former area and of the "Big Qaids"[32] in the latter, decision-making never rested in the hands of a single individual. Political power tended in all the sedentary tribal regions to be diffused and decentralized, and generally speaking, it was only among rural Arabic-speakers that a *qaid* could "eat" a whole tribe. Among the Berber transhumants of the Central Atlas and the Jbil Saghru, a totally different system obtained, but one that in the end had the same result: chiefs were elected annually, and the clan whose turn it was to provide the chief would be removed physically from the other clans, whose members did the electing (Gellner discovered the system and has labeled it "rotation and cross-election.")[33] But here too the chief was a mere rotating cipher who could be impeached by the council before his year was up if his luck (Berber *aduku*, lit. "slipper") was bad. Conversely, should he prove himself able, especially in war, he might stay on in office for two or three years before another election took place. The symbolism of the outgoing chief's putting a blade of grass into the turban of the incoming one in order to ensure a fertile year was the crucial feature of the installation ritual; for if the year were not fertile, that slender blade of grass was the figurative axe that hung over his head—and out he went.

We have already begun to note certain institutional differences between Arabic and Berber speakers, for contradictions and ambiguities are, as we shall see, a key feature of the social organization of the region at large. Let us look at a few more such differences. In cases of suspected murder or suspected theft, an Arabic-speaking tribesman had to go to the mosque and take oath on the Qur'an in front of the *fqih*, the Qur'anic schoolmaster. A Berber from the Rif also took (and takes) oath in the mosque on the Qur'an in the same way; but prior to 'Abd al-Krim (who was responsible for changing a very great deal of Rifian custom), he did so with five of his close agnatic kinsmen (making six in all, including himself) for minor matters, and with eleven close agnates (making twelve in all) in a murder case. If the homicide involved men of different tribes, the party under suspicion had to produce fifty cojurors. A Berber from the Central Atlas had to produce ten cojurors (himself and nine agnates) in a case of theft, and in a case of murder, forty (himself and thirty-nine agnates, a good many of whom, as in the Rifian case of fifty, were fellow clansmen, that is, classificatory agnates rather than real ones or proper lineagemates); but in this region oaths were always taken at saints' tombs in front of a lay oath administrator, and never on the Qur'an. Oath-takings were a highly public affair, by their very nature, and onlookers often heckled the cojurors to trip them up. If the defendant or any of his agnates failed to say or pronounce the oath correctly, the oath became as "broken" as the markets mentioned above, and he had to pay. Some Central Atlas tribes (the Ait 'Atta are the outstanding example) even had Supreme Courts of Appeal, and there were two further refinements of the system: (1) accusing as well as denying oaths could be taken, and (2) a man who became angry at his own lineagemates could change over to another cojuring group by sacrificing a sheep, and without losing his property rights in his original lineage.

The Moroccan world of tribal politics was and is very definitely a man's world, in which women took and take little or no active part—although the division of labor by sex is very unequal: women generally work far harder and longer than men do. In structural terms, women, handed around in marriage from one lineage to the next within a given clan,[34] or, more rarely, to another clan or even to another tribe, provided links of alliance in which they themselves, being passive instruments of policy, had little or no voice. These same alliance links are, of course, continually reinforced through subsequent marriages of other lineage members, and expanded through the taking of an occasional wife from yet a new group.

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[32] See Robert Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930.

[33] Gellner, op. cit., 1963. I personally prefer the term "rotation and complementarity" which Gellner has often used on conversation and correspondence.

[34] Gellner, op. cit., 1963, p. 149; says that among the saintly Ihansalen of the Central Atlas, father's brother's daughter marriage is the rule. Although the Ait 'Atta of Usikis told me the same thing, their genealogies do not bear this out; and in the Rif, parallel cousin marriage, though it does happen, is very rare, and, according to Rifians, is apt to terminate in divorce. The major reason for its preservation in the case of the saintly lineages is obviously to keep the genes pure. An excellent paper on some of the problems here is Jean Cuisenier, "Endogamie et Exogamie dans le Mariage Arabe," *L'Homme*, II, 2, 1962, pp. 80-105.

Qur'anic law stipulates that daughters inherit half what sons do, and it absolutely forbids a wife to divorce her husband, though he can divorce her with ease. But divorce, though indeed frequent, is not in fact as common as might be expected; and neither are polygynous marriages, for the great bulk of Moroccan tribesmen are monogamous, largely for economic reasons if for no other, even though they are permitted as many as four wives at any given time. But Berbers in the Central Atlas show two variants here, which in the long run actually balance each other out: wives in some tribes may divorce their husbands (although the latter may forbid them to remarry certain men with whom they suspect their wives of having carried on), but the balance occurs in inheritance, as daughters get nothing at all. In fact, if there are no sons, the brothers of the deceased take over his daughters.

MOROCCAN TRIBES DURING THE PROTECTORATE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Such in general was the fabric of tribal society in Morocco prior to 1912. In the north, 'Abd al-Krim (who was later to become a nationalist hero) had already introduced very considerable changes among the Rifians, and the Spaniards, after his surrender in 1926, merely took over where he left off. The French, however, magnified the differences between Arabs and Berbers in their much larger southern zone to the point where, by 1930 and the promulgation of the *Dahir Berbère*, or Berber Decree, divide-and-rule became official policy. This policy said, in effect, "Berbers are noble savages"[35] whose customary law (which shows some very significant divergences from the Qur'anic legal norms) has to be underwritten, and, conversely, "Arabs are no-goods" who have to be watched. The Berber Decree and all it stood for triggered off Arab nationalism in Morocco.

Over the next twenty years, this nationalism became more and more articulate in the cities, while French Army captains in the Atlas Mountains carefully saw to it that Berber custom was kept in the deepfreeze of the "Berber Park" for posterity,[36] and that Berbers themselves were kept in isolation, through their *qa'ids* (who were at the top of the tribal political ladder, while the captains, both French and Spanish, who were their opposite numbers, were at the bottoms of their own administrative ladders whose tops reached back to Rabat and Tetuan).

The storm broke in the cities in the early 1950s; the revolt was led by the Istiqlal Party, with the support of a large detribalized urban proletariat. It did not spread to the countryside until mid-1955; right up until the very end, the French firmly believed in the myth that the Berbers, whom they all assumed to be under the dictatorial command of the Glawi, would remain loyal to them. Yet it was Rifian Berbers, from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, who simultaneously attacked three French outposts in the Rif and two others in the Middle Atlas. Not long afterward, the Glawi himself about-faced and declared his loyalty to King Muhammad V, newly returned from exile in Madagascar—and this was the Glawi's last act before his death.

With Independence in 1956, one of the first things that happened was the rescinding of the Berber Decree. The title of *qa'id* was still retained in the tribal areas, but the young man who took the position was a Moroccan government employee of the Ministry of Interior in Rabat; as a rule, he was not local to the tribe itself, and he took over the job of tribal administrator from the French or Spanish army captain or civil controller who had held it before him. Therefore, the highest purely local official in this new unified chain of command was only the *shaikh*. This was an important administrative change (as was the posting of young French-speaking Moroccan officials to the previously Spanish zone). Another development that was to have even more important repercussions was that everybody enthusiastically joined the Istiqlal ("independence") Party, which has been so instrumental in gaining independence for Morocco.

But the Istiqlal, the senior party, was not to retain an uncontested dominance. For various reasons, most of them centering around maladministration and insufficient representation at court, a disenchantment with the Istiqlal, particularly strong in Berber-speaking areas, was widespread by 1958; and by the following year two other major parties had emerged: the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP) and the Popular Movement (MP). Both of these gained adherents among Berbers, particularly the latter party, avowedly a "Berber Party." In 1963, the Popular Movement merged with one or two lesser parties to form a right-wing coalition backing the monarchy and the Constitution of 1962, both of which were then under attack from both the Istiqlal and the National Union of Popular Forces. But 1964 saw the breakup of this coalition into its constituent elements once more, as well as the emergence of yet another political party; and 1965 saw the dissolution of the recently created

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[35] Cf. Jacques Berque's notion of "le parc berbere," in his *Le Maghreb Entre Deux Guerres*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962, pp. 227-301.

[36] An interesting exposé of this policy is found in Vincent Monteil, *Maroc*, Collection "Petite Planète," No. 31, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1963, pp. 129-51.

Parliament. In the tribal areas, this pluralistic party structure and the cleavages resulting from it are still very often an index of older, preexisting cleavages of a more traditional order. Article 3 of the Constitution specifically provides for a pluralistic party system, and this clause recognizes these traditional patterns in Moroccan society and the existence of the loosely joined and fluid, but nonetheless integral, segments that make up the Moroccan nation.

The post-Independence period has also seen the setting up of "rural communes" all over Morocco; the object of these communes, a creation of a former Minister of Interior, is to substitute the commune for the tribe as a focus of local loyalty, and, as such, to undermine the whole tribal system. The scheme has thus far met with only moderate success at best, greatest perhaps in the Atlantic coastal plains and least in the Rif and in the Central Atlas, where Berber speech, Berber tribalism, and Berber values still obtain, even though customary law and collective oaths are out. It is ironic indeed that two new government schemes with direct application to the Aith Waryaghar, a large sugarcane plantation in the Plain of al-Husaima and a pine reforestation program in the Jbil Hmam, will doubtless contribute much more to a rapid detribalization and to the growth of a rural proletariat than the commune system has done. Under the French, army captains studied Berber in Rabat as many hours a week as they did Arabic; while in post-Independence Rabat, "Berber" quickly became a dirty word, although this no longer seemed to be the case in 1967.

Finally, the post-Independence period, at least in its earlier years, was characterized by a series of tribal revolts, all in areas of Berber speech: in the Tafilalt in 1956-57, in the Rif (the most serious one, with the Aith Waryaghar at the center of the stage) in 1958-59, and in the Central Atlas in 1960. As Gellner has remarked in another context,[37] these revolts seem in some ways to be inexplicable, particularly since at least one of them—the last—was proclaimed in favor of an individual who happened at the very time to be prime minister. They are not "nativistic" or "cargo-cult" movements as in New Guinea; and although they have occurred in just those areas where *siba* and nonpayment of taxes to the central government were the normal state of affairs before 1912, the pattern they present, owing to the very unification by the French during the protectorate, is of a somewhat different character. They are indeed an assertion of tribal personality, but within a new, national framework. Through the parties, generally, most of the tribal leaders concerned have had pipelines into the capital; and as the real political struggle on the national level has not yet come (again indicating the transitional character of modern Morocco), these rebellions have assumed the character of local dress rehearsals. When it does come, whoever wins will sweep the board.[38]

Thus tribalism has its uses even today to the central government. This is particularly true of Berber tribalism, for although official Rabat, in a natural reaction against protectorate policy, still tends to soft-pedal any Arab-Berber distinctions, Berbers in general, as shown above, have reemerged in a pugnaciously individualistic manner quite characteristic of them. Even though young and Westernized Moroccans may dismiss the tribes as backward and over-traditionalistic, many of these same young men are themselves of tribal rather than urban origins—for the security of the protectorate period brought a great influx of tribal peoples into the cities, at the same time that it fostered patterns of labor migration that are now very well developed. And therefore the problem of tribalism in Morocco is not only a skeleton in the national closet (and one which occasionally still rattles), but it has become one in many acculturated, urbanized individual closets as well.

TRIBE, NATION AND ISLAM

Our main subject, the Aith Waryaghar, has scarcely been mentioned so far, but it has been essential to consider first the regional context, because of the nature of Muslim society in North Africa and the Middle East: the whole area has been referred to by both Coon[39] and Patai[40] as a single culture area (Patai calls it a "culture continent"), composed of tribes, villages, and towns, all of which interact with each other to form part of the total Muslim community, the *umma* (which is Coon's "mosaic"), and upon which the modern European concept of nation and nationalism has only recently been imposed. It is in this sense that a Muslim tribe is never a final political unit unto itself, but initially a unit in a system of tribes of the same order and of towns of a very different order; for it is in the tribal-urban continuum that the basis of the wider society lies, in the world of Islam.

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[37] Ernest Gellner, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, III, 2, 1962, pp. 297-311.

[38] After a particularly bloody attempted coup by certain disaffected army officers in Rabat in July 1971, for which reprisal was equally swift, the monarchy- (loyalist) army combine seems again firmly anchored at the helm of power- for the time being, at any rate.

[39] Coon, op. cit., 1958 (first edition, 1951).

[40] Raphael Patai, *Golden River to Golden Road*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962.

It is only when this vital fact is thoroughly understood that any individual tribal group, *Ait X* or *Bni Y*, can be described or discussed properly; and the problem is thus one of context. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the Aith Waryaghar and their Rifian neighbors show striking cultural and even structural divergences from, for instance, their western neighbors of Ghmara and Jbala, in the same way that transhumant Berber tribes in the Central Atlas show equally striking cultural and structural divergences from sedentary Berber tribes in the Sus and the Anti-Atlas; and the Bedouin nomads of the Western Sahara, again, show divergences from all of them.[41] But common to all is the notion, first, that they are organized into tribes and have a tribal social system; second, that they are Moroccans, both in the newer national sense, and in pre-protectorate times through acknowledging the Sultan as their spiritual leader; and finally, above and beyond these, that they are Muslims.

In Muslim countries, Islam continues to be both the least and the most important cultural common denominator; and for the Circum-Mediterranean world in general, to which many Muslim societies indeed also belong, Pitt-Rivers[42] has, as his central theme in an introductory essay to a symposium on the social anthropology of the Mediterranean, emphasized that in any Mediterranean culture the social structure of a local community or group can only be studied relevantly if considered in the context of the wider society of which it forms but a part.

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[41] cf. David M. Hart, "The Social Structure of the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara," op. cit., *Middle East Journal*, XVI, 4, 1962, pp. 515–527.

[42] Julian Pitt-Rivers, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Paris & The Hague: Mouton, 1963, Introduction, p. 17.

2. LAND AND AGRICULTURE

DEMOGRAPHY

The total population of the Rifian chain is about 1.2 million; of these, slightly more than five hundred thousand are Rifians who speak *dhamazighth*, or Rifian Berber. Within this overall demographic framework (the total Rifian-speaking area comprises some 9,000 km.^{2}), we may now look briefly at population statistics for five of the six Central Rifian tribes for the years 1929, 1938 and 1945; for one of them, the Igzinnayen, for 1939; and for all six for the year 1960. In this way we will obtain an adequate idea of the demographic position of the Aith Waryaghar in relation to their neighbors.

The first three censuses were conducted by the Spaniards, and the figures they yield must be treated with extreme caution (particularly those of 1929 and 1938);[1] but they are presented for what they are worth, as they indicate a considerable rate of population growth in the Central Rif over a thirty-year period, and a virtual explosion of population in the Aith Waryaghar by the time of the 1960 census of independent Morocco. The French census figures of 1939[2] for the Igzinnayen are probably subject to the same cautions as the Spanish figures, but they are given for the same reasons. The 1960 census[3] was the first one to be carried out by the Bureau des Statistiques of the Ministry of National Economy of the Kingdom of Morocco; it was also the first to employ European census techniques, such as sampling. Hence the results, some of which are still in process of publication at the date of writing, appear more reliable. However, it has been necessary to "juggle" and recombine them a bit, as they are expressed in the modern Moroccan idiom of "rural communes" rather than in the traditional one of tribes. Excluded are Rifians who live in the municipalities of al-Husaima (1960 total population 11,262, including 9,139 Moroccans and 2,123 foreigners, the latter mostly Spaniards), and Nadar (1960 total population 17,583, with 14,779 Moroccans and 2,804 foreigners, again mostly Spaniards).

Tribe	A) *Spanish Census 1929*	*Spanish Census 1938*
Ibuqquyen	7,079	10,995
Aith 'Ammarth	7,885	8,012
Aith Waryaghar	*39,537*	*47,629*
Igzinnayen	No figures available	
Axt Tuzin	21,204	30,443
Thimsaman	24,729	25,568
	B) *French Census 1939*	
Igzinnayen	35,722	
	C) *Spanish Census 1945*	

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[1] The 1929 figures are taken from Santiago S. Otero, *En el Corazon del Rif*, Tangier 1930, pp. 209-213; the 1938 figures, from Angel Domenech Lafuente, *Apuntes sobre Geografia de la Zona Norte del Protectorado de España en Marruecos*, Madrid 1942, pp. 58-60; and the 1945 figures, from José Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de Geografia de Marruecos*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1950-1951, pp. 119-121.

[2] This figure comes from: Protectorat de la Républic Francaise au Maroc, Sécrétariat Général du Protectorat, Service du Travail et des Questions Sociales, *Répertoire Alphabétique des Confédérations de Tribus, des Fractions de Tribus et des Agglomérations de la Zone Francaise de l'Empire Chérifien au 1er Novembre 1939*, Casablanca: Imprimeries Reunies (Vigie Marocaine et Petit Marocain), 1939, p. 34.

[3] See Recensement Démographique (Juin 1960): *Population Legale du Maroc*, Rabat: Service Central des Statistiques, Juin 1961, pp. 50, 60 and 74.

Tribe	*Muslims*	*Jews*	*Spaniards*	*Area in* Km^2	*Population Density in* Km^2
Ibuqquyen	11,105	—	30	281.32	39.6
Aith 'Ammarth	11,283	11	42	250.86	47.3
Aith Waryaghar[4]	*65,982*	*35*	*160*	*1,028.58*	*64.3*
Igzinnayen:	No figures available, but we have calculated a rough population estimate for this tribe at this time of about 40,000; with a total surface area in km^2 of about 1500, thus giving a low (for the Rif) population density of 27.				
Axt Tuzin	29,979	7	109	606.30	49.7
Thimsaman	30,355	25	27	420.25	72.4
	Totals here are meaningless without exact figures for Igzinnayen.				

Moroccan Census of 1960:
Province of al-Husaima:

	Tribe	*Total*	*Moroccans*	*Foreigners*	*Population Density in* Km^2 [5]
1)	Ibuqquyen (Buqquya):				
	Commune of Had Rwadhi	6,702	6,702	—	39
	Commune of Izimmuren	5,498	5,488	10	56
	Total Ibuqquyen	12,200	12,190	10	48
2)	Aith 'Ammarth (Bni 'Ammart)	13,246	13,246	—	59
3)	Aith Waryaghar (Bni Waryaghal):				
	Commune of Aith Yusif w-'Ari	15,754	15,705	49	166
	Commune of Imzuren and r-Khmis Imrabdhen	8,812	8,772	40	71
	Commune of Aith 'Abdallah (Bni 'Abdallah)	12,710	12,710	—	58
	Commune of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Bni Bu 'Ayyash)	19,825	19,825	—	120
	Commune of Aith Hadhifa (Bni Hadifa)	8,442	8,438	4	56
	Commune of Arba' Tawrirt (r-Arba n-Turirth) (Jbil)	10,445	10,445	—	38
	Total Aith Waryaghar	75,988	75,895	93	85

Province of Taza:

	Tribe	*Total*	*Moroccans*	*Foreigners*	*Population Density in* Km^2
4)	Igzinnayen (Gzinnaya):				
	Commune of Aknul	12,113	12,102	13	22
	Commune of Buridh	14,996	14,996	—	42

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[4] This figure does not quite dovetail with a later Spanish census, taken in 1952, which gives the population on the spot as 58,291, the total (including those in absentia) as 58,476, the number of buildings as 7,316, and the number of houses as 6,801. Because the total population figure represents a retrogression from that of 1945, we are inclined to be skeptical of it; but the breakdown in it of Aith Waryaghar clans is as follows: Aith Yusif w-'Ari, 12,791; Aith 'Abdallah, 9,549; Aith Bu 'Ayyash, 14,850; Aith Hadhifa, 6,362; Imrabdhen, 7,108; and the three sub-clans of the Jbil Hmam, 7,631. Total Aith Waryaghar, 58,291.

[5] Cf. D. Noin, *Atlas du Maroc: Notices Explicatives, Population 1960*, Rabat 1963, pp. 39, 40, 46, 48.

	Tribe	*Total*	*Moroccans*	*Foreigners*	*Population Density in Km²*
	Commune of Thizi Usri (Tizi Usli)	14,564	14,555	9	26
	Total Igzinnayen	41,675	41,653	22	30
	Province of Nadhur (Nador):				
5)	Axt Tuzin (Bni Tuzin):				
	Commune of Iyar Umarwas	14,211	14,211	—	73
	Commune of Midhar	14,966	14,936	30	84
	Commune of Dhratha Uzraf (Tlata Azlaf)	10,692	10,692	—	34
	Total Axt Tuzin	39,969	39,839	30	67
6)	Thimsaman (Timsaman):				
	Commune of Truguth	9,809	9,809	—	75
	Commune of Bu Dhinar	12,827	12,810	17	70
	Commune of r-Khmis n-Tmsaman	14,962	14,962	—	157
	Total Thimsaman	37,598	37,581	17	101
	Grand Total of Six Central Rifian Tribes:	220,576	220,404	172	65

What is deducible from these figures, if they are correct, is that the Aith Waryaghar, Ibuqquyen, Axt Tuzin, and Aith 'Ammarth all virtually doubled their populations and the Thimsaman became half again their size between 1929 and 1960. Since 1939, the Igzinnayen have shown only a slight increase, of 6,000, and the same is true of the Ibuqquyen and Aith 'Ammarth since 1945, with increases of 1,000 and 2,000 respectively. Since 1945, however, the Aith Waryaghar have increased by an additional 10,000, as have the Axt Tużin, while the Thimsaman have increased by 7,000. Even more revealing are the results of a 1960 map of population density in rural Morocco.[6] For our area, they are as follows: Ibuqquyen, 50–59 people per sq. km.; Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen, 30–39 people per sq. km.; Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman, 60–79 people per sq. km.; but northern Aith Waryaghar, more than 120 people per sq. km. Comparing these figures with the population density given in the 1945 census, we find that the Ibuqquyen and the Axt Tuzin have sensibly increased and the Aith 'Ammarth have sensibly decreased, while the Aith Waryaghar have nearly doubled in density. The total Aith Waryaghar population is quite high for a single tribal group, and the highest in northern Morocco, but the density figure is astounding. It is now not only the highest of any in rural Morocco,[7] but outside of Kabylia, in Algeria, it is the highest in rural North Africa.

The Aith Waryaghar have always been the dominant tribal group in the Rifian polity, and have always been numerically superior to the rest; but why the explosion? They themselves are keenly aware of their population increase over the last thirty years and they ruefully say (as when condemning their unproductive land, which they do perpetually) that previously there was enough land for everybody, but now there are many more people, very little land, and grinding poverty everywhere.

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[6] Prepared by the Comite' National de Geographie du Maroc, Atlas du Maroc Planche No. 31 a: *Repartition de la Population (1960)*. D. Noin (op. cit., p. 18) lists the population density for 1960 of Aith Yusif w-'Ari commune (Aith Waryaghar) as 166 people per sq. km., and that for Khmis Thimsaman as 157 people per sq. km. Noin is quite right in saying (p. 20) that the significance of this very heavy population density in the Rif largely escaped the previous Spanish authorities; or at least they devoted scant attention to it in their publications.

[7] It is however, quite uneven, from 38 people per sq. km., in Arba' Tawrirt (n-Turirth) and the southeastern Jbil Hmam to 120 in Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and 166 in Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Plain of al-Husaima. It is precisely in the mountain areas of lower population density, also, that the lineage structure of the tribe is most clearly discernible, and best maintained, thus supporting Caro Baroja's notion that density of lineage systems stands in inverse ratio to population density. Cf. Julio Caro Baroja, "Una Encuesta en Gomara: Historia y Tradicion," in same author, *Estudios Mogrebies*, Madrid; Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, p. 146. Paul Bohannan (personal communication) says that this does not, however, hold good for the Tiv of Central Nigeria, who number 800,000 and yet preserve a perfect lineage; but I submit that it does hold for the total complex of lineage and tribal systems, and the wider cultural continuum, in Muslim North Africa and the Near and Middle East.

On the basis of the 1960 Census too, it is worth adding that, by my computations, 47.7% of the total population of the Aith Waryaghar was under 15 years of age in that year (52.4% male, 45.9% female); 57% of the total population was under 20 years of age (59.3% male, 54.9% female); while only 1.9% of the population was over 65 years old (2.7% male, 1.8% female). Cf. *Resultats du Recensement de 1960*, vol. I, *Nationalité, Sexe, Age;* Royaume de Maroc. Cabinet Royal: Delegation Générale à la Promotion Nationale et du Plan: Service Central des Statistiques, Juillet 1964, p. 115.

Many Aith Waryaghar were killed in 'Abd al-Krim's war in the 1920's; and before that time it seems legitimate to assume not only that mortality rates from disease and infant deaths were higher, but that the chronic bloodfeuding practiced by the Aith Waryaghar took a not inconsiderable toll as well. With the advent of the Spaniards, feuds had to stop, and doctors came in for the first time even though each individual post only had one. These changes, together with the unabated desire of all Muslims to have as many sons as possible, help to explain the population explosion; and the ever-continuing erosion of a land that has always been far from rich in any case also contributes to the total picture.

GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

The Rifian chain is a single unit, unlike the very much larger and higher Atlas mountain complex to the south; it is totally separated from the Atlas by the Taza Gap and is geologically far more recent—Tertiary in time. It has a total west-east length of 350-400 km, and a total north-south width of 80-100 km. The dividing line between the western and eastern parts of the chain lies at the upland plain of Targist, while the summit of the chain, Adhrar n-Tidighin (2,456 m.), lies south of Ktama and west of Targist, in the Sinhaja Srir. West of Targist the chain is densely wooded, with magnificent cedar stands in the Sinhaja Srir and heavy stands of cork-oak trees in the Ghmara (which also contains Morocco's only stands of fir); in contrast, to the east of Targist, in the Rif Proper, the topographical keynote is erosion. The western half also tends to receive considerably more annual rainfall (over 1,000 mm.) than the eastern (400-800 mm.). The mountainous portion of the eastern half that lies west of the relatively open and rolling country between Midhar and Melilla is the Rif of this book—the region encompassed between Targist to the west, Midar to the east, al-Husaima and the Mediterranean to the north, and Aknul to the south.[8]

The central Rif, while east of the apex of the chain, is nonetheless (except for the wide alluvial plain of al-Husaima) very mountainous, eroded, and denuded, and its slopes are steep and craggy. It is dominated by two mountains: the peak of the Azru Aqshar ("Bald Rock") at 2,011 m. in the Igzinnayen; and the culminating point of the Jbil Hmam Massif, Adhrar n-Sidi Bu Khiyar,[9] at 1,944 m. (where the most famous of the tribal saints is buried). From both of the mountains, on a clear day, one can see 60-80 km. down to the Mediterranean. The central Rif is also dominated by two rivers, the Aghzar n-Ghis[10] ("Muddy River") and the Aghzar n-Nkur, the first running through the western sector of Waryagharland and the second bounding it on the east.

The Jbil Hmam massif,[11] the real core of the Aith Waryaghar territory—referred to henceforth, following anthropological usage, as Waryagharland—is north of the line of the Atlantic-Mediterranean watershed rather than directly upon it. This line, running due east of the Tidighin peak and the Sinhaja Srir, cuts through the middle of the Aith 'Ammarth over Adhrar n-Tirmathin n-Sunduq (1738 m.), along the Thizi Ifri pass, and across the northern boundary of the Igzinnayen, where it descends very slightly southeast to Adhrar n-Xuwin (1883 m.), and then northeast again to Azru Aqshar and Thizi Usri. East of the Igzinnayen, however, the crest dwindles down to the Gart Steppe of the Ibdharsen and Aith Bu Yihyi tribes; north of these tribes it crops up again in modified form (Thizi Qajqaj in the Axt Tuzin is 1628 m.) to separate the drainages of the Kart and Mulwiya rivers, the latter of which may be said to be the easternmost boundary of the Kart tribes of the Eastern Rif.

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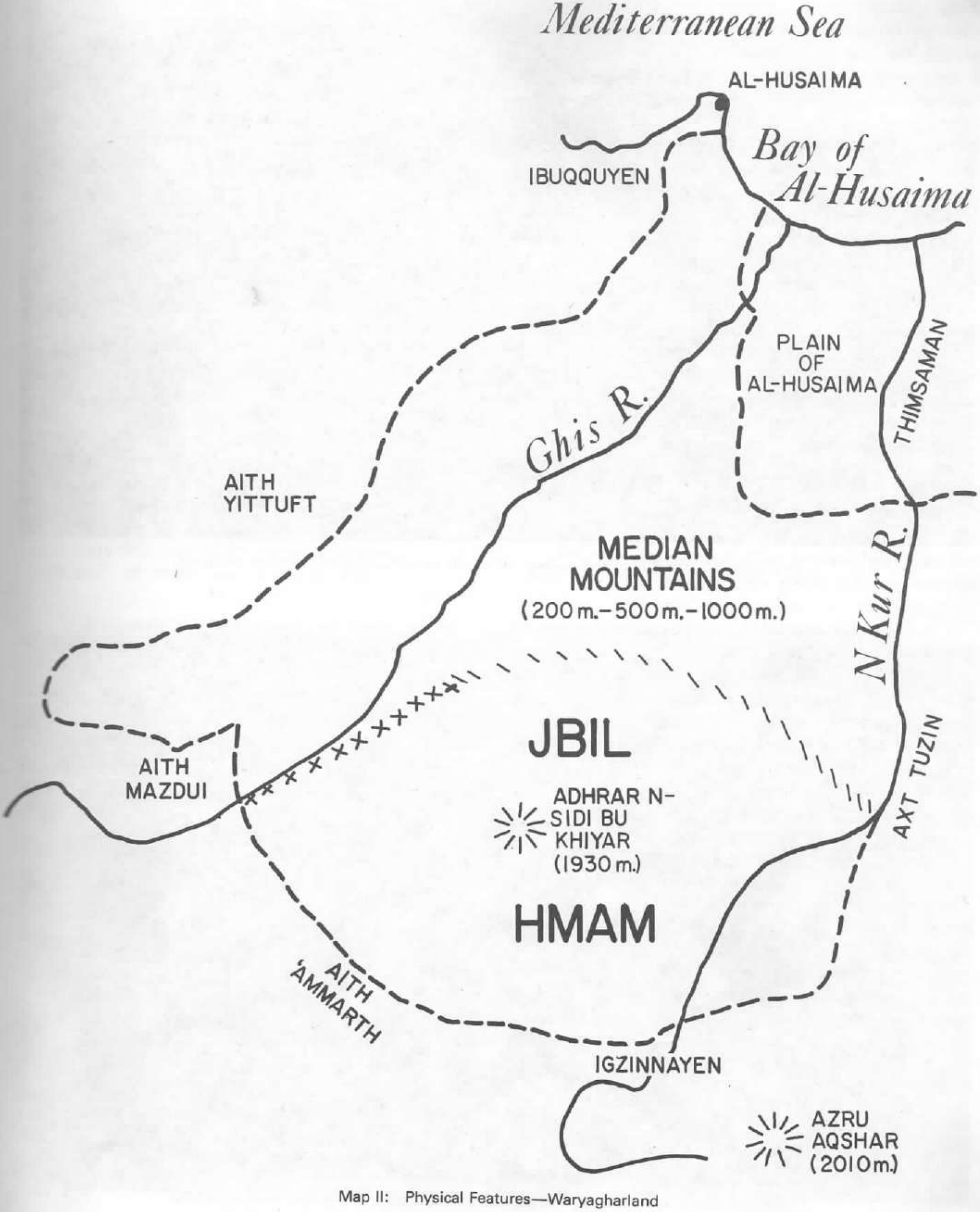
[8] There are a number of good sources on Rifian geography, upon which most of my own resumé is based: A. Domenech Lafuente, op. cit., 1942; J. Cabello Alcaraz, op. cit., 1950-51; Horst Mensching, *Marokko: Die Landschaften im Maghreb*, Heidelberg: Keyser'sche Verlágsbuchandlung, 1957; "Fascicule Spécial consacré à la Région Rifaine" (with articles by J. Marcais, G. Suter, J. Agard, J. Ruiz de la Torre, J. Karst, A. André, G. Couvreur, P. Joly, J. LeCoz, G. Maurer and R. Raynal), *Notes Marocaines*, nos. 9-10, Rabat, 1957; Gérard Maurer, "Les Pays Rifains et Prérifains," *L'Information Géographique*, no. 23, 1959, pp. 164-171; and Marvin W. Mikesell, *Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography*, University of California Publications in Geography, vol. 14, Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. Juan Ruiz de la Torre, *La Vegetación Natural del Norte de Marruecos y la Elección de Especies para su Repoblación Forestal*, Larche: Servicio de Montes 1956, is a first rate study of the botany (and indeed ethnobotany) of the Rifian chain; but Mikesell's work, in particular, is of interest to anthropologists and I have profited a great deal from personal correspondence with its author, as well as from conversations with Gérard Maurer of Rabat. A recent expression of the French geographers' viewpoint is contained in J. Martin, H. Jover, J. LeCoz, G. Maurer, and D. Noin, *Geographic du Maroc*, Paris, Hatier, and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale n.d. (but Ca. 1964) pp. 84 ff.

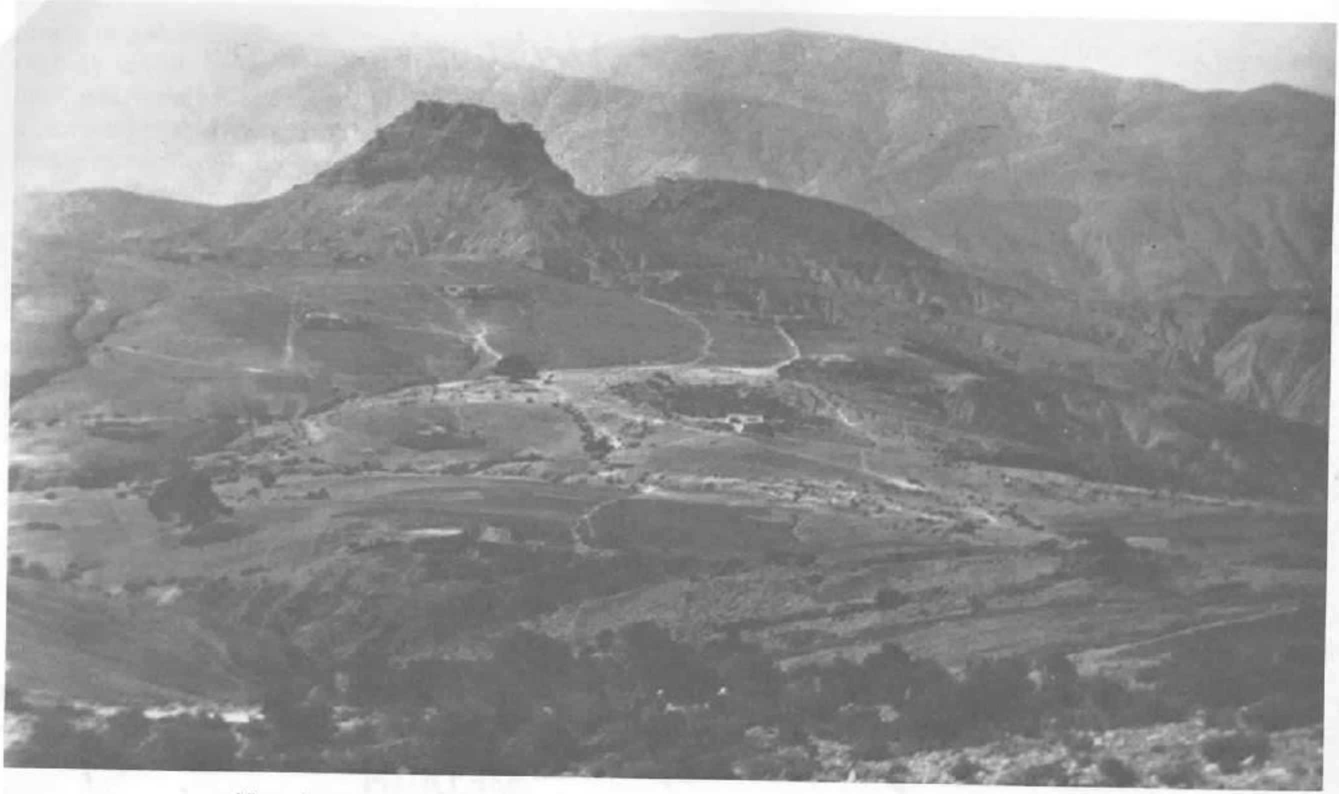
[9] Rifian *adhrar*, pl. *idhurar*, "mountain;" *dha'rurth*, pl. *dhi'urar*, "hill."

[10] Rifian *aghzar*, pl. *ighzran* "river." Small rivers are *dhrath*, pl. *dhithura*; then *saru*, pl. *isura*; and finally small streams, *thasiddja*, pl. *thisiddjiwin*. The Rifian vocabulary for rivers, rivulets, streams, etc., is considerable, because all are sources of a commodity which is often scarce—*aman*, "water."

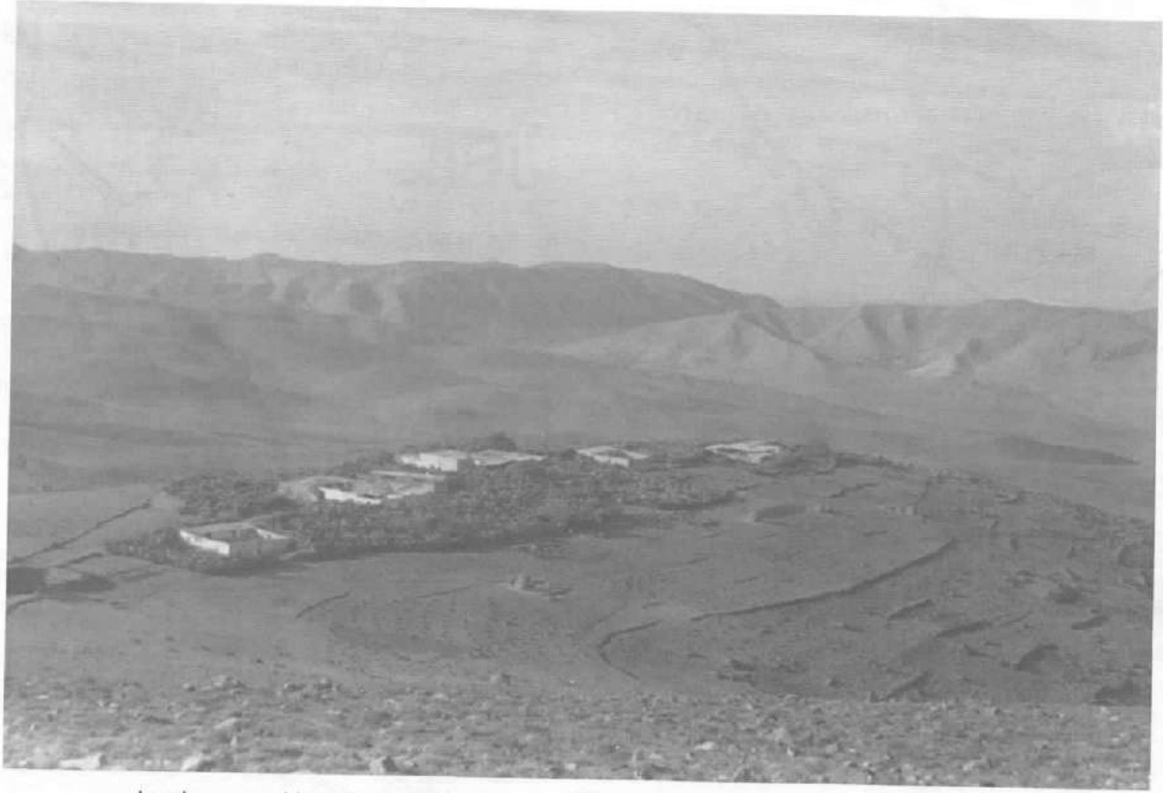
[11] Why the Jbil Hmam should be given an Arabic name rather than the Rifian equivalent *Adhrar n-Idhbiren*, "Mountain of Doves," is a puzzle to which no one seems to have the answer.


Mediterranean Sea
AL-HUSAIMA
Bay of Al-Husaima
IBUQQUYEN
PLAIN OF AL-HUSAIMA
THIMSAMAN
Ghis R.
AITH YITTUFT
MEDIAN MOUNTAINS
(200 m.-500 m.-1000 m.)
N Kur R.
JBIL
AXT TUZIN
AITH MAZDUI
ADHRAR N-SIDI BU KHIYAR
(1930 m.)
HMAM
AITH 'AMMARTH
IGZINNAYEN
AZRU AQSHAR
(2010 m.)

Map II: Physical Features—Waryagharland



View down toward Bulma and across to the Aith 'Arus from Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955)

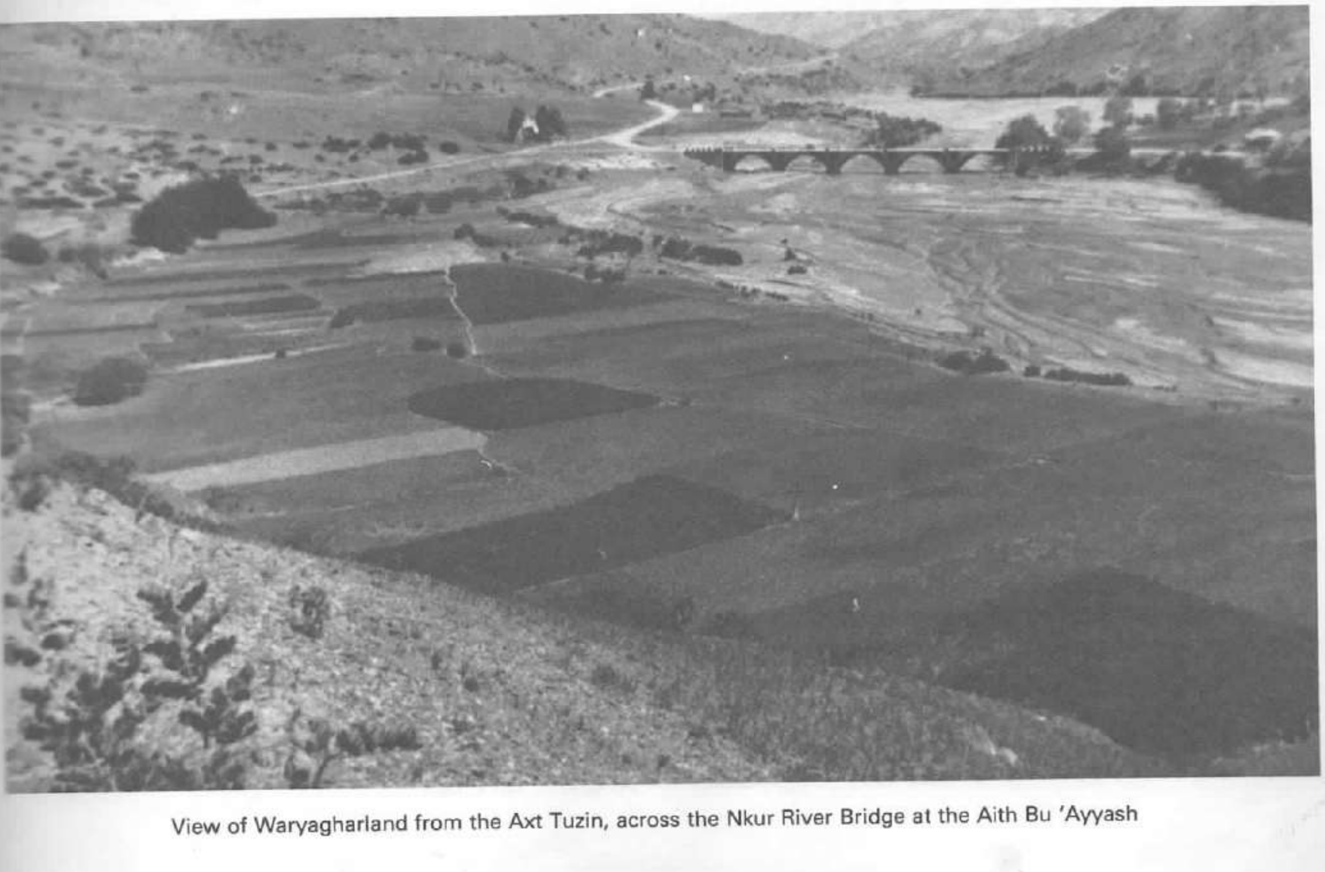


Landscape and house distribution in the median mountains of the Aith 'Abdallah (1954)

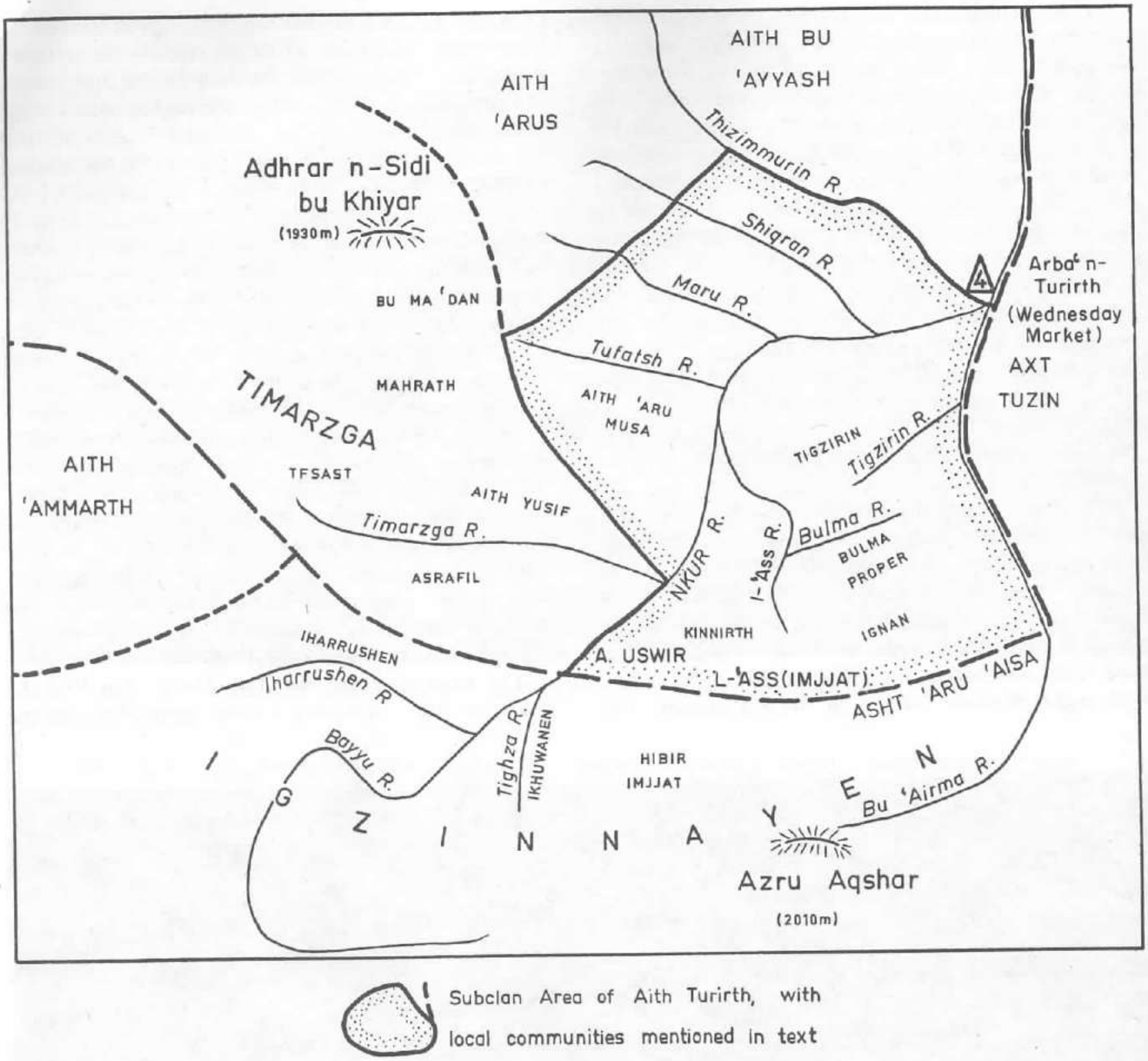
In the central Rif, the highest crest lies in the northern Igzinnayen, where peaks of 1600 m. and over are common and snow falls regularly in winter, as it does in most of Aith 'Ammarth and much of the Jbil Hmam massif to the north. In winter both the Igzinnayen and the Aith 'Ammarth have snow and some freezing weather, while most of Waryagharland, except for the highest parts of the Jbil Hmam, is considerably less cold. In the mid-Igzinnayen, also, the range ceases to be the Atlantic-Mediterranean watershed, and the ridge running from Marar and Adhrar n-Xuwin south to Azru Aqshar divides the drainages of the Wargha River (rising in the Sinhaja Srir and flowing southwest) and the Mulwiya (which is not only the boundary of the Eastern Rif, but is also Northern Morocco's only exotic river, rising in the Eastern High Atlas and flowing northeast into the Mediterranean).

The other rivers and streams of the Central Rif are all local, rising in the mountains, and they all change from mere trickles or sometimes virtually dry beds in summer to rain-swollen, raging torrents in winter, bearing vast quantities of mud toward the sea. There are perhaps twenty rivers or streams of this type from one end of the Rifian chain to the other, with eight of these located in the Rif proper. The Ghis and the Nkur are the longest rivers in the region, each being 70-odd km. The Ghis rises in the territory of the Sinhajan tribe of the Aith Siddat and passes east through Targist to enter Waryagharland, cutting deep gorges for over half its total length; it then descends to form the western border of the alluvial plain of al-Husaima and empties into the bay of the same name. The Nkur has its source near Ajdir in the Igzinnayen (where it is called by another name, Aghzar n-Bayyu); it flows due north, cutting a canyon through to the Igzinnayen-Waryaghar tribal border (at which point it assumes the name Nkur), then takes a northeasterly course down to Arba' Tawrirt. Here it turns due north once more, opening out into an alluvial meander at Tazurakhth and separating Waryagharland on the west from the Axt Tuzin (Tuzinland) on the east. Another 20 km. further north it is joined by the waters of the Thanda Hawa lagoon and becomes the frontier between Waryagharland and Thimsamanland. It finally empties into the Bay of al-Husaima, near the eastern end of the alluvial plain that is bounded on the west by the Ghis, and thus the Ghis and Nkur Rivers might almost be considered the boundaries of Waryagharland.

The Nkur has nine tributaries (see Map III), the Ghis only two; in each case the tributaries join the



View of Waryagharland from the Axt Tuzin, across the Nkur River Bridge at the Aith Bu 'Ayyash


AITH BU 'AYYASH
AITH 'ARUS
Adhrar n-Sidi bu Khiyar
(1930m)
Thizimmurin R.
Shiqran R.
Maru R.
Arbaʿ n-Turirth (Wednesday Market)
4
BU MA 'DAN
Tufatsh R.
AXT TUZIN
MAHRATH
TIMARZGA
AITH 'ARU MUSA
TIGZIRIN
Tigzirin R.
AITH 'AMMARTH
TFSAST
AITH YUSIF
Timarzga R.
NKUR R.
l-'Ass R.
Bulma R.
BULMA PROPER
ASRAFIL
KINNIRTH
IGNAN
IHARRUSHEN
A. USWIR
L-'ASS(IMJJAT)
Iharrushen R.
ASHT 'ARU 'AISA
Bayyu R.
Tighza R.
IKHUWANEN
HIBIR IMJJAT
IGZINNAYEN
Bu 'Airma R.
Azru Aqshar
(2010m)
Subclan Area of Aith Turirth, with local communities mentioned in text

Map III: The Upper Nkur Region—Aith Turirth and Timarzga

main rivers in their upper courses only. The irrigable zone of the Nkur River amounted in Spanish times to over 4,000 hectares; it is doubtless very considerably more today. That of the Ghis is only one-fourth of this, approximately 1,000 hectares, and for both rivers these zones are very largely confined to the plain of al-Husaima, which is studded with fig, pomegranate, pear, and other fruit trees, and crisscrossed by a very complicated network of irrigation ditches, the most important of which emanate from the Ghis; all of these were reinforced with concrete by the Spanish administration.[12] The plain of al-Husaima has great agricultural potential, and in fertility is unique in the Rif. Irrigation is carried out along the upper courses of both rivers in the areas of the tributaries, but it is not nearly so intensive, extensive, or complex as in the plain to the north.

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[12] The most impressive ethnographic work ever published by any Spaniard on the Rif is Emilio Blanco's incomparably excellent discussion of irrigation in the Plain of al-Husaima, written before the cement beds were put in the ditches. Cf. Emilio Blanco Izaga, *El Rif (2a Parte: La Ley Rifeña), II. Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939, pp. 99-136, as well as my own commentary on Blanco's ethnographic output: David M. Hart, "Emilio Blanco Izaga and the Berbers of the Central Rif," *Tamuda* VI, 2, 1958, pp. 171-237.

It may be seen from this brief consideration of hydrography and orography that the Rif is geographically oriented toward the Mediterranean, into which almost all of its rivers flow. The climate of the Central Rif is a mixture of Mediterranean and continental, with the former predominant. In the higher mountains, however, the climate becomes a bit more continental, and temperature changes from day to night are more drastic, sometimes as great as twenty-five degrees. Although this characteristic is attentuated on the littoral, it nevertheless supports Marshal Lyautey's famous definition of Morocco as "a cold country in which the sun burns." In the Kart region temperatures above 40 degrees have been registered, while in parts of the Sinhaja Srir, 10 degrees below zero is not uncommon in winter.

Humidity can be high on the coast, both in summer, because of dense mists that suddenly obscure the sun, and in winter, because of relatively abundant drizzly rains. Temperature contrasts are greater in the interior, where drizzles are scarcer and real rain more frequent. Snow is frequent in the Igzinnayen, the Aith 'Ammarth, and parts of the Jbil Hmam; but although it may be more than a meter deep, it rarely lasts over most of this area for more than two months, and melts even faster in the Jbil Hmam.[13]

Prevailing winds are westerlies and easterlies, and these may come in both summer and winter. Dust storms are uncommon, but I experienced a bad one in the upper Nkur valley on December 10, 1959. Rain falls in winter, from mid-October to April (and snow in the mountains between December and February); rainfall peak periods are usually between mid-October and December; and then again in March. During the rains, hailstorms also occur with some frequency; I well remember one at Imzuren, in November 1953, in which the hailstones seemed almost the size of golfballs and came down with corresponding force.

The above remarks apply to "wet" years; in "dry" years there is a drastic drop in rainfall. The worst year in recorded history was the winter of 1944-45, which brought what Rifians still shudderingly refer to as the "year of hunger." In the summer of 1945, the drought devastated the population, killing hundreds and forcing thousands more to walk to the nearest urban centers to look for work—which most of them, of course, did not find. In Tangier (and in Tetuan as well), for example, a "new" Rifian population sprang up overnight, as distinguished from the "old" Rifian population, descended from the Rifian garrison which the Moroccan Sultan Mulay Isma'il installed in Tangier in 1684 in order to re-stock the city after he forced the British evacuation of it (the British having occupied Tangier since 1661).[14]

Iron is extensively mined in the Iqar'ayen, in the Melilla-Nador area of the Eastern Rif, and in Spanish times it provided 63% of all the mineral resources of northern Morocco. In the Central Rif, minerals of value seem to be very sparse. The burnished slate and shale of the Jbil Hmam glitter deceptively in the sun against the dark reddish schistose background of the massif—which, viewed from the Thara Mghashth Pass, on top of the precipitous "toboggan run" beginning on the east bank of the Nkur, also contrasts vividly with the whitish marl of the mountains of Tuzinland and Igzinnayen. 'Abd al-Krim, at the height of his power in the early 1920s, made quite a to-do about the possible existence of precious metals in the Jbil Hmam merely because of this reflection of the slate, which can be seen from a great distance on a sunny day. It has also been the source of a good deal of speculation by amateur mineralogists, most of it pure fantasy. Domenech states that the Jbil Hmam is worthless as far as mineral resources are concerned[15] and the prevailing opinion among geologists and geographers would seem to endorse his view.

FLORA AND FAUNA

The northern slope of the Rif has a greater degree and variety of forest and plant coverage than the southern, and this contrast tends to be true of the northern and southern slopes of individual mountains as well. However, anyone traveling through the Central Rif by car will note, particularly after having passed through the Sinhaja Srir cedar belt, that large trees are conspicuously absent. The great bulk of the vegetation in the Rif proper consists of two kinds of tough, weather-resistant plants, lentisk (*Pistacia lentiscus*) and thuya (*Collitris articulata*); individual bushes may grow to twice the height of a man, but rarely more than this. There are any number of other shrub-like plants, such as the camel-thorn (*Ziziphus lotus*), the dwarf palm (*Chamaerops humilis*) in the Ibuqquyen,

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[13] The winter of 1964-65 was an exception: snow fell in the plain of al-Husaima; it was a meter thick along the upper Nkur valley and two meters thick in the Jbil Hmam and in Igzinnayen. I was told that never in living memory had so much snow fallen in the Rif.

[14] D. M. Hart, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Journal* vol. XI, No. 2, 1957, pp. 153-162.

[15] A. Domenech Lafuente, op. cit., 1942, pp. 23-31.

Environment of I-'Ass, Aith Turirth (1955)

and an allied tussock esparto grass (*Stipa tenacissima*) in the east. The fibres of the last two are used by Rifians to make sandals.[16] In the higher mountains (Igzinnayen, Aith 'Ammarth, and the Jbil Hmam), the holly oak (*Quercus ilex*) abounds; it is said that the Aith 'Ammarth and the neighboring Waryaghar subclan of the Timarzga enjoy eating the acorn, although nobody else does. Aleppo pines are abundant in the Igzinnayen, and at Thizi Ifri, and slightly less so in the eastern Jbil Hmam. Other trees include the oleaster or wild olive (*Olea europea*), the fruit of which is not eaten, and the carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*), the nuts of which are used as fodder for animals; these two trees have a virtually identical social function, to be discussed in Chapter 10. There are also juniper (*Juniperus oxycedrus*), arbute (*Arbutus unedo*) and lining the main road in the lowlands, that import from Australia, eucalyptus. Poplar (*Populus alba*), alder (*Alnus glutinosa*), tamarisk (*Tamarix africana*), reed (*Arundo donax*), extensively used in basket- and wicker-work, and oleander (*Nerum oleander*, the juice of which is used by women to concoct certain poisons) are all found along the banks of the upper Nkur River. Common sights in the plain of al-Husaima are the aloe plant, with its long, yellow flowered shoots, and up to a thousand meters, the virtually impenetrable hedge of prickly pear cactus (*Opuntia ficus indica*) surrounding every Rifian house. The cactus evidently diffused to Morocco from Spain, through Andalusian Muslim emigres, after the conquistadores brought it back from Mexico and the American Southwest, and Rifians consider its fruit a delicacy.

One herb, at least, should be mentioned: the marjoram (*Origanum elongatum*),[17] which grows in great profusion on the Jbil Hmam, attracts bees in swarms, and thus contributes to producing what is without question the finest honey in North Africa—and indeed the best I have eaten anywhere. It is said that during the Spanish protectorate, General Franco had two liters of marjoram honey from the Jibil Hmam flown to Madrid for the Pardo Palace every week. The honey from the Axt Tuzin, Igzinnayen, and Aith 'Ammarth is not as good as that of the Jbil Hmam, as it is derived from pennyroyal rather than from marjoram.

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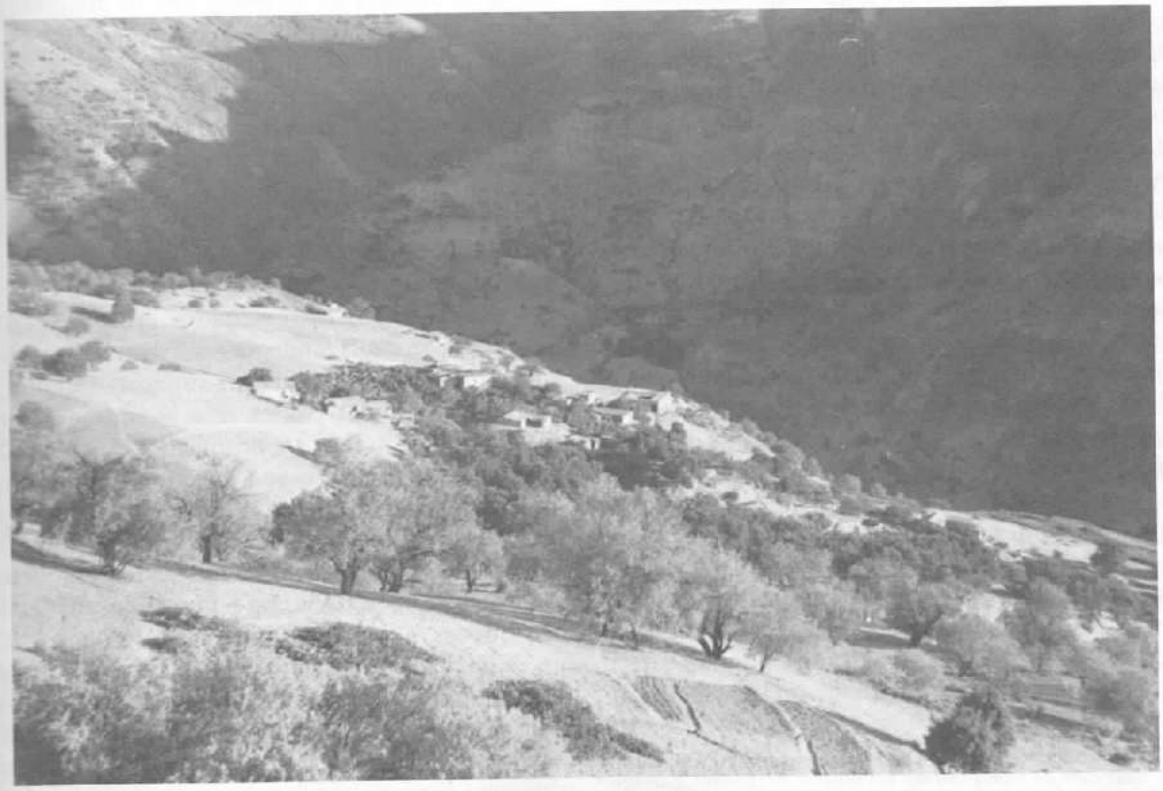
[16] I am greatly indebted to both Marvin Mikesell and to Gérard Maurer, the former in particular, for much-needed help on questions of Rifian botany. Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, Chap. II (P. 12-31) gives an excellent summary of the plant covering of northern Morocco, and in Chap. VIII of the same work (p. 95-116) he discusses the profound changes on the landscape (especially deforestation) which have been wrought by man.

[17] Kindly identified for me by Dr. Marvin Mikesell.

Clump of Aleppo pines seen from Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955)



Landscape at Asrafil, Timarzga (1954)

The fauna of the region can be quickly catalogued, and a most noteworthy feature is that large animals, like large trees, are absent. It has been attested that lions, very persistent in Berber folklore, once lived in the higher mountains; but there are none anywhere in North Africa today, and the last one was supposed to have been shot at Thizi Ifri in 'Ammarthland in the mid-nineteenth century.[18] Panthers also once inhabited the Rif, as the name of a community in the Igzinnayen, Taghirasth ("female panther"), attests; but they are now found in parts of the Central Atlas only. Informants have said that there are still some wildcats in the Rif, and striped hyenas as well (in Adhrar n-Xuwin of the Igzinnayen), but I have never seen either. Hyenas are commoner in the Gart Steppe than in the Central Rif, in any case, and an informant once told me that he ran over one with a truck at Zayu. Boar may still sometimes be seen roaming the higher peaks, but only in areas where scrub is abundant; their flesh is of course taboo to Rifians because of the Islamic injunction against pork. Barbary apes and mountain sheep (mouflon), common in parts of the Central Atlas, are not found in the Central Rif, although there are still many monkeys in the Ghmara region between Shawen and the coast. All animals prefer scrub, or better, forest cover in which to live, and as this is scarce in the Rif, large animals are scarce as well.

Jackals, however are found throughout the Rif, and in 'Ammarthland especially, two of them howling away on a summer night sound like a hundred; the same holds for foxes. Smaller animals are commoner still: hedgehogs, which figure in a plethora of Berber folktales and fables (there is a whole group of Jackal-and-Hedgehog stories—see Chapter 6); porcupines, supposedly (again, commoner in the Atlas); rats and mice; and hares and rabbits. The last-mentioned alone are hunted for their flesh, and ferrets are employed in the hunt. A Rifian rule of thumb is that all animals or birds whose flesh is taboo as food have medicinal properties in other ways. In any event, man's denudation of the landscape has severely diminished the animal life of the Central Rif.

Among birds of prey, there are several types of eagles or large hawks, two types of vultures, and owls (whose hooting is an omen of death). Crows, jackdaws, and cuckoos are very common, but storks, so often seen as birds of passage on the Atlantic Coast of Morocco, are rare or nonexistent. Edible wild birds include the Barbary partridge and the dove, both extremely common in the Jbil Hmam; of these the first are particularly delicious eating. All of them are regularly hunted, as are hares and rabbits, by groups of men carrying throwing sticks. Young boys snare small birds such as thrushes, redbreasts, dishwashers, larks, and blackbirds, but there is a food taboo on swallows.

The commonest reptiles in the Rif are frogs, which can be heard incessantly croaking wherever there is water, and toads and turtles, which lie across the main paths; small gecko lizards (considered holy because one of them is said to have saved the Prophet Muhammad's life), as well as somewhat larger ones (accursed because one of them pointed out the Prophet's hiding place to his enemies), scurry across the countryside, which they match in color; and chameleons abound as well. Snakes are generally treated as poisonous whether or not they are, even though the only poisonous snake in the area is the common European viper.

Like snakes, scorpions are invariably killed where found; but other insects, too numerous to mention, are not. The only ones of direct service to man are bees, for in the higher mountains many individuals keep hives. Yellow jackets, flies, and mosquitoes are merely an ever-present annoyance to the investigator, whose hands are too full when taking notes or photographs even to swat at them.

With the scrub or maquis-type Mediterranean vegetation (or lack of it) described above, the Central Rif from the air, and even in many places from the ground, resembles nothing so much as a crumpled piece of brown paper (Gellner's apt simile), on which animals as well as humans have a hard time getting a living. The crumplings and crisscrossing lines on the paper are the marks of a tremendous erosion responsible for deep canyons and gorges; their river beds are more often than not dry in summer, but they send torrents of muddy water into the main rivers, the Ghis and the Nkur, to be hurtled down to the sea with breakneck force and speed every time a storm comes up either during the rainy season or out of it (in three different years I have seen the Nkur flooded during the month of June). The upper Nkur may, under such conditions, be completely unfordable for as long as a month at a time. Although the point is debatable, it is hard not to speculate that the environmental factors responsible for the relative inaccessibility of these mountain tribesmen have also left their stamp on the people themselves and have fostered their particularistic and often turbulent way of life.

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[18] Cf. Andrés Sanchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifenas" *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos realizados durante el Curso de Interventores 1951–52*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos 1952, pp. 29–47.

A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF AGRICULTURE

Agriculture, both with and without irrigation, is the economic basis of Rifian life. It is supplemented and supported by animal husbandry, which, however, is always secondary. Aith Waryaghar and all Central Rifians are at once tribesmen and sedentary farmers who live the year round in fixed habitations; and it is this sedentary farming (or peasant) aspect of their existence that will be discussed. Transhumance and pastoralism are completely unknown.[19]

If one flies over the "crumpled piece of brown paper" that is most of Waryagharland, one sees that it is studded with tiny white squares, representing one-storied white-washed houses of mud and stone. These houses are widely dispersed, "like stars in the sky," as Aith Waryaghar themselves say;[20] each one is generally not less than 300 meters distant from the next, and often the distance is considerably greater. This distance between dwellings has aptly been described by Sánchez Pérez as the "minimal radius of vital space which a Rifian of good family must have in order to breathe freely,"[21] although this is in fact a somewhat one-sided interpretation.

As Emilio Blanco makes clear,[22] the configuration of the landscape and the availability of water very naturally play a major role in the selection of house sites; but the basic reason for this extreme dispersion of houses, one not mentioned by Blanco, is social rather than economic. Rifians in general and Aith Waryaghar in particular keep their women on a tighter rein, probably, than any other Circum-Mediterranean peoples, even the Kabyles. The structural implications of this fact are of extreme importance and relate directly to Waryaghar notions of what constitute honor and shame. The minimum distance between individual dwellings is constant throughout the area, and the stars-in-the-sky analogy is the first fact about Rifian morphology that strikes the observer. It is as true for the lowlands as it is for the highlands, for all of the Aith Waryaghar and their neighbors save the Targist, who are not properly Rifians in any case. The houses are located here, there, on top of this hill, on the side of that slope, or near the bottom of that ravine. Each one is surrounded by a clump of green, contrasting again with the brownness of the landscape: this is the wall of prickly pear cactus which at any altitude up to one thousand meters (above which it will not grow) surrounds every house to insure privacy for those within. The fruit of the cactus feeds the family and provides them with a minor source of water and nourishment in summer;[23] and the privacy reinforced by the cactus hedge is also underscored by the snarling and yapping curs of the owner of the house, whose open hospitality and invitations to visitors to drink mint tea and to eat tasty meat on skewers are a most pleasant relief after the hostility of his incessantly barking dogs.

Along the mountain slopes, beside or near each dwelling, lie the grain fields—green or yellow or stubbly brown patches, according to the season and the state of the harvest. Barley is the major crop and is grown everywhere, without exception; wheat is the secondary crop, except in the Jbil Hmam, where it is replaced by rye.

Rifian property and land terminology, as befits sedentary agriculturists, is both intensive and extensive. The generic Rifian word for "land" is *dhamurth*, and the initial distinction that Aith Waryaghar make about land is whether it is privately or collectively owned: *r-mishra'*, lit. "ford," or *dhamurth-nj—jma'th*, "community-land"—the "ford" is so called because it usually lies on the higher mountain slopes along the boundary between one local community and another and acts as a passage or ford between them. (The subject of land tenure will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.) Each kind of plot of land has its own name, those nearest the houses being called *igran*, and those further away, up the slopes, called *ifuras*. In the Jbil Hmam sub-clan of Aith Turirth, in the extreme southeastern part of the tribal territory where the bulk of the fieldwork was conducted, *igran* pre-

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[19] An individual who possesses two houses in different places is called *a'azzab*, and his second house—the one in which he does not generally live—is called *r-'azib*. In the Jbil Hmam, I know of only one instance of this; for "true" *i'azzaben*, as found amongst the Eastern Rifian tribes of Ibdharsen (M.A. l-Mtalsa) and Aith Bu Yihyi, are in fact transhumants. The existence of *'azibs* is to be distinguished from the far more common and important phenomenon of "split residence," in which part of a given lineage resides in one local community and another part in another.

[20] Cited by Valentin Beneitez Cantero, *Sociología Marroquí*, Ceuta: Imprenta Olimpia, 1952, pp. 38–39. The Rifian rendering of the quotation is *am ithran g-ugjinna*. Another valuable Spanish sourcebook of information on various aspects of Rifian (and North Zone) economics is Fernando Valderrama Martinez, *Manuela del Maestro Español en la Escuela Marroquí*, Tetuan: Editora Marroquí, 1952.

[21] Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Historicos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas," *Seleccion de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizades Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951–52*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29–47 ref. p. 32, and cited also by Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, p. 71, Note 2.

[22] Emilio Blanco Izaga, *La Vivienda Rifeña*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930 *passim*, a work superbly illustrated with line drawings by the author.

[23] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 47, is mistaken about cactus fruit being only a famine food; all Rifians eat and enjoy it, when it is ripe.

Panorama of Plain of Al-Husaima (1955)

View down toward Bulma from Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955) dominate over *ifuras* in all local communities except in l-'Ass, the community that I studied in greatest depth and detail, on the border of the tribal territory of Igzinnayen. Near the *igran* fields and never more than 200 meters from the house, is generally located the threshing floor, a level circular area surrounded by stones. Here, after threshing, the straw is gathered into a circular stack or silo with a pointed top, and it is weighted down with stones hung from cords tied to a stone at its peak, in order to keep it in shape. (This type of straw stack is peculiar to the Central Rif and has been noted with approval in recent years by French geographers as an elegant and economical hallmark of the ecology of the region). Any plot of land that is being worked is called *murk*, whereas any plot that happens at the moment to be lying fallow is (to its owner) *dhamarth-inu*, "my land." *D-Dimnith* is land that is apt to be manured, but is otherwise the same as *igar*.

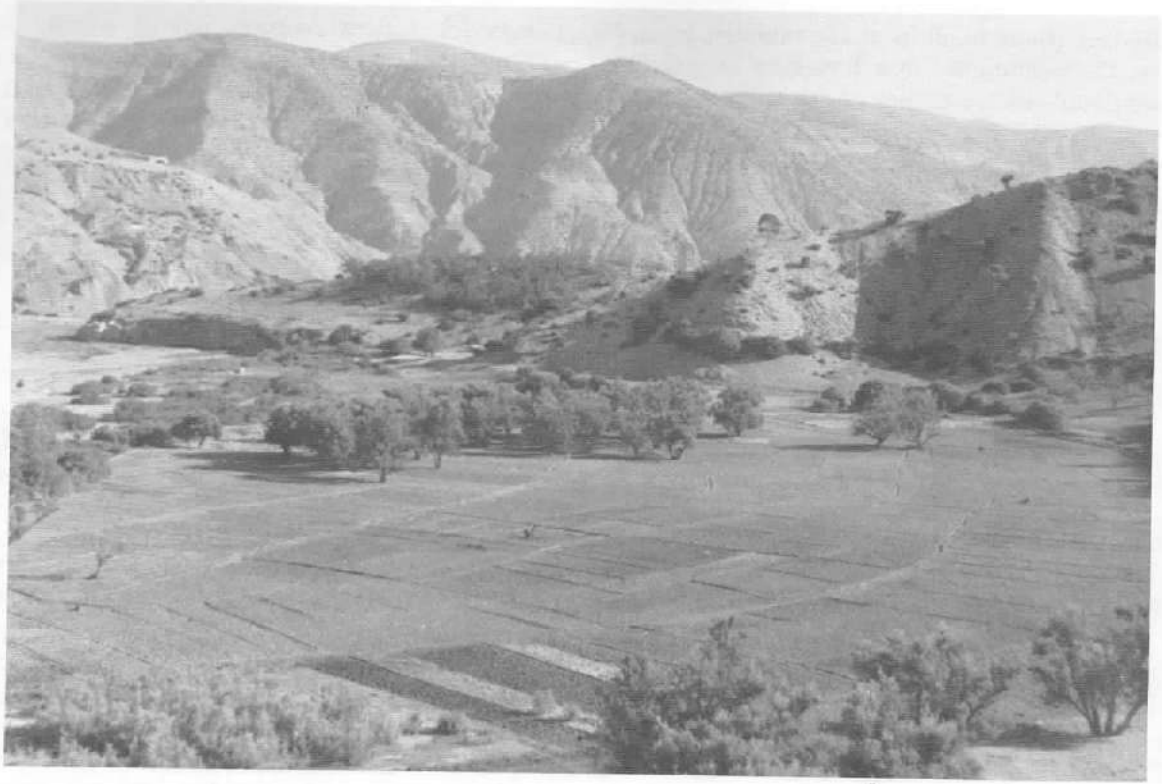
His house is the center of gravity of his *murk*, his property, for any dhu-Waryaghar (sing. of Aith Waryaghar) of the mountains; within this property he also has, lower down, his garden orchards which are irrigated land, *dhamurth w-aman* ("land of water"), as opposed to his grainfields, which are *dhamurth nj-bur*, or dry-farmed. The point here is merely that the characteristic extensiveness in terminology for natural features (all of which, without exception, are given names in Rifian) becomes intensive when dealing with those features that have been converted by human agency into a source of food supply.

All vegetables and all fruit and nut trees are grown on irrigated land, and the Rifian farmer is a very careful irrigator. Irrigation ditches are channeled out from the main streams in the mountains in order to water the major plots. Land belonging to the mosque of the community is generally in a category of its own, and it will also be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

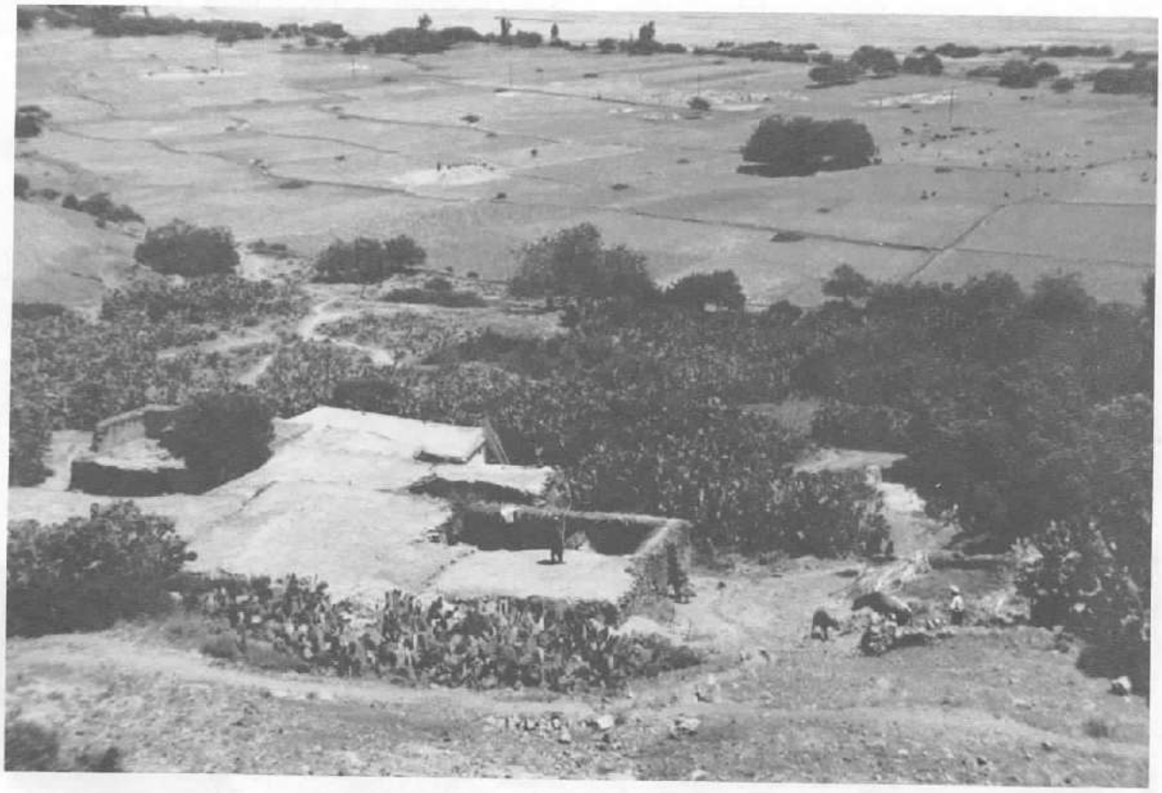
A dichotomy between *dhafiddjahth*, cereals (lit. "agriculture"), which are sown and plowed, and *khudharth*, all vegetable crops including trees, is often made. Certain trees such as figs (the commonest in the region and after barley, the second staple), olives, and even grapevines (the latter two mainly in the Jbil Hmam) may grow both in irrigated and dry-farmed land, but do better in the former.

The number and variety of crops that are grown is misleadingly impressive. Barley and figs are the staples throughout the Central Rif; the former is supplemented by wheat in the lowlands and rye in the highlands, while the latter are supplemented by a considerable range of other fruits. These include

Fig trees and irrigation ditch, Plain of Al-Husaima (1953)



Looking down on the orchard-garden of r-'Attaf, Aith Turirth (1954)



House and irrigated gardens in middle Nkur Valley, Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953) pears, peaches, pomegranates, apricots, quinces, and plums in the plain of Al-Husaima and grapes in the Jbil Hmam massif, in the Aith 'Arus and Timarzga subclan areas. Grapevines are also common in Igzinnayen, Aith 'Ammarth, and in the mountains of Thimsaman rising up east of the Waryaghar plain. Oranges are found in small quantities along the upper Nkur River valley. Almonds are found everywhere in Waryagharland, especially on the median slopes (where their blossoms literally light up the countryside when in season). Walnut trees, always grown under irrigation, are common in the higher parts of the Jbil Hmam, particularly Timarzga and Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar; they are found all over Aith 'Ammarth and the Sinhaja Srir as well. Apple trees are also frequent in the latter two areas but not in Waryagharland. Olive trees, though they grow, and in abundance, at a lower altitude then walnuts, are again primarily a diagnostic of the Waryaghar highlands, and each local community in the Jbil Hmam has its own olive grinder and oil press.

To round out this enumeration of crops, we only need consider the vegetables: maize, broad beans, green beans, lentils, tomatoes, onions, garlic, squash, eggplant, carrots, turnips, and peppers, as well as ground fruits such as melons and watermelons. Vetch is grown also as cattle fodder. Though all of these grow elsewhere, under irrigation, they are particularly prevalent in the plain of Al-Husaima.

This list is impressive, perhaps, because of the variety of crops grown and the care taken in growing them; but it is misleading too: the land itself may be capable of producing these crops, but it does so only in minute quantities, and it is poor—poor in that it is almost denuded of trees, incredibly eroded, low in rainfall, constantly overworked, and (today especially) heavily overpopulated. And the Aith Waryaghar themselves are fully conscious of all these factors and, even more, of their own personal poverty. As among farmers everywhere, the rainfall and the harvest are ever-present and ever-pressing topics of conversation; and six years out of seven, both are either mediocre or downright bad. The terrible drought of 1945 left a very lasting impression.

Horticulture and arboriculture supplement agriculture but do not supplant it, and the same is true of animal husbandry. In order of economic if not numerical importance, domestic animals include cattle, mules, donkeys, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, and chickens. Virtually every family, even the poorest, has a cow, a donkey and a few goats, all of them scrawny and undernourished. The two hunting animals, Salukis and ferrets, are uncommon, and horses are few since the terrain is for the most part too mountainous for them; even in the plain of Al-Husaima they are rare. Sheep are found only in the lowlands (as well as in the flatter country of the Eastern Rif); but even here they are outnumbered by goats at least two to one, and in the highlands, four or five to one. Apiculture is extensively practiced only in the Jbil Hmam, where the bees are attracted by the marjoram (*zui*), and all hives are individually owned.

HOUSE TYPES AND CONSTRUCTION[24]

Houses are made of adobe bricks or of mud and stone masonry, the former predominating in the plain and the latter in the Jbil Hmam, where there is too much wind and rain to use adobe. They are all built around central courtyards and are more or less square; all have flat roofs in contrast to the sloping roofs of the Sinhaja Srir and even some of the Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen to the west and south, where the altitude is higher and there is regular snowfall in winter. The overwhelming majority of Waryaghar houses have only one floor, but a very few houses here and there contain a second story as well; such houses are a visible indication of the relative wealth of the owner, or the fact that he has numerous sons or other agnates, or both. There is one such house in l-'Ass of Aith Turirth, the only one in the whole subclan area, but I have seen several others in various parts of the plain.

House dimensions vary, of course, but "average" dimensions are as follows: outside walls, 15m. × 15 m.-20 m.; wall height from ground to roof, 3.50 m. to 5 m., with variations depending on the degree of slope of the ground; thickness at base or foundations, 0.80 m., and above ground 0.50 m. The open courtyard around which the house is constructed measures about 9 m. × 10 m.; the main gate, about 2.50 m. high by 1.80 m. wide, is always placed on the side opposite the prevailing wind and opens directly onto the courtyard. In the center of the courtyard there is almost always an underground storage pit for grain reserves 2 m. square by 3 m. deep, with a sliding wooden door cover. Rifians say maliciously that they use their storage pits for the purpose for which they were intended, while Arabs use theirs as the family toilet. The flat adobe roof, held up by a cribwork of wooden rafters with a reed buffer, projects because the rafters are about 2 m. longer than the rooms they cover. This projection is supported by upright wooden beams

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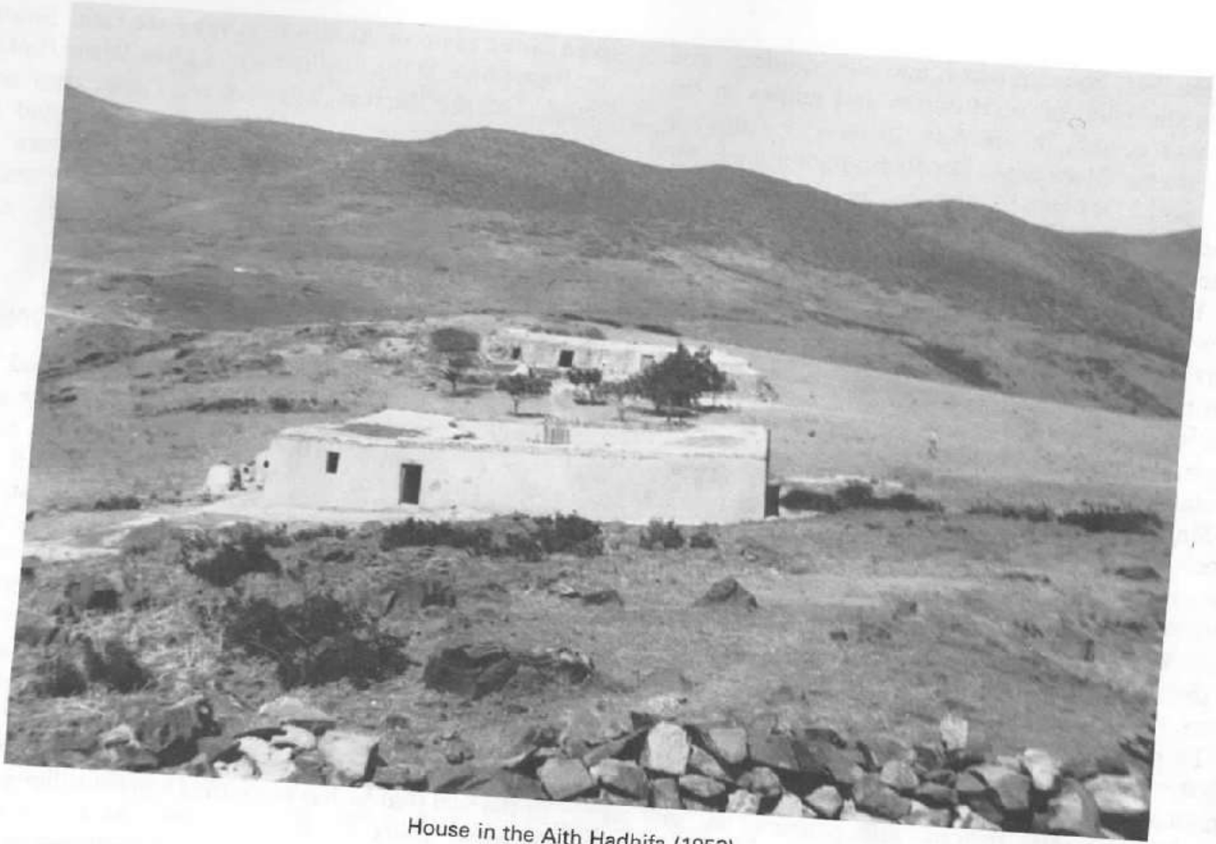
[24] Cf. also Emilio Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1930; Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 68-73; Francisco del Pino Oliva, "La Construccion en el Rif"; *SCPAI* 1950-51, Tetuan 1951, pp. 151-171; V. Beneitez Cantero, op. cit., 1952, pp. 39-40; D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1954, pp. 58-59; and M. W. Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, p. 76.

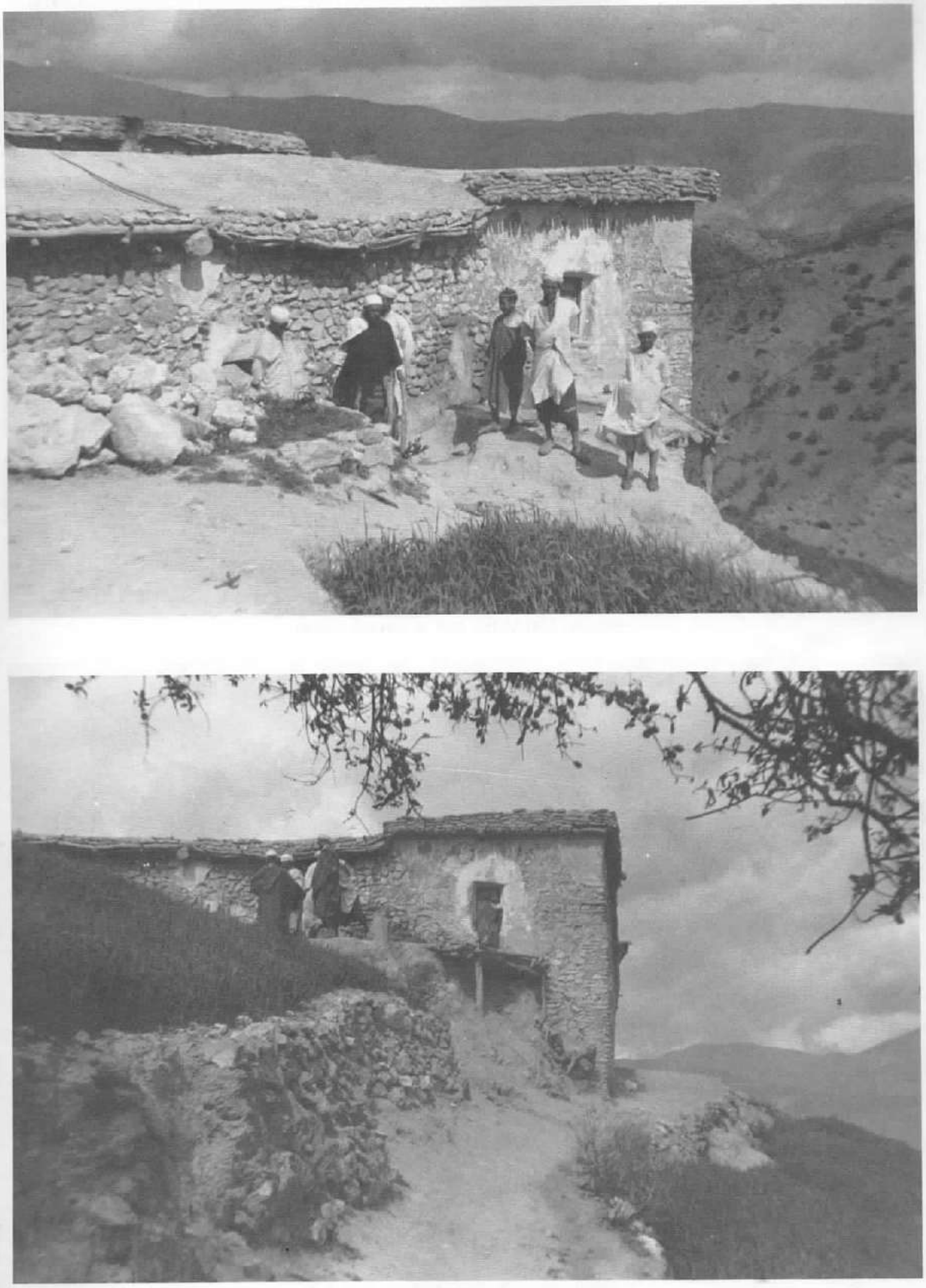


House in the Aith Hadhifa (1953)

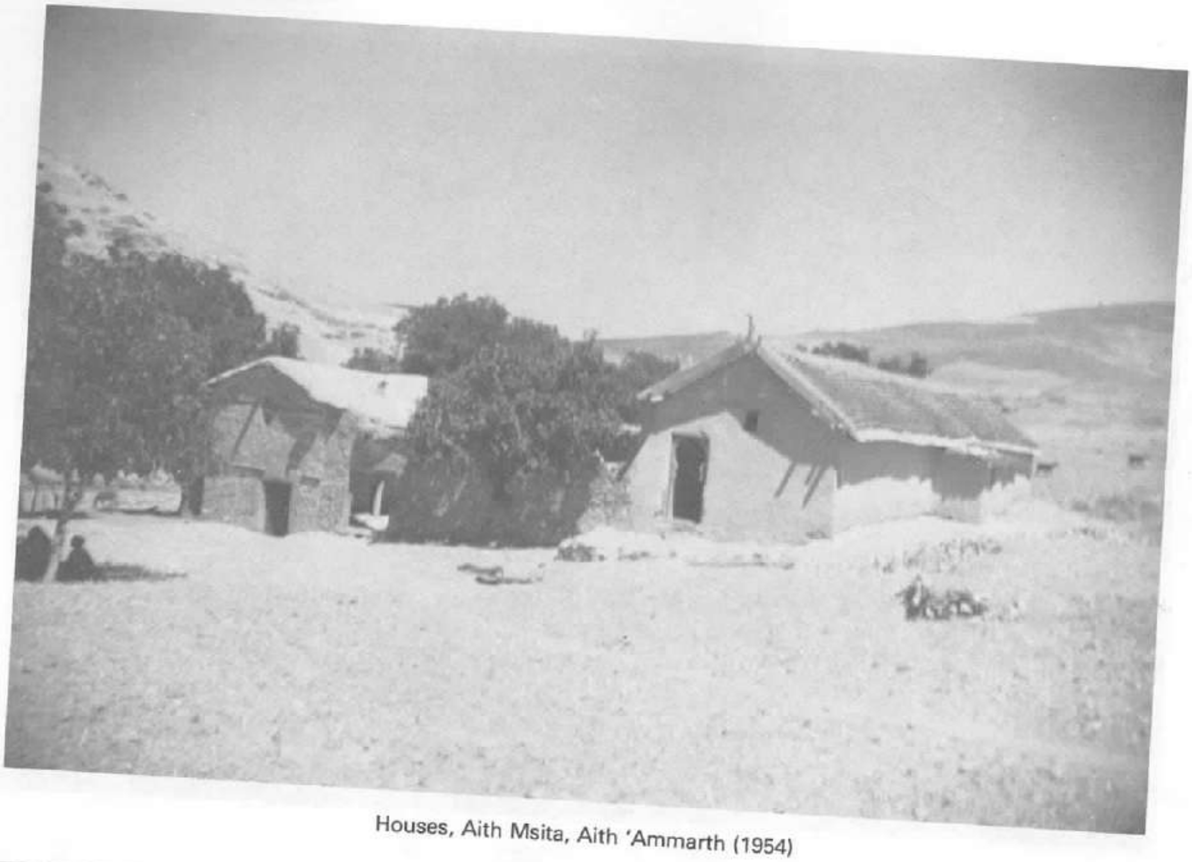
sunk into the ground of the courtyard, and in good weather it is used as a drying platform. Wooden gutters for catching rain water are placed at intervals along the outer perimeter of the roof.

Most houses have more than one room, two or three being average, although this of course depends on the size of the family. Apart from the guestroom, any normal house generally contains the following elements: an enclosed stable on ground level, in which the goats are kept at night; above this, a sleeping platform for members of the family, also used for storing utensils; a more open stable on ground level for cattle and/or mules or donkeys; and above this last, a simple loft used for storing jugs and pottery, and not used for sleeping. One room always contains the quern with which the women grind the grain. Rooms that are used only for sleeping generally contain slightly raised washstands with small drainage holes built in at the floor level. Floors and adjoining lower walls are painted by the women with a brownish paint extracted from burnt lentiscus bushes mixed with clay and water. The periodic whitewashing of the house with lime is also done by women. There is seldom more than one small window to a room, except in the guestroom. The houses of the poor still have firepits with smoke-holes in the roofs in all rooms but the guestroom.

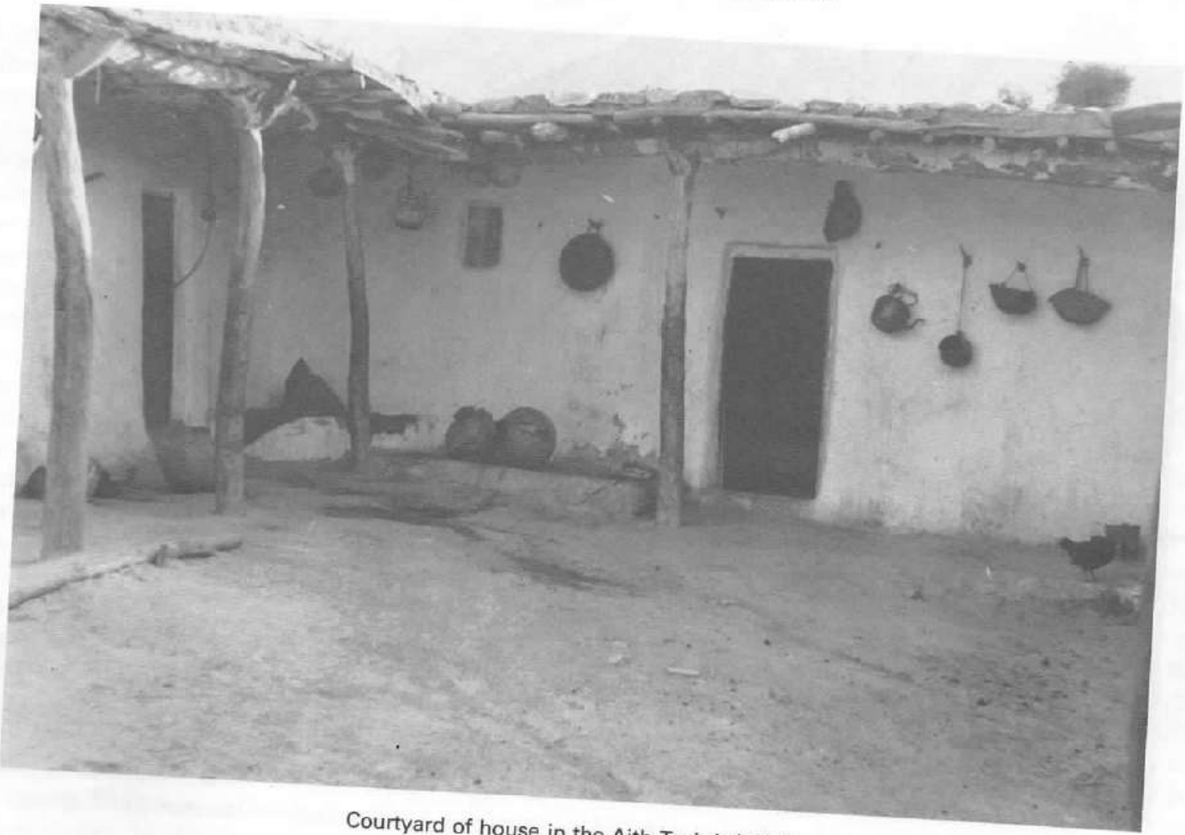
The guestroom is the main area used for social occasions and for entertainment. It is the exclusive preserve of the master of the house, for him and his guests, and access to it is always gained by a separate door very much smaller than the main gate. The separate door again insures that the women, who may be cooking or working in the courtyard, will not be seen by any outsiders (at whose approach they always flee in any event). The guestroom is the cleanest room in a house that is kept immaculate throughout; Aith Waryaghar themselves maintain scrupulous bodily cleanliness (to which ablutions before prayer contribute in no small measure), and although their houses are hardly free of flies, they are remarkably free of the lice, bedbugs, and other vermin common in certain regions of rural Morocco. The guestroom is one of the houseowner's most visible status symbols. Tribesmen of modest means may have low benches around the walls, while those who are better off have multicolored padded cushions, rugs, and wall curtains, none of which are locally made. The guestroom wall always has two or three paned windows larger than any other windows in the house. Everyone, no matter how poor, has a tea service, but with wealthier *shaikhs* or other tribal authorities the teapots, trays, and glasses all become more ornate. When I first began my fieldwork in 1953, a portable radio was already a highly prized



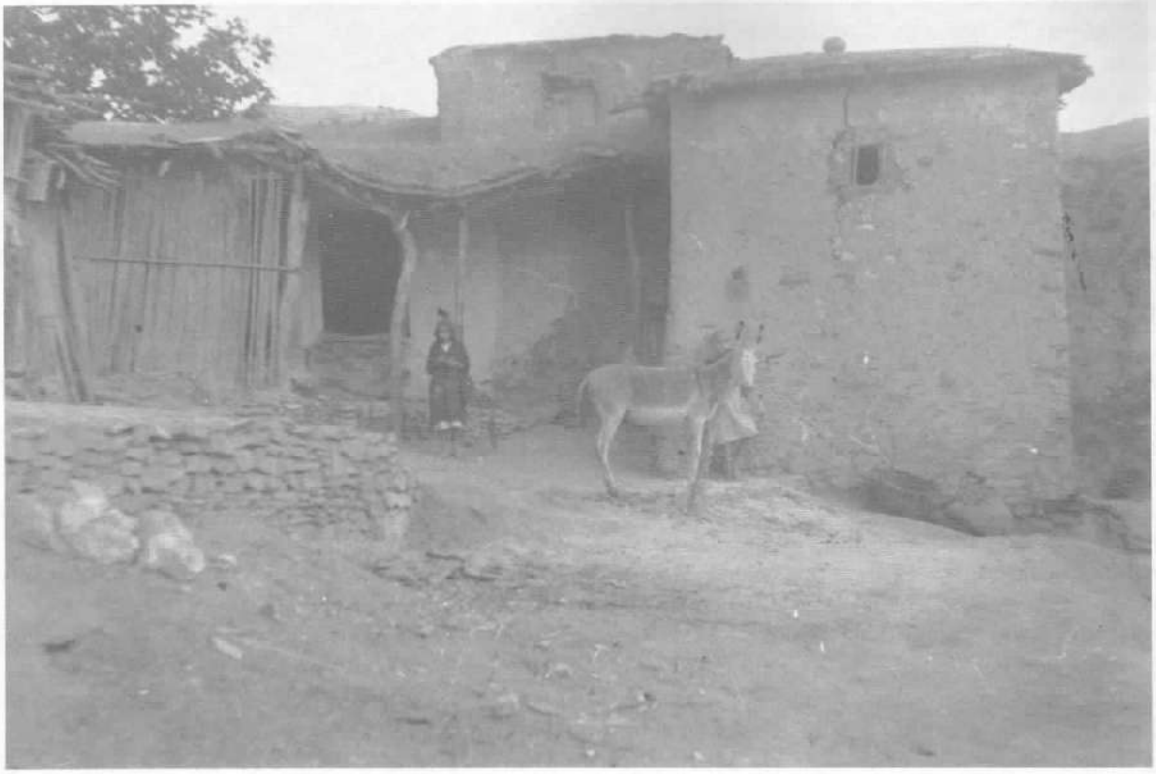
a, b. Two views of the house of the Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, lineage of Imjjat, in l-'Ass, Aith Turirth (1955)

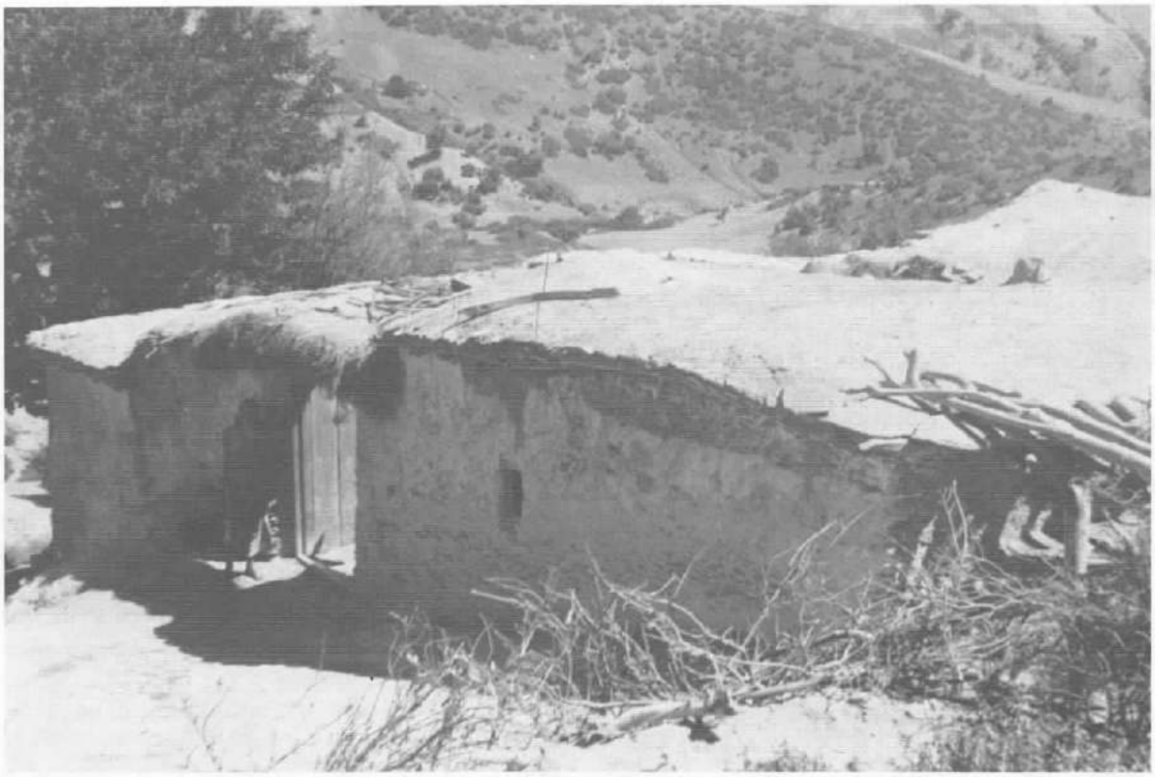


Houses, Aith Msita, Aith 'Ammarth (1954)



Courtyard of house in the Aith Turirth (1954)





a, b. Houses at Asrafil, Timarzga (1954) prestige item; now it has been replaced by the transistor. Nonetheless, the basic keys to wealth and respect are still, as always, the exercise of power and the ownership of land; other material possessions, as elsewhere in Islam, count for little except as visual symbols implying large property holdings.

Adjuncts to the house include a conical bread oven, usually located just outside the cactus hedge near the main gate; and on the least frequented side of the house, again beyond the cactus hedge, the manure pile. The family retiring ground, if there is one, is often a shelter of some sort on a hillside, protected by cactus, and some distance from the house; the women periodically burn maize stalks in it for fumigation. For the fieldworker in rural Morocco, finding a place where one can relieve oneself unseen is a constant trial.

A final adjunct to the Waryaghar house, but one that has not existed since 1922, when 'Abd al-Krim forbade it, was the pillbox (*ashbar*) of mud and stone masonry, about 2 m. square by 1.50 m. high, where the owner of the house could entrench himself in case of feud. The pillbox, which had a loophole, was situated so that a man sitting inside it had as commanding a view as possible of everything both below and above him and could pick off his enemies at will. This important structure will be discussed further in the chapter on bloodfeud.

A man who wants to build a house may either have his sons help him or call in a "master" mason (of which there were two in the Aith Turirth in 1954–55). The mason does the actual work of housebuilding, and he usually takes measurements either visually or with a string. The future owner and his sons, kinsmen, and friends bring in mud, stones, and other necessary building materials. Should a mason have helpers—and he needs at least three in order to build a house—the owner must pay the helpers as well.[25]

To start the proceedings on the first day of work the owner sacrifices a goat or a chicken at the spot where the house is to be built.

When construction of the house has been completed and the roof installed, the owner once again sacrifices a goat for all the kinsmen and neighbors who have been working on his house. (The crucial institution of *dhwiza*, a voluntary working party, will be discussed below in connection with certain agricultural operations.) Masons and their helpers are not only paid in money, but also given their food. If the building is done on a purely contractual basis, the owner does not help with the work, and it costs considerably more. In this case, the giving of a final feast is more common; this is not always done if the owner himself provides on-the-job help every day. It should be added that housebuilding is exclusively a male concern, and the only work women do on the house itself is to paint the floors and whitewash the walls, processes that must be repeated every two years or so.

FURNITURE, UTENSILS, FARM IMPLEMENTS, AND CLOTHING

An individual's movable property, including furniture, utensils, pottery, and farm implements—all except clothing—is called *tarika*. As indicated above, the furnishings in the guestroom—the size and sumptuousness of the carpets on the floor, of the wall hangings, and of the covered floor cushions lining the wall—are visible markers of the degree of wealth of their owner; and the same goes for the ornateness of his washing service, tea service, kuskus tub, and perhaps the mirrors and the hand-painted lithographs (of Morocco's two kings since Independence, or of 'Abd al-Krim) on the walls. In the other rooms of the house furnishings are not meant for display and are far simpler, and the rugs of the guestroom give way to mats. Large reed or wicker baskets, open at both ends, either 1.25 or 2 m. high, are kept in a room or in the courtyard to store either figs or barley, according to basket size; they are caulked with lime so that the chickens will not peck away at the barley. Men of certain lineages use reed, esparto, and palmetto to make rope and various sorts of containers, and their women make mats. Work in wood is done entirely by men, and a roster of wooden implements consists of most of the few agricultural tools: plows, the iron shares of which are made by blacksmiths, winnowing forks and shovels; handles for sickles, hoes or picks, billhooks, and hatchets (the iron blades of the latter again made by blacksmiths); mortars and pestles; and large wooden spoons for drinking curdled milk. The wooden parts of all these implements are made by the farmers themselves either of Aleppo pine or of holly oak wood.

Pottery, which women make by hand, deserves a special mention; for although extremely fragile, the pottery of the Aith Waryaghar is considered by connoisseurs to be about the finest of rural Morocco in decoration and design. The epitome of this craft, however, is perhaps the complete imitation tea service,

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[25] In Spanish times a mason was paid 15 ptas. a day and his food, and to build a house cost 10,000–15,000 ptas. Today (1967) a mason is paid 1500 frs. (or 15 Moroccan dirhams) per day, and to build a house costs nearly 400,000 frs. (4000 dirhams) if the owner supplies the materials. If he does not, it costs 700,000 to 800,000 frs. A helper in Spanish times was paid 6 to 7 ptas. per day; now he gets 500 frs. In Waryagharland as elsewhere, the cost of living has gone up.

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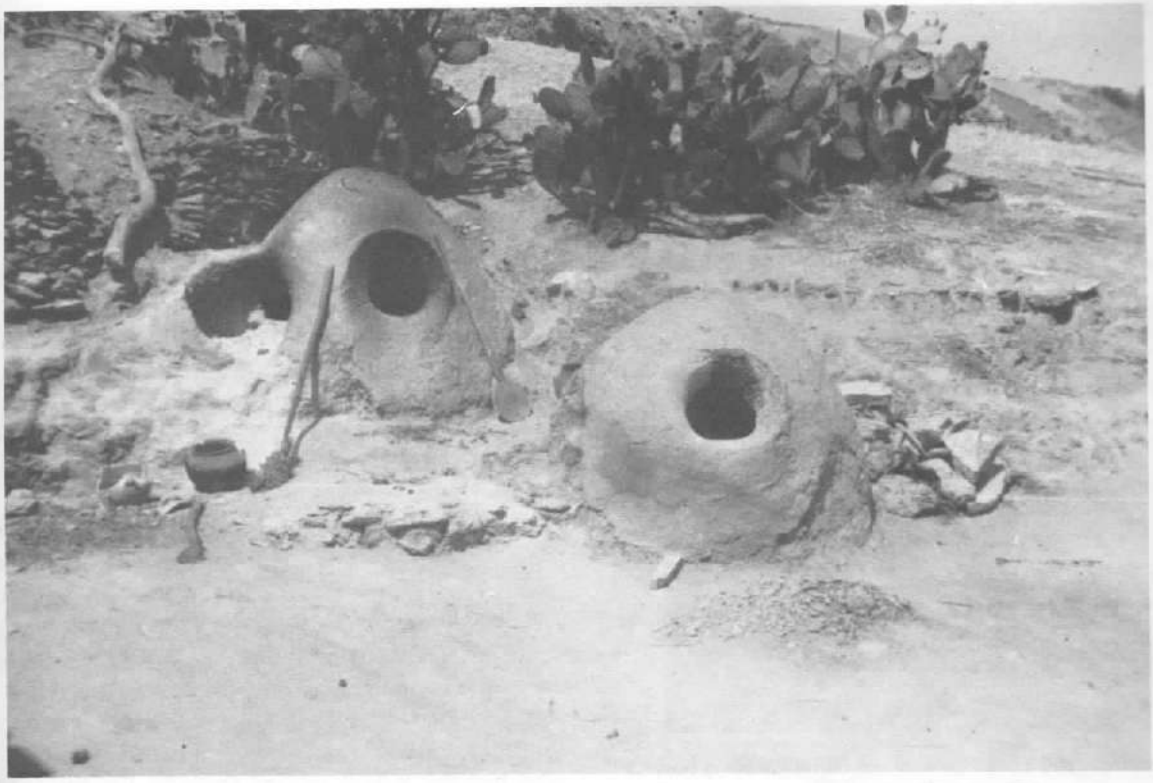
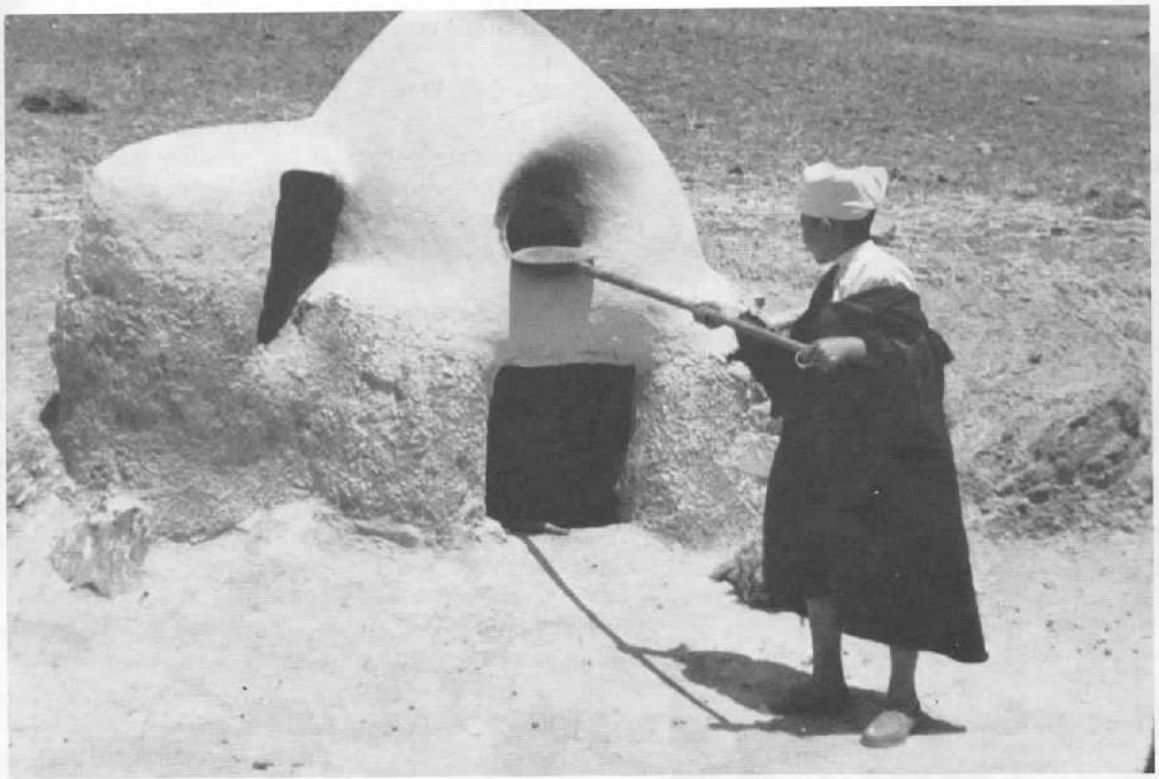
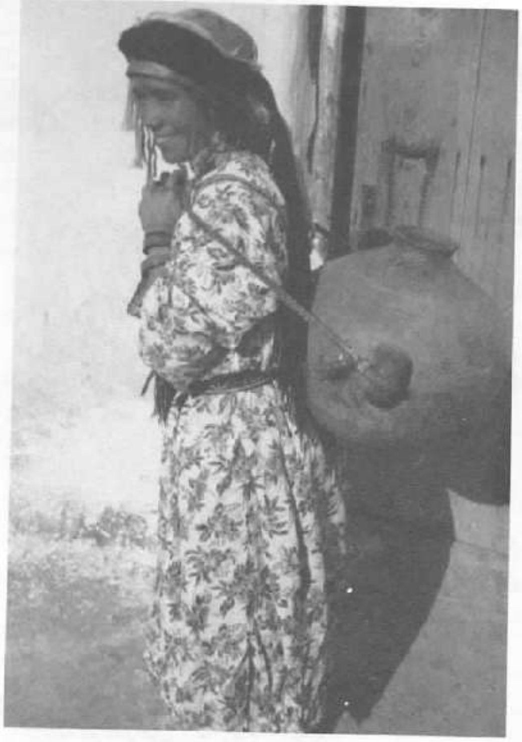


Bread ovens, Asrafil, Timarzga (1954)



Boy demonstrating how to shovel bread into oven, Ija'unen, Aith 'Ammarth (1954). This is in actuality women's work



Woman from the Timarzga subclan demonstrating how to carry a waterjug (1955)

Woman from the Timarzga subclan with mortar and pestle (1955)

with tray, glasses, and teapot—although this is usually the work of a male potter. Pots and jugs have a variety of uses as containers, and all are named, but the technique of manufacture is the same in all cases. The basis is a reddish clay found in special deposits. The potter takes out the clay she needs, wets it, and molds the pot by hand. She leaves the pot to dry in the sun for three days, then rubs it over with a pumice stone to smooth it out. It goes next into the "pottery oven," nothing more than a hole in the ground, where it is baked for one night with a fire of dried grass. The following day the potter paints the decorations with a mixture of dried lentiscus leaves and water; now the pot, tannish in color and with brown or black geometrical designs, is ready to be taken to market.

The combination olive grinder and olive-oil press and the turbine grist mill, along with the plow, are of classical (Roman) antiquity in North Africa. Though Aith Waryaghar disclaim knowledge of the grist mill until after the pacification (1926),[26] they recognized the olive grinder and oil press to be very old in the region. The latter is divided into three parts: a mill, a press, and a vat. Three men are needed to turn the handle, which passes through the millstone and is fixed through a central upright revolving post. The handle acts as an axle on which the upright discoidal millstone revolves like a wheel as it is pushed around the central post, crushing the olives on a large flat stone in which the lower end of the post is fastened. The apparatus is employed both for bruising the olives before pressing and for grinding the pressed olives later into a pulpy cattle fodder. A fourth man is needed to comb out the pressed olives. The main part of the press is a big log secured by heavy wooden screws that are turned to force the log down on baskets filled with olive mash. Two men are needed here: one to load up the baskets and take them to the press and another to turn the press screw. The olive grinder and oil press are apt to be the collective property of the *jma'th*, the adult male members of the local community, although sometimes they are individually owned. In either case, any stranger who comes during the season may press all the olives he wishes, but he must give one liter of olive oil per day to the owner or owners of the press.

The most common mill is the hand quern mentioned above; it consists of a cylindrical upper stone, turned with a wooden handle, and a stationary lower one; usually the first thing one hears on waking early in the morning in a Rifian house is the dull, whining

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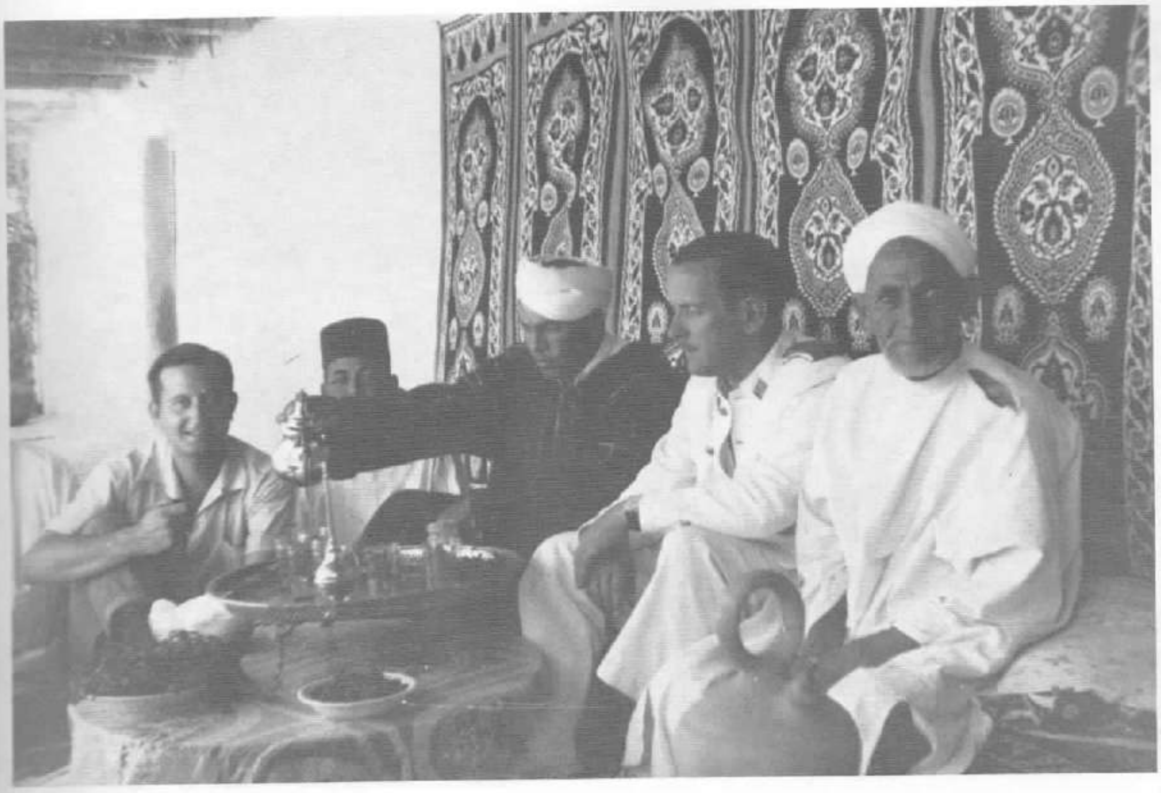
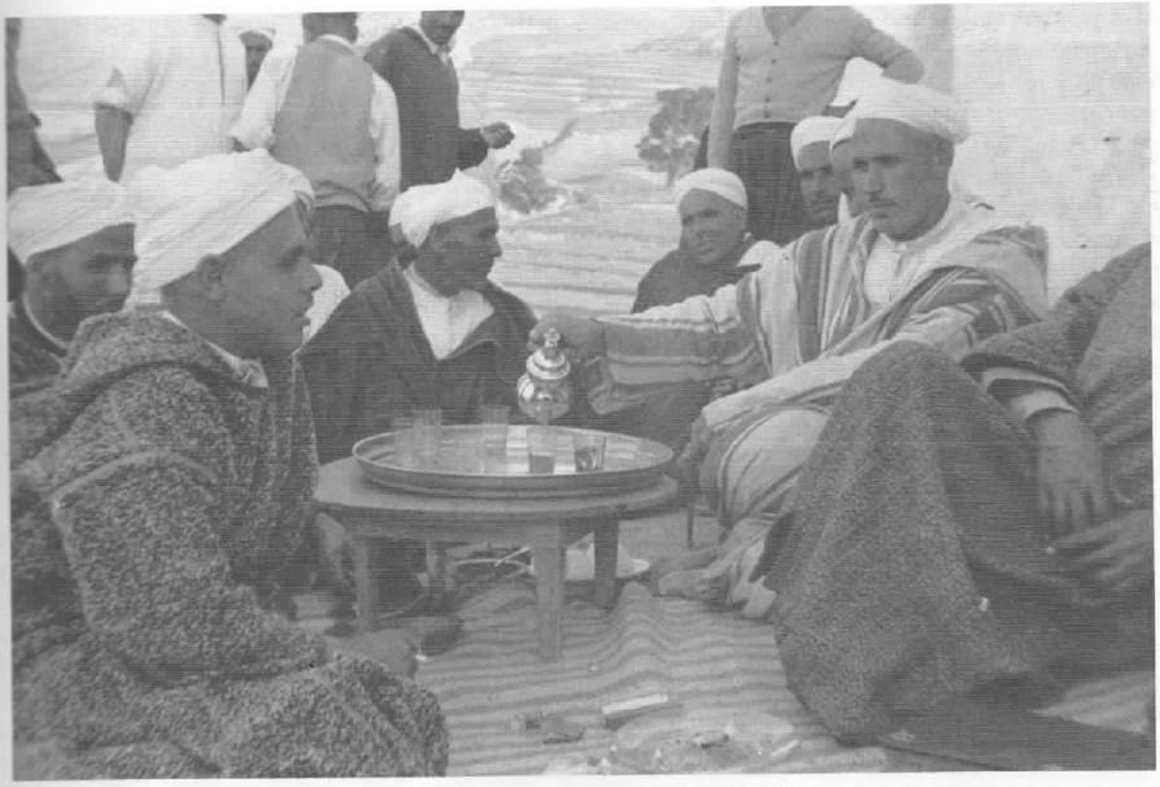
[26] Cf. Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, pp. 83–5.



Tea served at house of the Qaid Abarqash (at far right) of the Aith 'Abdallah, with a Spanish officer and doctor present (1953)



Serving tea at Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955)

Tea drinking at Ignan, Aith Turirth (1955)

sound of a woman milling the grain in another room. Where water is abundant, there are also vertical turbine grist mills, always located, in Waryagharland, beside one of the two major rivers. A spoked turbine wheel is attached to the upper of two millstones (about 80 cm. in diameter), a hopper is placed above the stone, and a feed slot is jiggled by this upper stone so that the flow will be even. The lower stone is slightly larger than the upper and is bordered with a raised rim that is cut off in one place so that flour may be taken out. The whole apparatus is built within a small adobe and stone house that is impossible to enter without getting literally covered with flour. Turbine grist mills, unlike olive presses, are without exception individually owned, and they must be built by specialists of whom there is a family in Igar Umarwas of the Axt Tuzin. Once the mill is set up, the owner receives one-tenth of all the flour that others grind in it, and if he has one assistant, the latter receives one-fourth of the owner's one-tenth share.

The important point about this roster of furniture, tools, and implements is that they are relatively few in number and simple in type, and are all made by the people themselves.[27] Mikesell tellingly observes, in this connection, that "long established habit opposes change. There are some general reasons for conservatism, such as the abundance and cheapness of manpower and the stagnation of industry. There are specific reasons as well: the prevalence of steep slopes, of small plots where only handwork is possible, and the difficulties of hauling heavy equipment through mountainous terrain."[28]

The basic male garment is a woolen cloak with hood and sleeves, called "jillaba"; it is usually either pepper-and-salt or brown in color and reaches down more than halfway between knees and feet. Before 1926 the Aith Waryaghar, and indeed the general Rifian, jillaba was only of the dark brown type, reached only to the knees, and was covered on the front, chest, and shoulders with embroidery and tassel decorations; but this type, which originated in the Rif, was abandoned there after the Spanish occupation, though it still survives in the Jbala and Ghmara. Underneath it are worn baggy knicker-length trousers of white or blue cotton cloth (formerly of wool) that fit snugly at the knees, and over the trousers is worn a long white cotton nightshirt. A belt through the trousers carries the wearer's leather scrip; before 1926

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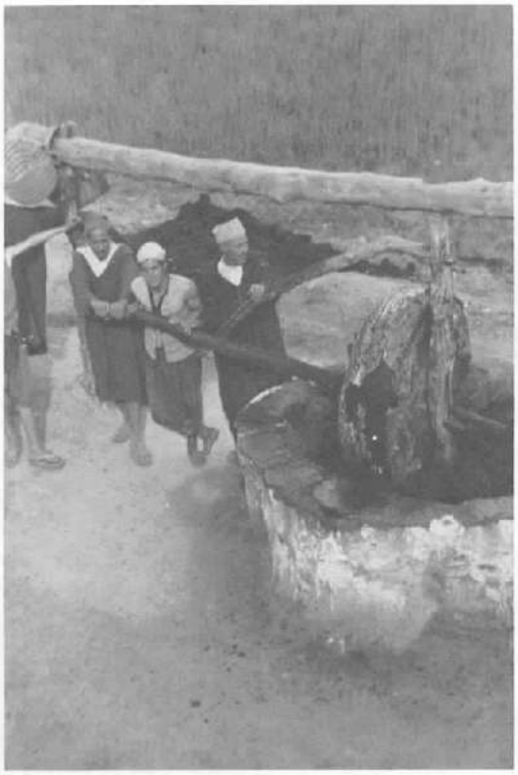
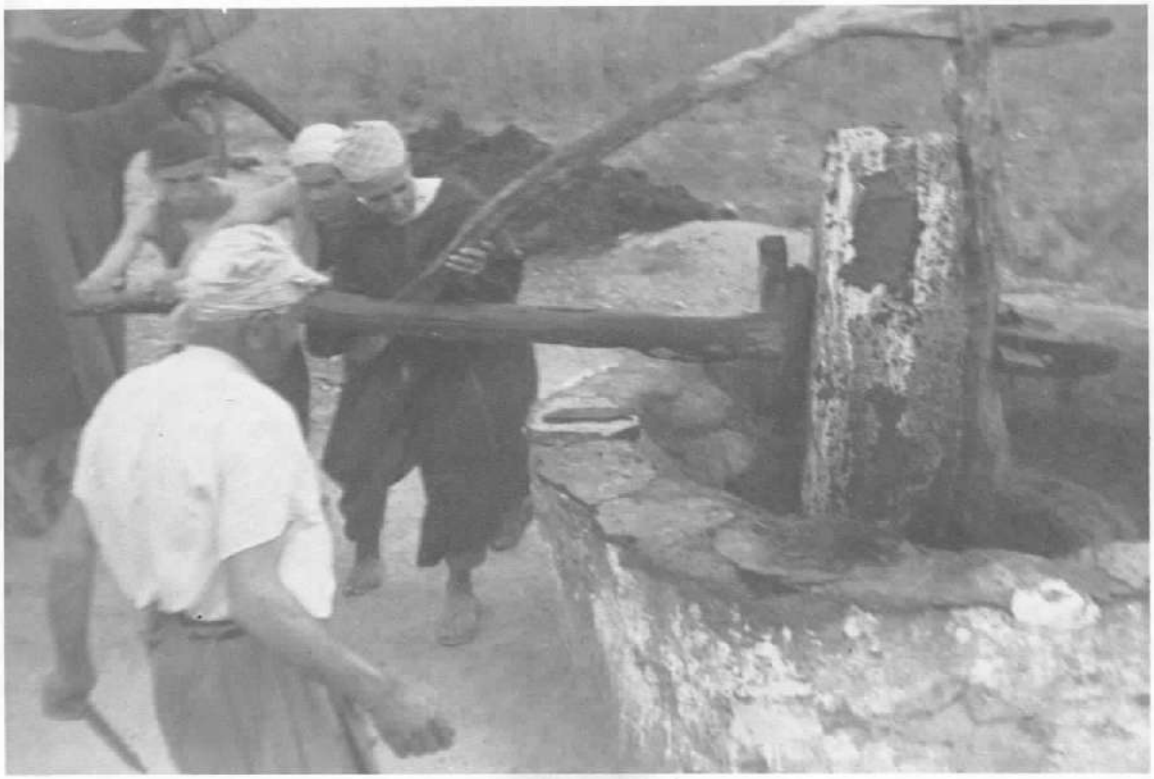
[27] Detailed descriptions of all of them may be found in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 51–54, 64–79.

[28] Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, p. 83.



a man would wear this over the jillaba on the right side with a strap over the left shoulder; on his left side he wore a long straight knife that he could grab from its sheath with his right hand.

Today the normal headgear for men is a white cotton turban, very neatly wrapped and tied, worn about two fingers' breadth above the eyebrow and usually covering the crown of its wearer's shaven head. (During the "Ripublik" the turban worn by high-ranking *shurfa*, or descendants of the Prophet, was green, and the rest of their clothing, including the jillaba, was white.) The turban and jillaba, along with a beard, are the most visible marks of manhood. But the cotton turban, again, is recent: before 1926 Rifians all wore a short woolen turban which left the crown of the head bare, and below which protruded the end of the wearer's scalplock. The part of the head from which the scalplock grew was, in any given part of the Rif, an easy way to identify the tribe of the wearer: the Aith Waryaghar all wore theirs in the middle of the occiput, while the Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen for example, wore theirs on the right parietal. But 'Abd al-Krim, in one of his many reforms, ordered scalplocks to be shaved off in 1922. By 1926 and



a, b. Pressing olives, Aith Bu Khrif, Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1954)

Pottery for sale at the Sunday Market of the Ibuqquyen at Rwadi (1954)

Pottery (1955)

pacification, if Coon is correct,[29] some men were wearing them again, but they did not do so very long; by the time of the beginning of my own fieldwork in 1953, scalplocks were very definitely a thing of the past. It is perhaps of interest, however, to note that the Central Rif was the one part of Morocco where grown men wore scalplocks; in many other regions boys still wear them but shave them off at puberty.

Men's footwear traditionally consisted of palmetto or esparto grass sandals, and the cord between the big and second toes denoted the wearer as a man from the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth, or Ibuqquyen, while cross straps indicated the Igzinnayen, Axt Tuzin, or Thimsaman. Esparto sandals went out at Independence, however, and tennis shoes, which had been competing with them during the Protectorate, took their place. Yellow Moroccan slippers, or "babouches," have also long been worn, and in winter farmers and goatherds in the Jbil Hmam wear cowhide buskins as a protection against mud, rain, and occasional snow.

In Spanish times many younger men had already adopted light cotton jillabas—blue, black, white, or striped—for summer wear; they also took up red tarbushes or fezzes (which to my mind looked somewhat incongruous above the often Irish-looking countenances of the Aith Waryaghar) though many were also wearing the so-called Ibuqquyen woolen skullcaps. Since Independence, more and more young men have gone over to Western-style clothing. One sees all sorts of combinations; a man wearing a turban with an old army jacket and blue jeans, a man wearing a suit topped with a jillaba but no turban. During Spanish times it became more and more difficult to tell a man's tribe or origin from the way he dressed; now it is impossible.

This is not true, however, for the women, whose conservatism in dress, as in speech and in many other ways, is greater than that of the men. Before pacification, Aith Waryaghar married women wore a white woolen dress fastened at the shoulder with heavy silver clasps; when cotton and silk came in with pacification, they adopted the *dhaidhwarth*, a bright colored (yellow or red) silk outergarment with sleeves, reaching between knees and feet, as well as baggy women's cotton trousers, which they had not worn previously. For festive occasions they wear a white, virtually transparent outergarment over the *dhaidhwarth*. At their waists they wear a broad red woolen belt, going over both garments. All women, whether single or married, wear a silk headscarf; showing beneath this, across the forehead, is a thin band made of the hairs of a mule's tail and often studded with silver coins. However, one can tell married women from single women at a glance by what they wear over the headscarf: a single girl wears a wide brightly embroidered headband tied in back, with its widest part above the middle of the forehead; a married woman wears over her headscarf cords of black wool tied in place to her hair (which is always kept completely covered) at the nape of her neck; these cords hang down her back in two separate braids. Women normally go barefoot, but for weddings and other festivities they often wear gaily decorated red, green, or white leather slippers; today they sometimes wear rubber or plastic shoes in red or blue. Cheap jewelry necklaces and the like are always worn; if women still retain the silver shoulder clasp and the silver anklets that their mothers or grandmothers once wore, these are kept as heirlooms. There is no silverwork today to speak of, as it was all made by Jews, and they departed the Rif for Israel shortly after Independence; moreover, the work that Jewish silversmiths were producing in late Spanish times was very much inferior in quality to what their fathers produced prior to 'Abd al-Krim. Good Rifian jewelry is today an extremely scarce commodity.

All girls have their ears pierced for earrings at a young age. All married women wear antimony around their eyes and put henna on their hands and feet for feasts. Tattooing, especially on the chin in a kind of railroad-tie marking, was always performed (as was ear piercing) by older women on unmarried girls as a virtual prerequisite for marriage. It is said that when the "Romans" came, Rifian men fled from them, and women tattooed their arms and faces as a sign of shame and the custom has continued to this day.

Small boys wear cotton jillabas, and in Spanish times often wore a handkerchief tied around their head in lieu of a turban; today many wear rugged shirts and shorts. Small girls wear a *dhaidhwarth* and headscarf. Both boys and girls are generally barefoot.

DIET

Two initial points must be made about Aith Waryaghar diet: (1) as Rifians in general are both poor and frugal, they can generally afford to buy the meat they adore (particularly mutton, then goat or beef) only once a week, on market day;[30] (2) the usual

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[29] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 128. On this page Coon also gives 1924 as the date of 'Abd al-Krim's order to dispense with scalplocks.

[30] An unpublished Spanish administrative report by Capt. J. R. Erola aptly characterizes them as "frugal, but capable of devouring a whole sheep on feast days."

Muslim taboos regarding pork, boar, and alcoholic beverages, as well as the special Malikite taboo on the meat of horses, mules, and donkeys, of course apply.[31] The Waryaghar family has three meager meals a day:

Breakfast, eaten about 8:00 a.m. at the latest. It invariably includes bread and whatever vegetable solids there may be in the house (lentils or potatoes) and always either a glass of heavily sugared coffee (often with pepper thrown in) or equally heavily sugared mint tea (the national Moroccan drink)—generally, for breakfast, the former. The solids are eaten only in sparing quantities.

Lunch, eaten at 1:00 or 2:00 p.m. Again, it consists of whatever may be at hand, plus tea. While in the fields, the man of the house eats his loaf of bread and the dried figs he has put in the hood of his jillaba, and the children who are pasturing goats on the slopes eat whatever they have been given. Only the women eat in the house at midday under normal circumstances.

Supper, eaten at 8:00 or 9:00 p.m. It is the major meal of the day (if guests have not been invited to lunch). The main (and usually the only) course is a stew (*tajin*) consisting of goat meat (or less often, mutton, which is more expensive) and vegetables (potatoes, tomatoes, onions, and peppers), swimming in rancid olive oil. If no guests are present, the family usually eats together, but many men eat alone, having their wives bring them their food. Should any male guest be present—and the ideal Aith Waryaghar guestroom is like a railroad station in that men flow in and out of it at virtually all hours of the day and night—the sex segregation that is so extremely important in this society comes to the fore, and the women are hardly ever heard, much less seen. On less formal occasions—such as dinner on the evening after the market, when kinsmen, friends, or neighbors often drop in—the host eats with his guests, and his male children may also be present. All eat with their fingers out of the same bowl, using bread to scoop up the gravy: commensality fortifies the egalitarianism so apparent in the social structure. Mint tea, of course, is always served.

On more formal occasions, when outside guests may be present, the host does not generally eat with his guests but brings in the various dishes successively with the help of his son or a servant. After all have washed and dried their hands with the service and towels (*tas*) passed around, the senior or most distinguished guest (always a Muslim, never the Christian anthropologist visitor)[32] then breaks the round loaf of bread into four quarters, saying the *Bismillah* ("In the Name of God") formula. For these formal dinners, delicious meat on skewers (*shwa*, cooked with garlic, olive oil, and parsley) always precedes the usual stew, which is then followed by *siksu* or "couscous," the national Moroccan dish (semolina mixed with rancid butter, and with vegetables and either chunks of mutton or a split boiled chicken spread over the top). If more guests are present than can eat out of any one bowl, other bowls are placed around the room for the remainder, and the most "important" guests are always served first. Aith Waryaghar have always eaten "couscous" with wooden spoons, and the usual Moroccan method of rolling it into balls and popping it into the mouth is one at which they have never been adept.

All this may be followed by bread with butter and Jbil Hmam honey, and then by fruit. Finally, the hand-washing service is passed around once again, and tea is prepared by the host.

In smaller gatherings, lentil soup or dried meat may take the place of the stew, and pancakes cooked in rancid butter may take that of bread: sardines (the only fish eaten by Rifians) purchased that day in the market may be fried in parsley, garlic and olive oil to substitute for meat on skewers.

Although there are no cross-sexual food taboos, almonds and mint tea are said to produce potency in men, and walnuts and coffee are said to produce a corresponding fertility in women. Statements of this kind, however, are usually uttered tongue in cheek, for men eat walnuts and drink coffee, while women eat almonds and drink mint tea—though preparation of the tea is normally a man's job. (Walnuts and almonds are often served in the same bowl in any case.) Fried eggs are also thought to induce potency in men, for Rifians share with other Mediterranean peoples the tendency to classify eggs (*dhimddjarin*) with testicles (*iminyaren*).[33]

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[31] The Malikite rite is one of the four "rites" or "schools" (*Madhahib*) of Orthodox Islam, following the teachings of Malik b. Anas (b. 709-15, d. 795), and is that which is regionally followed throughout North Africa. Whether or not this means that the other three Orthodox Muslim rites (Hanafite, Shafi'ite and Hanbalite) in fact allow consumption of the meat of these three animals, I do not know, but the question seems somewhat academic.

[32] Any guest is termed *anibji*, pl. *inibjiwen*, but Aith Waryaghar catagorize guests in three strata of descending order: 1) *inibjiwen n-ixarri*, "ram guests," including (a) *shurfa*, (b) council members or *imgharen*, and (c) any tribal authorities; 2) *inibjiwen n-tiyazit*, "chicken guests," including (a) friends or kinsmen of the host, and (b) the *fqih* or quranic schoolmaster of the community mosque; and 3) *inibjiwen n-tamriqth*, "soup guests," including the *jma'th*, the member of the community, in general.

[33] This same classification exists in Central Atlas Berber, where *tiglai* has both meanings, and in Spanish, where *huevos* also has.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

The very extreme segregation of the sexes in Waryagharland has already been mentioned as a social fact of cardinal importance, as well as a most obvious one, there for all to see. Equally obvious is its linkage to Islam; but whether it is wholly and entirely attributable to Islam or whether it may to some extent be the regional expression of a generalized Mediterranean behavior pattern is hard to say. The sexual division of labor is rigid; not only are the sexes physically segregated in their work, but men's tasks are men's only and women's tasks are women's only, the members of each sex having very sharply defined prerogatives regarding the tasks they perform.

Aside from three minor tasks performed by women, agriculture, the dominant activity, is as exclusively a male concern as is herding among Bedouins. Men sow and plow the land,[34] they reap, thresh, and winnow the harvest; they plant and pick the vegetables; they plant and care for the trees and pick the fruit; they do all the irrigating, and repair the ditches whenever necessary; they build the houses; they make the charcoal (from brushwood the women have cut and brought in); they grind and press the olives; they operate the turbine grist mills; they take the manure from the manure pile to the fields; they do all the repair work on paths between communities, as well as all (government-sponsored) work on roads; they do all the reed, palmetto, and esparto work (save mats, which are made by women); they breed cows with bulls (preferably a man's job; the breeding of donkeys occurs in the market); and, last but not least, they prepare mint tea for guests.

The three women's tasks that overlap into the men's agricultural domain are helping with the reaping (in a group apart from the men), collecting the bales of cut grain stalks and carrying them to the threshing floor, and picking grapes and figs. As for the work that is considered theirs alone, women grind the grain in the hand quern; they bake the bread in the ovens just outside the courtyard of the house; they prepare the meals; they clean the house; they wash the clothes; they fetch water, early in the morning and early in the evening, in large jugs that they carry on their backs with ropes; they whitewash the house and paint the floors of the rooms with burnt lentiscus sap; they carry in the brushwood on their backs (boys or even men may do this, but only if much wood is needed for a feast, since this is categorized as women's work); they take the manure to the manure pile (whence the men take it to the fields or gardens); they feed and care for the cattle and goats, as well as milk them; they give barley to the chickens and collect the eggs, as well as care for the rabbits, if any (for chickens and rabbits are the exclusive property of women, who buy them with their own money);[35] and they prepare tea for themselves.

Both boys and girls between six and twelve years of age act as goatherds, pasturing the goats and sheep (if there are any) on the mountain slopes every day and bringing them home at night.[36] In Islam there is no *rite de passage* corresponding to puberty initiation, indeed there are no real *rites de passage* in any case; but the growth of pubic hair is the sign that the child is now an adolescent and can start, perhaps a year or two later, to fast during the month of Ramadan. It is at this point, from the age of about twelve onwards, that boys help their fathers with the agricultural tasks of plowing, sowing, and threshing, and girls start to help their mothers in the house.

The aged of both sexes stay in the house and do as little work as possible.

A quick glance at the daily routine of a Waryaghar household will put all these activities in context. A man generally gets up at dawn, performs his ablutions, prays, and drinks the tea his wife has prepared for him. He then puts a loaf of bread in the hood of his jillaba and goes out to his fields. At noon he eats there. Depending on the time of year, he may be plowing, reaping, or threshing, or working in the garden or orchard, or grinding and pressing olives. If there is no other work to be done, he makes charcoal. It is almost nighttime when he returns home.

With men, periods of intense activity may alternate with periods of equally marked inactivity, when they just sit down in their jillabas in front of their houses. It is a truism that time is not conceived of in Western terms, as a commodity that is either "saved" or "wasted"—even though many Rifians now wear watches and are perfectly able to "tell time." When there is agricultural work to be done, it gets done; when there is none, men sit down and the tea tray is produced.

With women, however, activity is intense almost all the time; it is natural, right, and conforming to the Waryaghar order of things that women should

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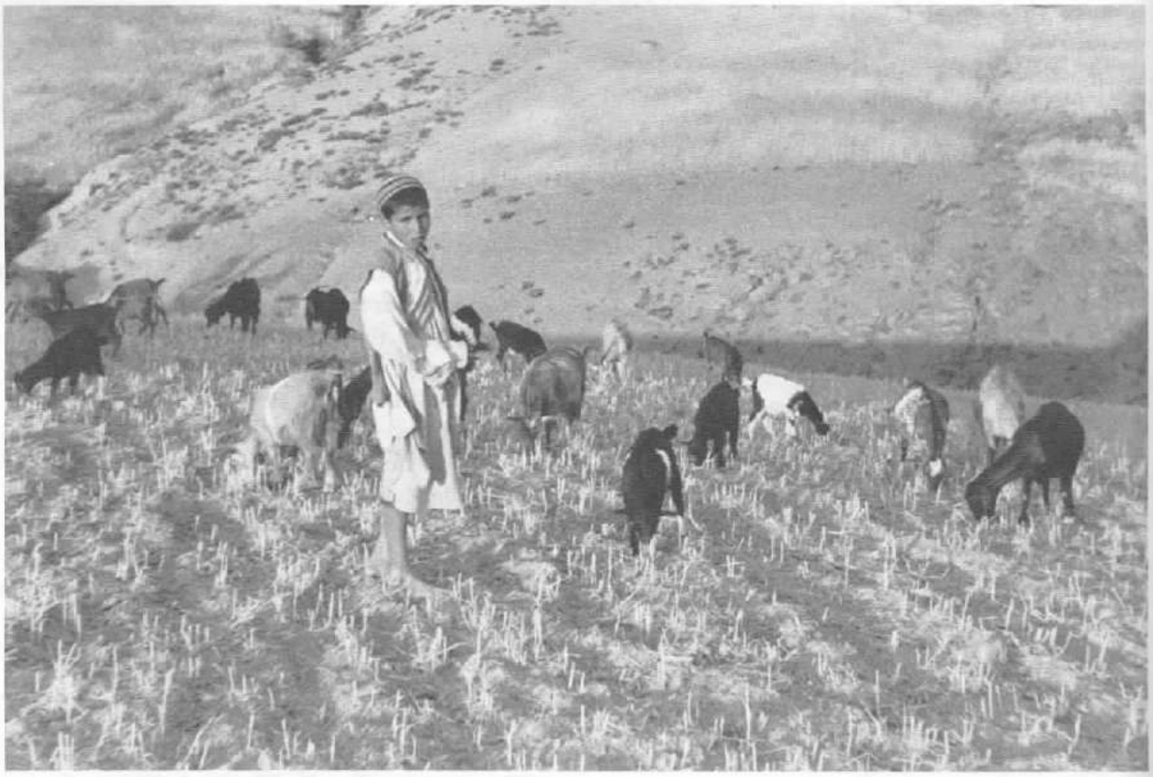
[34] A common saying is "We plow the land by day and plow our women at night."

[35] In markets men, as well as old women, can often be seen selling chickens and eggs; but the men do it for their wives, whom they will not allow to come to market, and they hand over the proceeds directly on returning home.

[36] Each child pastures his or her father's goats individually; the *dula* system of pasturage of all animals in the community by a boy of a different family every day in rotation, so common in the Jbala and the Gharb, does not exist at all in the central Rif.



Pasturing goats, Aith 'Ammarth (1954)

work harder and longer than men. A woman, like her husband, gets up at dawn. She lights the lamp and heats up the water so that he may perform his ablutions prior to prayer. She then heats more water, so that he may have his tea afterward. Then she grinds the grain, prepares an early breakfast, and sends the children out to pasture the goats on the slopes (while her husband goes out to the fields). It is now time for her to sweep the house, after which she goes down to the river, well, or spring, in company with other women to fetch more water. As this is often a long trek, the women may not be back until midday, and springs and wells are favorite gathering places for women in any case. For this reason, at the recognized hours for fetching water, the springs and wells and the paths leading to them are scrupulously avoided by men, even if they are passersby who merely wish to slake their thirst from the water jug that is always left full beside the spring. It is noteworthy that women of lineages that are otherwise despised (like the Ihawtshen of Aith Turirth) may thus fetch their water entirely unmolested. The all-pervading concept of *hashuma* or "shame" applies here with full force.

A woman eats at midday, and then brings in grass as fodder for the cow. In the afternoon she
bread, and when it begins to get dark she st
prepare supper. By this time her husband and ch
have returned home. Contrary to the custom wh
the man of the house may frequently eat alo
members of the family, including servants, u
sleep in the same room; and in the case of polyg
marriages and households, it is the husband's
to spend successive nights with each of his
in turn.

The sexual division of labor and the daily r
are both sharp economic indicators of the dich
between the man's world—open, public, and
fields—and the woman's world—private, secre
in the house. The same dichotomy extends to re
the domain of men, as opposed to sorcery and
the domain of women.

THE ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL CYC

The Muslim year, for purposes of religious
is lunar; but coexisting with it is the solar agric
year, known in the Rif as "the farmer's year"
n-iffiddjahen). It is based on the Julian Calend
is divided into twelve months, the names of

Girl loaded with brushwood, Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1954)

are cognates of our own,[37] and into four major seasons, which again correspond to our own and are known collectively as the "gates of the sky" (*dhiwura ijinna*).[38] Each of these seasonal periods lasts 90 days and is again subdivided as follows:[39]

1. In *dhajjarsth*, the winter (16 November to 15 February), there is first *ddjyari* (M.A. *l-lyali*), 40 days of extreme cold, the opposite of the *ssmayim* in midsummer. The eleventh day of this period is called *r-Uzind*, and after it the days get longer and the nights shorter. The 25th day is *Ddjyari* proper, the time of greatest cold, snow, and ice. *R-Haguz* is the Julian New Year's Day, and the farmers say that if it rains on this day, the harvest will be good. *Imshuyar*, the final period of plowing and sowing, starts on the final 5 days of *dhajjarsth* and continues for 20 days during *dhifsa*.

Women with waterjugs at fountain, Aith 'Abdallah (1953)

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[37] i. e., Nayar, Xabrayar, Marsn, Yibrir, Mayyu or Nisan, Yulyu, Yulyuz, r-Ghushth, Shutambir, Ktubar, Numbir, Dujambir.

[38] This is the title of a book by Jean Servier on Kabyle agricultural ritual in Algeria: *Les Portes du Ciel*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1962.

[39] Edward Westermarck, both in *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year and the Weather in Morocco*, Ofv̈ersigt af Finska Vetenskaps Societetens Förhandlingar, Bd. LIV, 1911-12, Afd. B., No. 1, Helsingfors: Helsingfors Central tryckeri, 1913, and in *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, has provided excellent general discussions of these questions.

Girl at fountain, Aith 'Abdallah (1953)

2. In *dhifsa*, the spring (16 February to 15 May), the time of grass and of drinking curdled milk (*ashshir* and *aghi*), *imshuyar* continues and is the last period of plowing and planting.
3. In *anibdhu*, the summer (16 May to 15 August) there are the following periods: *n-nisan*, for the first 7 days, in which rain is very beneficial; a period which is the opposite number of *r-uzind*, above;[40] and on the 45th day, *ssmayim*, a very hot period (but a time of cold below the earth), the time of threshing grain, and the opposite of *ddjyari:* The summer solstice, or *r-'Ansra*, falls during this time, on 24 July.
4. In *r-khrif*, the autumn (16 August to 15 November), the time of plowing, there is only one subperiod, again *r-uzind*, for 7 days, the opposite of *n-nisan*.

Such is the seasonal structure of the annual agricultural cycle. Before we discuss the cycle of work itself, a word must be said about the great variable that conditions all of it: rain (*anzar*). The farmer of the Aith Waryaghar and of the Rif in general—like farmers everywhere—speaks constantly of rain: if it has not fallen, he is eternally looking up at the sky for telltale clouds; if it is late, he has doubts about the quantity and quality of the following year's harvest; and if there has been too much of it, coupled with floods and inundations from the Nkur or Ghis rivers, he knows that a large part of the harvest will be ruined. Although it all depends on the amount of rain that God in His Goodness wishes to provide (the phrase *Inshallah*, "God Willing," is constantly reiterated in this connection), there are nonetheless certain rituals that are designed either to start or to stop rain. Two rain-inducing rituals are prevalent:

1. *Tittan unzar* ("they ask for rain"). All the men of the community go to the local mosque and sacrifice a goat. They collectively make an offering (*sadaqa*) by bringing olive oil, sugar, etc., and then they eat the goat that has now been cooked. After the meal, with the usual emphasis on egalitarianism through commensality, they take off their footgear and turbans, and then turn their jillabas inside out and put them on again back to front. Thus dressed they circumambulate the mosque seven times in a counter-clockwise direction,[41] with the *fqih*, the schoolmaster of the mosque, in the lead, and they chant the following Arabic formula: *Allahuma isqi 'ibadika wa hiyi bahimatika w-unsur 'alaina rahmatak wa hiyi baladak l-miyyit* (loosely translated, "Oh Lord, please give water to Your servants and Your animals, and by Your mercy help us, as Your land is dying"). This ritual goes on from 12:00 noon to 5:00 p.m. and is repeated every day until rain falls. The major feature of the ritual symbolism is the hope that the sky, like the jillabas of the participants, will be turned inside out, with rain.
2. *Dhasrith w-unzar* ("The bride of the rain"). This ceremony has been described by Coon for the Igzinnayen and by Biarnay for the Ibuqquyen,[42] and it is universally resorted to in Waryagharland as well. When rain is badly needed, a number of unmarried girls get a breadshovel, dress it up in the finest clothes they own, and put necklaces

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[40] Westermarck; 1913 op. cit., p. 73, however, says the *nisan* falls between April 27 and May 3, i.e., in *dhifsa*. My informants deny this.

[41] The analogy here with the *tawāf* or circumambulation by pilgrims of the Ka'ba at Mecca will be obvious to Arabists.

[42] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 162; S. Biarnay, *Etudes sur les Dialectes Berberes du Rif*, Publications de la Faculte des Lettres d'Alger, LIV, Paris: Lerous, 1917, pp. 176–178; and Father Ibañez cogently notes, in this connection the symbolism inherent in the fact that while *anzar*, "rain," is a masculine noun, both *dhasrith*, "Bride," and *dhamurth*, "earth, land," are feminine ones (R. P. Esteban Ibañez, O.F.M., "Ethnologia Religiosa Bereber," *Actas del XIV Congreso de Sociologia*, Rome 1950; p. 15). Beneitez, op. cit., 1952, pp. 151–152, describes other similar practices in the Jbala, and a variant on the first one, *tittan unzar*, above.

on it. When its adornment has been completed, the breadshovel is called "the bride of the rain." The girls take it from house to house throughout the community, singing the following verse, again in Arabic: *Allah ghaituh biha, Sidi Rbbi l-Hbib, ya khattar wa dhaghya!* (loosely translated, "May God wet the ground with it, Oh Dear Lord, Give us rain now!"). In the plain of al-Husaima, the girls take the breadshovel to the local mosque and chant the refrain while walking around it counterclockwise. Afterward, in both parts of the tribe, they prepare food for the poor, as well as some curdled milk. Then they take back their clothes, put the breadshovel away and go to a saint's tomb, where they eat. The symbolism in this ritual is again simple and obvious, as Coon has noted: the rain, it is hoped, will come to take its bride.[43]

On the other hand, should rain fall during a marriage ceremony, (and the period of marriages corresponds with the period of greatest agricultural inactivity, from August, when the harvest is in, to early or mid-October, when the autumn rains start), the bride herself gets a cat, paints antimony around its eyes, and then lets it go. She then takes a needle, goes out and sticks it into the ground on the threshing floor and puts a mirror face upward on it. The rain should then stop (perhaps because the mirror is intended to catch the sun's reflection and the needle to kill the rain?).

We shall now consider the annual agricultural calendar on a month-by-month basis, bearing in mind that the whole schedule for the plain of al-Husaima is about a month ahead of that for the Jbil Hmam, which is the one given here.

In mid-October, autumn starts with the first showers of rain. The land has been cleared by burning, so sowing and plowing can now begin. Two men work together; the sower in front and the plowman following him, scratching a thin furrow in the ground and driving the animals on with a switch and constant cries of "Arrya, zid!" ("Get going!").[44] This procedure is followed for all the cereal crops (barley, wheat, and on the higher mountain slopes, rye) as well as for vetch, and the plowing and sowing of cereals continues intermittently through January. Beans, lentils, and chickpeas are also planted during this early plowing period from mid-October to the end of the year. For broad beans only, the workmen's positions are reversed: the plowmen furrows, the sower then drops the bean seeds individually into the furrows, and the plowman goes over the land a second time.

Plowing and the sowing of grain and legume crops are the principal activity of autumn and winter, before the second plowing-sowing period, for vegetables, begins in late January. Olive picking begins in late October or early November,[45] orange picking in December, and both activities continue through January.

In February the late planting begins with tree planting (figs, olives, and almonds). From March until the end of April the vegetables are planted: potatoes, squash, tomatoes, watermelons, onions, and peppers. (At this time maize is planted in the plain, but in the Jbil Hmam it is left until early summer.)

In May the vegetables planted in March are harvested, and about mid-month the grain harvest begins. It continues throughout June, when the maize is sown and the early or "June" figs are picked (the late figs are picked in September).

By July reaping is finished, and threshing begins. Both men and women reap, but in separate groups. Men wear a goatskin guard on the index finger and reed guards on the third, fourth, and fifth fingers of the sickle-holding hand, as well as a goatskin apron. Women keep up a barrage of the sung rhymed couplets (*izran*) that are also an integral part of the Rifian marriage ritual. After the grain has been cut it is put into piles, and stones are placed on top of the piles so that the wind will not blow the grain away and any theft will be noticed.

The piles of cut grain are then taken by the women to the threshing floor, where the men begin the threshing operations with donkeys, cattle, or mules. At least two animals are needed to thresh, and it is common to see a pair of mules and three to four donkeys or cows being driven (generally in a counterclockwise direction) around the threshing floor, with a man or boy beating them continually on the rump with a stick to keep them moving. The animals are joined together with esparto cords around their necks, and since those on the outside of the circle get more of a workout than those on the inside, their positions

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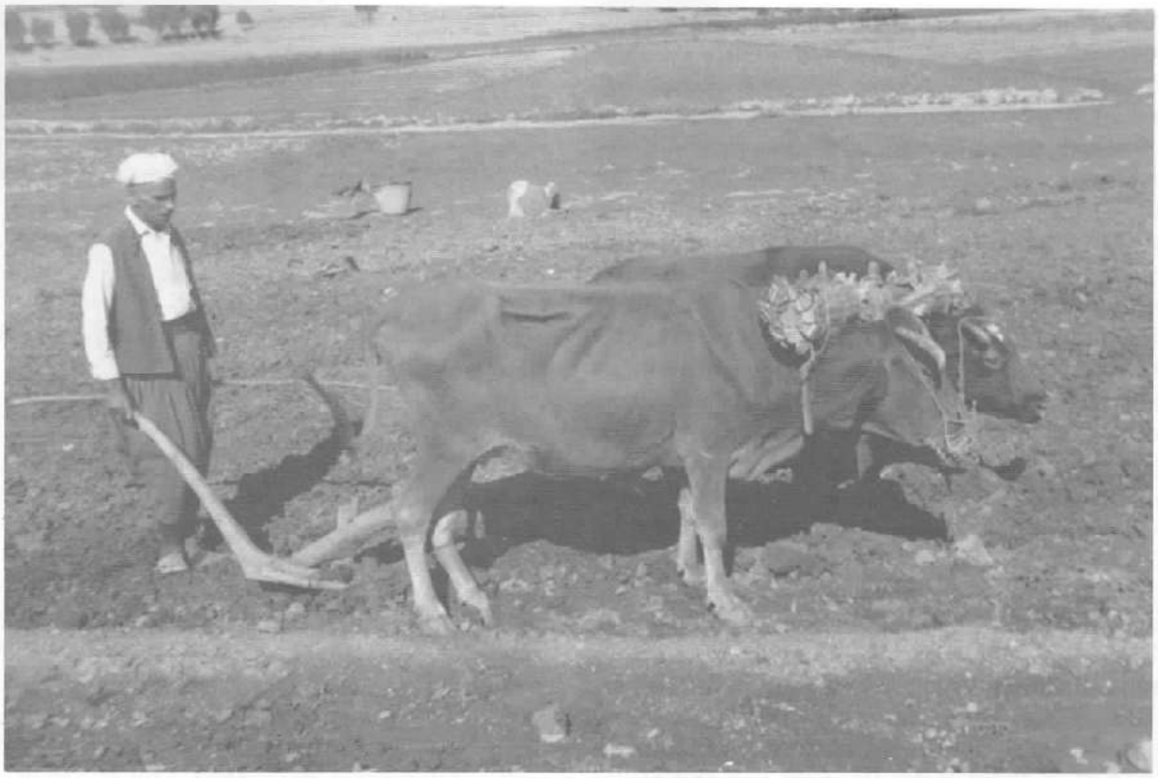
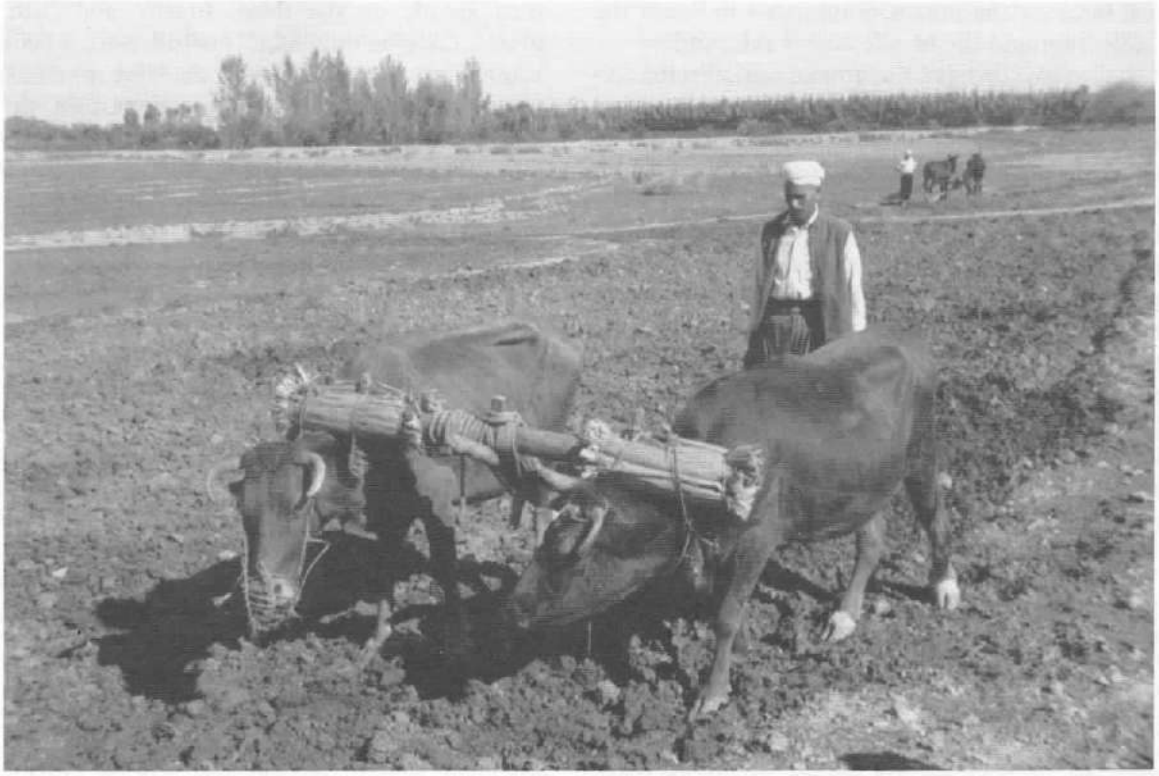
[43] The bride motif is also present in the term for "rainbow," *dhasrith w-aman*, "bride of the water," or indeed, *dhasrith w-ushshan*, "bride of the jackal," because while goatherds are shivering in their jillabas after a storm is over, the jackal has his opportunity to creep in and make off with a goat.

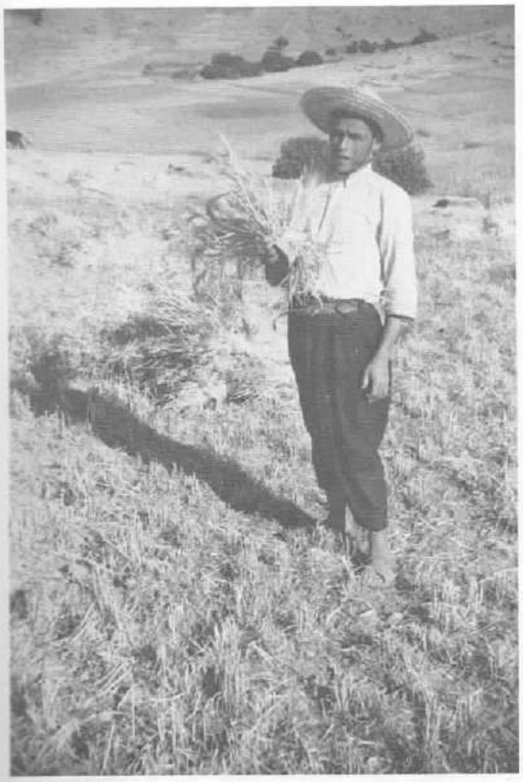
[44] In the Rif, the yokes of plows go on the necks of the plowing animals (generally cattle), not on the horns, as in the Jbala. This is a marked regional difference. The Roman origin of the Rifian (and North African) plow may be readily discerned (typology apart) from the Rifian word *dhayuga* (Latin *yugo*, "yoke"), which refers to the two animals and the plow as a single unit.

[45] I am unable to support, even from my earliest fieldnotes, Coon's observations that the signal for olive picking to begin must be given by the clan or tribal authorities (Coon op. cit., 1931, p. 55); this, however, certainly used to be the case for almonds and (as Coon very rightly states) for grapes, and in the subclan of Aith 'Arus and Timarzga in the Jbil Hmam, it was still the case until very recently.





a, b. Plowing with cattle in the Plain of al-Husaima (1953)



Harvester, Aith 'Abbu, Aith 'Ammarth (1954)

are shifted every half hour or so.

On the edge of the threshing floor another man with a winnowing fork keeps moving the grain at the bottom of the pile up to the top, so that the animals will trample it effectively.

When the threshing proper is completed, all the men start to winnow. The winnowed grain is then removed to someone else's threshing floor, where one man with a wooden shovel separates the remaining chaff and dust from the grain kernels while another with a whiskbroom dusts off the last bits of chaff that have fallen on the floor. Because threshing and winnowing are done in alternation on the same day, threshing is best begun on a windy day.

After winnowing, the threshers sit down with a wooden bowl holding 5 kilos, and measure 10 loads or more of 5 kilos each into burlap bags, after repeating the *Bismillah* ("In the name of God") invocation: the first load is accompanied in count with the name of God, for God is one, and a circumlocutory term (*l-laayin*) is used for nine and any number containing a nine (e.g., 19, 29) if the measuring goes beyond ten. After the measuring is over, the strawstacks are set up on the threshing floor and the grain is taken into the house for the women to grind.

In August, almonds, walnuts, and grapes are picked; the grape picking continues into September, when the second maize crop and the September figs are also picked. Aith Waryaghar distinguish at least eight different varieties of figs and seven of grapes, all in terms of size, shape, and color.[46] A sex difference, furthermore, is recognized in the case of fig trees, and for the September crop (though not for the June crop), inedible male figs are tied in bunches to the branches of the female figs; a small insect (identified as *blastophaga grossorum* by Westermarck[47]) bores in and out of the male and female figs to do the work of cross-pollination. Westermarck states that one such insect is sufficient to fertilize a good forty figs.

The annual agricultural cycle comes to an end in about mid-September; the season of marriage ceremonies has already begun in August, and it continues until mid-October when the first rains generally begin and plowing starts once more.

CONTRACTUAL AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS IN AGRICULTURE AND IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Contractual relationships (*shirxth* or *dhashrixth*)[48] between Waryaghar farmers regarding both agricultural land and domesticated animals are common; because of the poverty of the terrain, people need to pool their resources to some extent. The contracts are always made on a purely verbal basis, and in agriculture they usually last only for one agricultural year, although if the two associates get on well, the contract may be renewed.

The implicit basis of these contracts, which take several different forms, is the relative wealth of the parties to them. In most cases one party is richer than the other, but in others both parties are about equal. Explicitly (and in Muslim law), in contracts regarding agricultural land, the produce of the land itself, if it is irrigated and manured, is said to be

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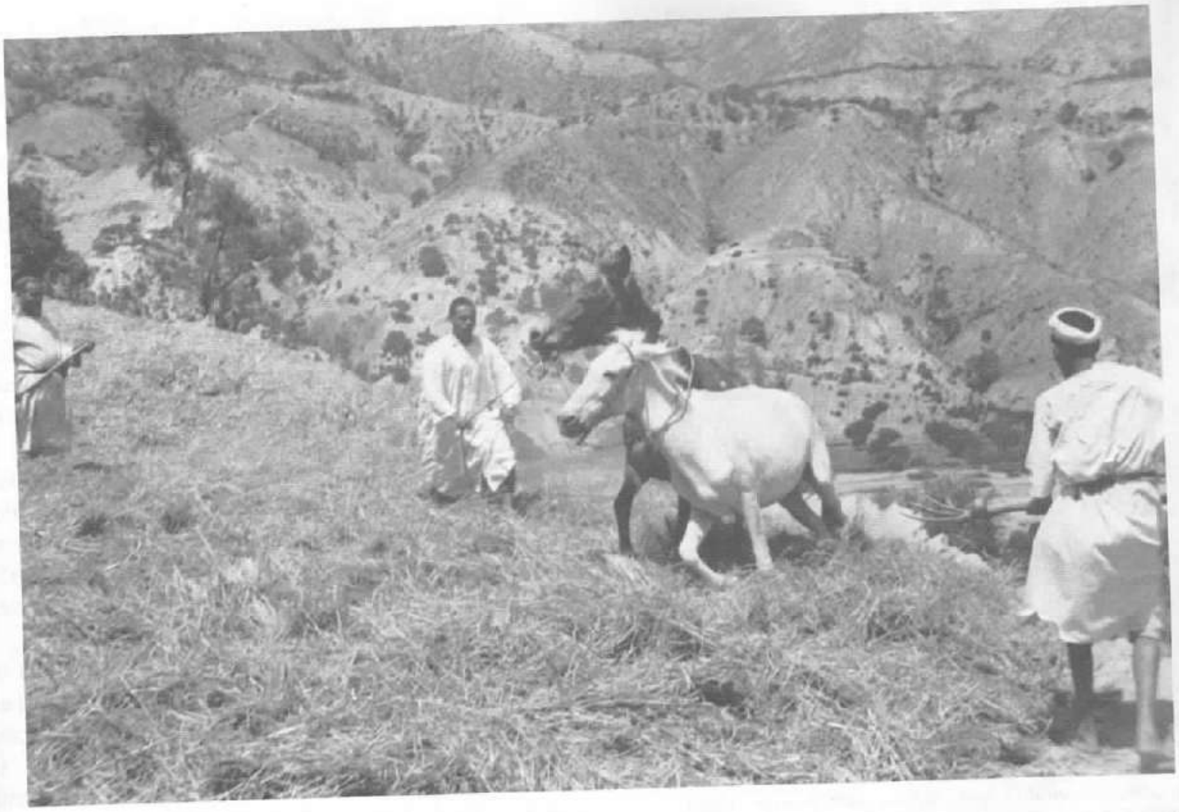
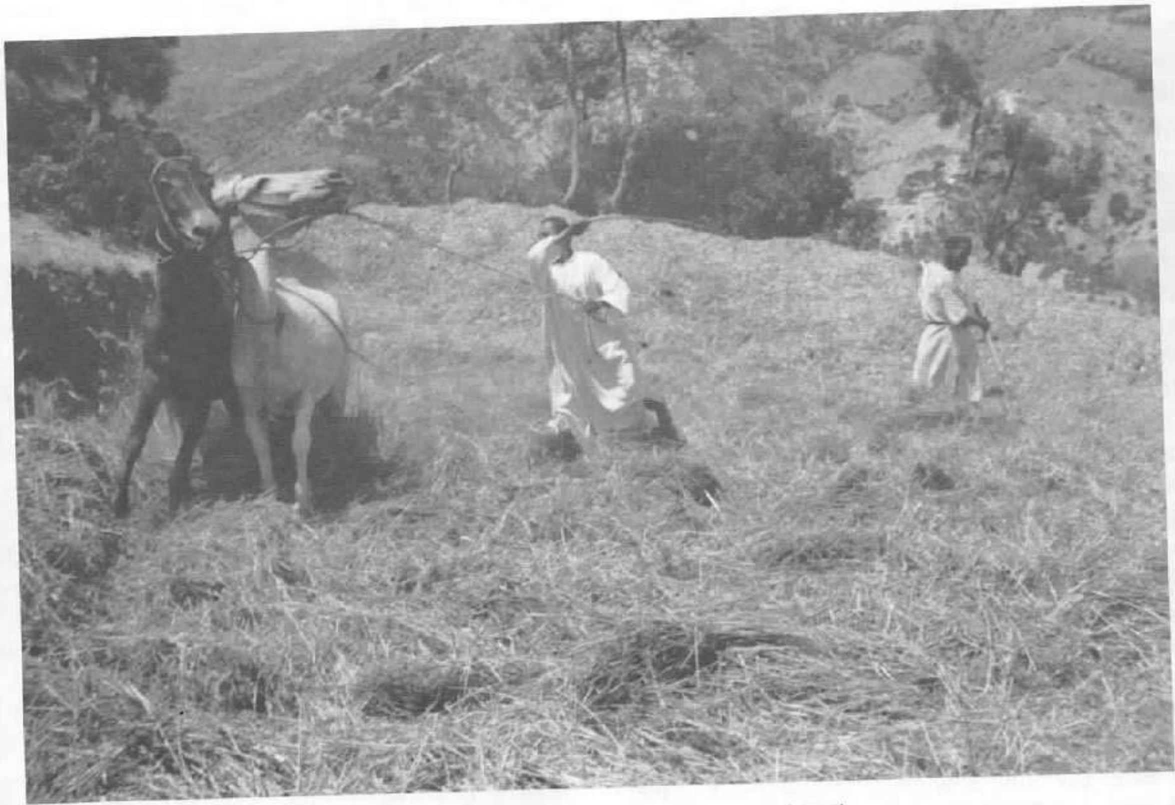
[46] These points are discussed by Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 44-47.

[47] E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London, Macmillan, 1926, Vol. II, p. 190.

[48] *Dhashrixth* is also one of the two normal terms for "co-wife." The similarity in imagery is not far to seek.





a, b, c, d. Threshing at Bulma, Aith Turirth (1955)

Man with winnowing fork, Bulma, Aith Turirth (1955)

divided into five parts or shares (*dhasgharth*, the term also used to designate the drawing of lots); if the land is dry-farmed, the produce is said to be divided into three parts or shares.

In the first instance, that of manured and irrigated land, two of the five shares go to the owner of the land, and three of them go to his partner who works it and manures it. The shares themselves are assigned as follows: one share represents or is for the land itself; the second is for the irrigation water; the third is for the seed, which also includes the animals and the plow; the fourth is for the manure; and the fifth is for the work. The process of division along these lines is called *bittan khamsa*, "they divide into five"—a phrase which in Waryagharland also has extremely important structural and segmentary implications.

This fifth element—the work—is the basis of the commonest single type of contractual relationship in agriculture, the *akhammas* or "fifther" system. The *akhammas* or plowman supplies nothing but his muscles, his work, to a wealthier individual for a year—and what he receives is one-fifth of the harvest.

The same system applies to dry-farmed land; if all that the *akhammas* provides is the work, he gets one-fifth of the harvest. Normally, however, the harvest of a piece of dry-farmed land is divided into three parts: one for its owner, and two for the man who manures and works it. These shares, as above, are assigned as follows: one for the land itself, the second for the manure, and the third for the work and the seed (plus animals and plow). This is an instance of another modality of contractual relationship, called either *duri* or *imtharthen*, "thirds." It can apply only to dry-farmed land and is much less common than the *akhammas* system, at least in the mountains.

A third principal modality is called *izignawen*, "halves."[49] This relationship involves two individuals, who divide all profits in half. Each man supplies one animal, half the seed, half the manure, and half the work. It is commoner than *imtharten*, above, but less common than the *akhammas* system.

Another modality that is extremely common in the Jbil Hmam is not, strictly speaking, a contractual relationship at all, but rather a simple association, involving work only, and called *idhwiren*. As in all the properly contractual situations, two individuals are involved, but purely and simply for purposes of mutual aid, *idhwiren nj-khudhmath*. Each person reaps his own harvest, and there is no question of division of profits. A may provide one animal and B the other; each man almost always has his own plow. They plow for two or three days in A's fields, and then for another two or three days in B's. Most people in the Jbil Hmam do not have enough animals to plow their own land, so recourse to *idhwiren* is quite frequent; a man may own both a mule and a cow, for example, but even so he usually joins forces with someone else for plowing, harvesting, and threshing, in order to obtain help with work which, although it can be done alone, is much more easily performed by two people. People who have an *akhammas* do not as a rule need to engage in *idhwiren* work themselves, but some do nonetheless.

Almost every Waryaghar man of the Jbil Hmam has, at some point in his life, worked both as an *akhammas* at home and as a hired harvester in the flatlands of the Eastern Rif—not to mention working

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[49] It may also be called *insasen*, as noted in an excellent unpublished study of the Upper Ghis Quidate: Capt. José Rodriguez Erola. *Caidato del Alto-Guis: Estudio Económico-Social*. MSS., 1953. This study won first prize in a generalized contest for such studies written by tribal administrators all over the Spanish Zone.

a, b. Men winnowing grain, Bulma, Aith Turirth (1955)

as a day laborer on French farms in Algeria.[50] The *akhammas* starts in his year plowing for the landowner who has contracted him and performs all agricultural tasks that the latter requires of him; his final task is the erection of the strawstack on the threshing floor after the harvest is in (though in the Jbil Hmam he must also harvest the second maize crop in September, receiving the usual one-fifth). He has no right to any of the straw and is paid his fifth solely in grain. In the Aith Turirth there are some six men who have always had an *akhammas*, as their fathers and grandfathers always had them. Almost invariably, the *akhammas* is assisted by a young paid servant, called *amxari*, who is paid in money (about 500 ptas. a year

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[50] According to a report of 1954 by Capt. Manuel Gavilá Santamariá, from the office of Arba' Tawrirt, 322 men from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and 133 men from the subclans of the Jbil Hmam had worked as *ikhammasen* in that year, while 960 from the former group and 529 from the latter had worked as day laborers (apart from and beyond their farming). From both groups, 1500 men had gone to the Kart or Eastern Rif to harvest and 2000, including the above day laborers, had gone to Algeria on labor migration. 1954 was a peak year, which can be seen from the fact that total male populations for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Jbil Hmam, respectively, were calculated at 7226 and 4575, totalling 11,801. Out of this last figure, discounting 4868 boys of less than 14 years, 15% as landowners, 10% as men over 50 years, and 3% as incapable, crippled or unable to work, Gavilá arrives at a figure of 5003 as an active work force.

Figs drying in the sun, Plain of al-Husaima (1953)

in 1955, and 10,000 frs., twice that, in 1963) and receives his food and clothing free from the landowner. The *akhammas* is always a married man, the *amxari* a still unmarried youth; often they are not members of the community where they work, but come from nearby. In the rare case where the *akhammas* does all the work unaided, he has a right to one-fourth of the harvest—whether grain from the fields, or fruits and vegetables from the orchard and garden.

Agricultural contracts and the individuals who participate in them all have their counterparts in the domain of animal husbandry. The opposite number of the *akhammas* is the *ashrix* or "associate," who cares for the animals, almost always cattle or goats turned over to him for a stipulated period of time by their owner. The opposite number of the *amxari* is the *amixsa* or goatherd, a young boy or girl paid in exactly the same way and the same amount, but much less commonly employed because the herding task is usually undertaken by the owner's children. Herding contracts are, in Waryagharland, almost exclusively of the *izignawen* or "halves" rather than the "fifther" type: A turns one or two cows over to B for a period of two or three years; B has the right to all the milk and butter[51] and half the calves born, and if the calves are sold, A and B divide the profits in half. Again six men in the Aith Turirth (not all the same six who have an *akhammas*) have associates for cattle and goat herding, and have always had them. The same basic contract can exist for beehives, and women frequently resort to the *izignawen* contract among themselves for the breeding of chickens and rabbits, both of which are their exclusive property.

Two final noncontractual economic institutions that underscore the factor of mutual aid in day-to-day tribal life in Waryagharland should be mentioned: *uzi'ath* and *dhwiza*. The first is a kind of mutual insurance on animals, especially cattle, the most valuable animals used for food. If a man discovers his cow is about to die, he slaughters it ritually, and the members of the *jma'th* then help defray the owner's loss by taking home chunks of the beef at so much in cash per share. A man is thus able to recoup at least part of what he originally spent on the animal (a cow cost 2,000 ptas in 1955 and as much as 25,000 francs in

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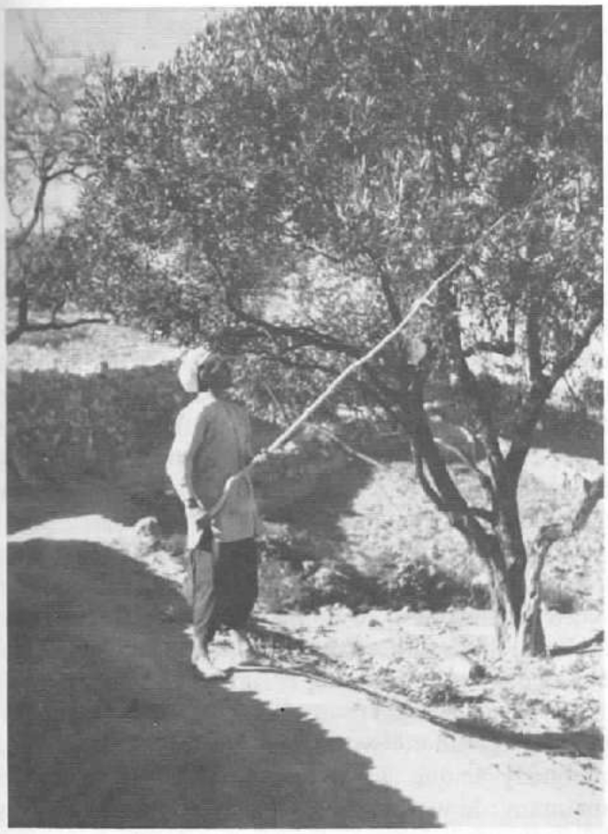
[51] It is considered shameful in the Rif to sell milk, but not butter.



a, b. Picking olives at l-'Ass, Aith Turirth (1960)

1960). The leading members of the *jma'th* are morally obligated to buy the meat under these circumstances; refusal to do so would be considered not only mean, but shameful. An *uzi'ath* sacrifice is also usually made by each *jma'th* on the night of the new moon of Ramadan. *Uzi'ath* is by no means peculiar to Aith Waryaghar but is very common all over the Rif, and variants under other names occur in other Berber-speaking regions.

A *dhwiza* involves the voluntary service of the hands of the community to help one of its members with a given task, usually one that takes more than a day's work: plowing, harvesting, and perhaps most commonly, house-building. The man who needs the help has usually made the arrangements for his *dhwiza* on the previous market day.[52]

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[52] Much of the Spanish literature tends to differentiate between the voluntary *dhwiza* of the type described above and the compulsory and enforced *dhwiza* organized by a tribal *qaid* (or by a chief, under the protectorate administration), who does not feed his workers. However, Aith Waryaghar do not refer to the latter as *dhwiza* at all; they call it *kwarfi* (from French "corvée"), forced labor for the government, whose representatives tell the headman of the local community that X number of men are needed for a job, and that they must be supplied. Cf. Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Aprovechamientos Comunales y Formas de Cooperación en las Yemáas del Rif," *Selección de Conferencias Pronunciada en la Academia de Interventores durante el Carso* 1950–51, Tetuan 1951, pp. 95–107; and Tomas García Figueres and Rafael de Roda Jiménez, *Economía Social de Marruecos*, Vol. I. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950, p. 163–64. These sources also contain worthwhile information on agricultural and herding contracts in general.

Strawstacks, Aith Hadhifa (1953)

SUBSIDIARY ACTIVITIES: HUNTING AND FISHING

Hunting and fishing are activities entirely subsidiary to agriculture,[53] and fishing is even more subsidiary than hunting, given the very small stretch of coastline belonging to the Aith Waryaghar (in contrast to their neighbors of Ibuqquyen to the west and Thimsaman to the east, among whom fishing is considerably more developed).

Although hunting is practiced fairly extensively in the highlands of the Jbil Hmam, I share Mikesell's indecision over whether it should properly be considered an economic activity or a sport,[54] for it contains elements of both. Until the establishment of the protectorate, there was of course no formal "hunting season," though in Waryagharland the greatest amount of hunting occurs from April to June, on any day except market day and Friday. Several kinds of traps and snares are used: an iron trap for larger animals such as jackals, a snare for partridges, generally placed in the threshing floor, and a snare for small birds. Foxes and hedgehogs are also caught with the iron trap. Hares and rabbits are best trapped out in the snow, and this is the common practice in the higher parts of Timarzga; when they are in their warrens, they are hunted with ferrets. Otherwise they are hunted with special throwing sticks bound with copper wire, and in the manipulation of these sticks the Waryaghar hunter is remarkably adept. Boar are found only in Tfsast, and can only be hunted with guns; so that only the *mkhaznis* (native auxiliaries) at the rural tribal offices and the forest rangers can hunt them, because since 1926 only they have been allowed to carry guns.

A hunting group always consists of at least four or five men, and they always hunt in the collectively owned brushwood land (*ghaba*) in the mountains, for within the limits of the private property (houses, fields) of the community, hunting is forbidden. They go out for the whole day and return home at night. The catch, even if it should consist of only one rabbit, is divided up equally among all the hunters present, no matter how many; however, the owner of the trap gets any animal that falls in his trap for himself, and the owner of a ferret gets the rabbit's head. Generally, hunters

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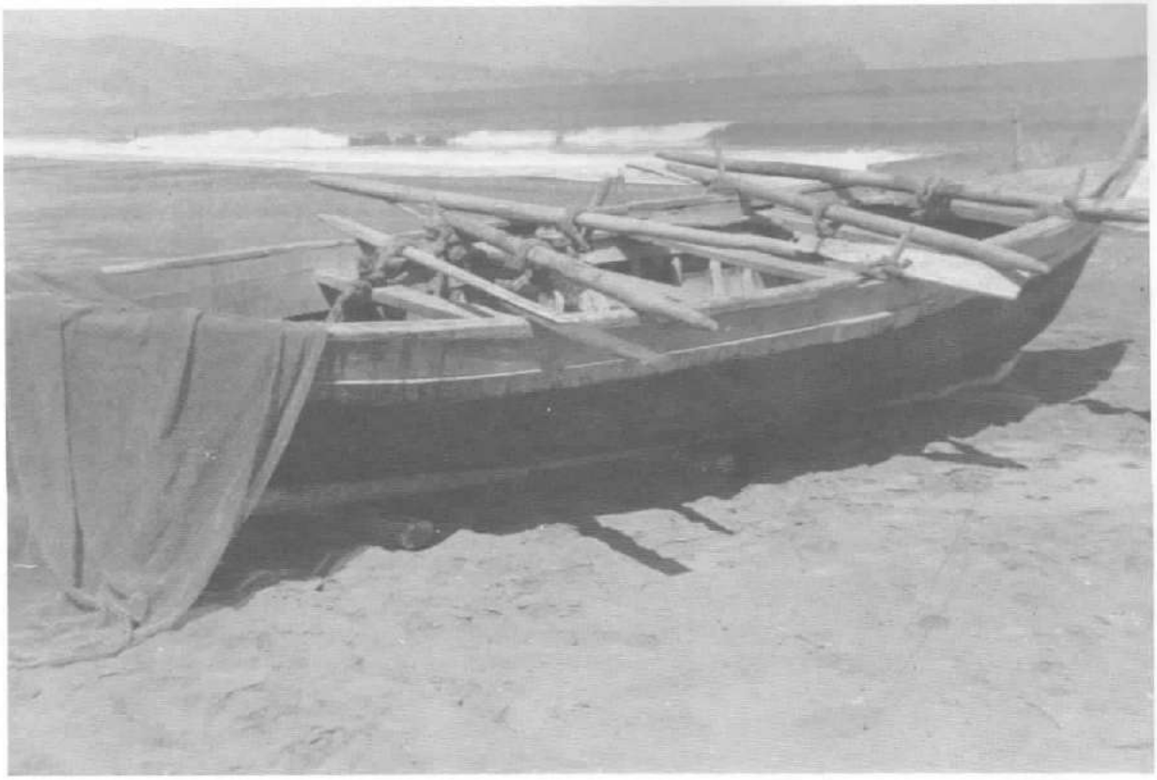
[53] These activities are both summarily described by Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37–38, but the fullest descriptions are those given in Emilio Blanco Izaga, *El Rif* (2a Parte). *La Ley Rifeña*, II: *Los Cánones Rifeños Comentados*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939: pp. 91–98 (for fishing) and pp. 139–149 (for hunting). Blanco goes into the composition and organization of fishing crews and hunting parties and into the division of the catch in each case, with a wealth of detail which we shall not attempt to reduplicate here.

[54] Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, p. 89.



Agharrabu, fishing boat, with seine, Sfiha Beach (1954)

wait until an animal is five meters in front of them, and then give the hunting call of "*ha-haw!*"[55] and pronounce the *Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim* ("In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate") formula just before throwing their sticks. The formula renders the meat licit, and if an animal is found dead without benefit of formula, it is considered *imwardhas* ("carrion") and thrown away. If a rabbit is hit in the face with a stick and its face smashed, the hunter who threw the stick is accused by his companions of being a poor shot. And markmanship of any sort, whether with rocks, throwing sticks, or illegal guns, is a highly prized achievement in Waryagharland, where traditionally every gentleman is not only a farmer but also a warrior.

There is occasional hunting with slougis or "greyhounds," but ordinary dogs are never used for this purpose. In any event, there is less hunting in the Jbil Hmam today than there was even in Spanish times: the severe denudation of the landscape has caused the disappearance of all but small game.

Fishing is of even less importance in Waryaghar economy. There were, in April 1954, two kinds of fishing boats. The black caulked *agharrabu* is a rowboat made of pinewood, measuring 6m. × 2m. × 1m., costing 7,000–8,000 ptas., and kept by a "master" on the beach of Thimsaman; and the *moruna*, a smaller, Spanish-made rowboat. The first can venture a kilometer out to sea; the second, only two hundred meters. The first goes out from August through May to catch sardines, sprats, and some larger fish; the second from March through July to catch certain other larger fish, the names of which I have recorded in Spanish but have been unable to identify in English. (The only fish eaten by the Aith Waryaghar in any case are sardines). At the time of field work there were four *igharruba* (pl. of *agharrabu*) on the Thimsaman beach at Swani and three on the Waryaghar beach, while for nine *morunas* in Thimsaman there was only one on the corresponding Swani beach on the Waryaghar coast.

The basic fishing technique in both types of boat is the laying of a large seine about 130m. long, 8–10m. high, and 4.50m. across; its center has lead weights under cork floaters. It is attached at either end by two long ropes, during fishing operations; it is made by the crew members; and it cost, in 1953, about 10,000–12,000 ptas.

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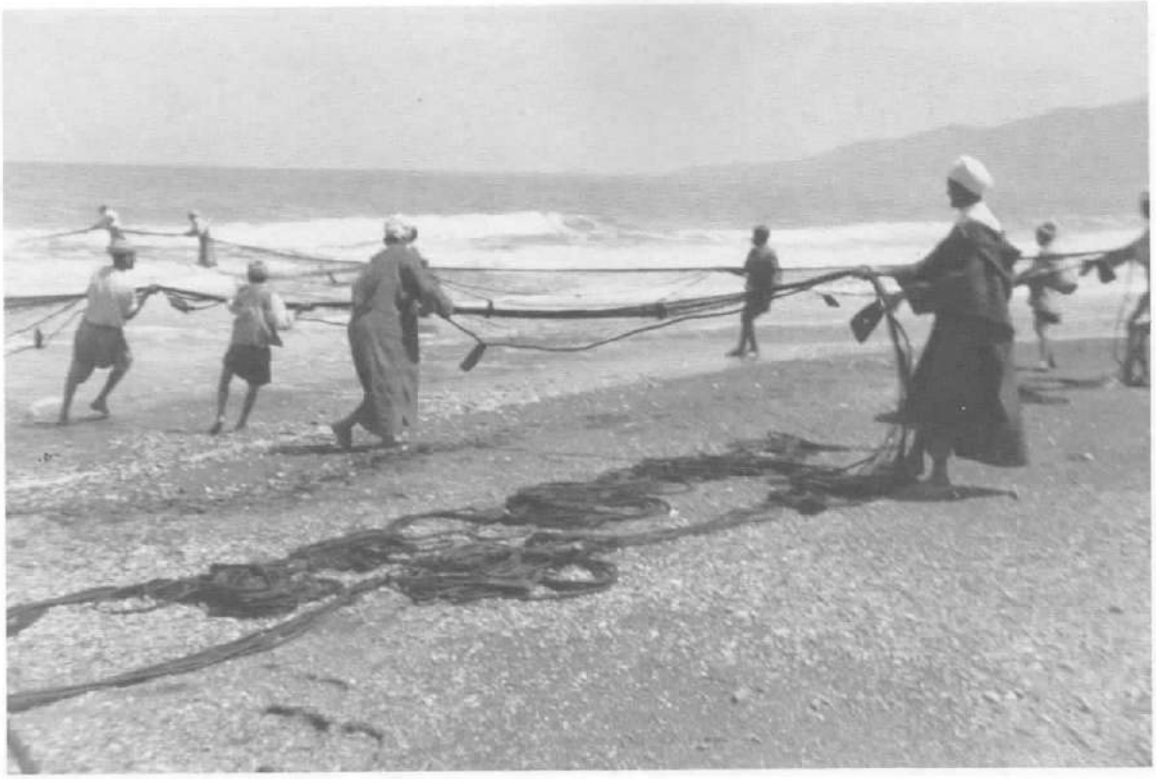
[55] In the community of Maru in the mountain subclan of Aith 'Arus, there is a lineage called *Ihahawen*, presumably because their ancestor was a great hunter.



Hauling in the catch with seine, Sfiha Beach (1954)

The mouth of the Nkur River emptying into the Mediterranean is a fine place to fish, and operations there go as follows. The placing of the net is determined by the crew, who know where the fish are by watching gulls and other birds dive into the water. The boat takes the seine out, leaving one of the two ropes on the beach in the hands of a number of men or boys. When the boat has reached the end of the rope length, the seine is let out in a semicircle with curled ends. The boat is then rowed back to the shore, and the other rope is handed out to another group of men and boys, as far away from the first rope as possible. When the fish begin to collect in quantity, both groups start pulling on the ropes, lessening the distance between them as they do so. If the catch promises to be big, the *agharrabu* is taken out again to be rowed in behind the net, in case of trouble. After the net is hauled up onto the beach, the crowd rushes out to scoop up the still-leaping fish into baskets. They are put on a common pile in the sand, and the discussion of the catch begins. Nets are sometimes lost if heavy wind or rain comes up. During the season, the boats go out twice a day, in the morning and in the afternoon.

Each boat has a captain and a crew of four or five men. Sometimes, though rarely, the owner of the boat will be a different individual from the captain. What generally happens is that three or four fishermen go shares on the price of an *agharrabu* or a *moruna* and elect the most capable among them to be its captain. They purchase the pine boards in al-Husaima and take them to the boat-builder on the beach of Aith Bu Dawud in Thimsaman, the only boat-builder in the vicinity. (He has no assistants and received his food and 500 ptas. for building a boat, at the time of fieldwork). After the fish are sold, the owner gets half the profits, and the captain and the crew get the rest. If there is a captain and a crew of four, their share of the money is divided into six parts, of which the captain gets two. But before any division is made, 15-25 ptas. are given to the mule or donkey man who takes the fish up to the market; and the small boys who help pull the nets ashore receive 1-2 kg. of the catch. In late summer, the heaviest season, the crew and the captain eat, sleep, and drink tea on the beach, as they always have to be on the lookout for breaks in the nets and for fish that enter. At other times, after laying the net out to dry, all go home and return in the morning. With a *moruna*, one person is always present as guard, day and night. No fishing is permitted in areas where fish are known to spawn, but it may take place anywhere else, as the sea is free.

Although this situation may well have changed by the 1970s, at the time of fieldwork (1954) fishing in the al-Husaima Bay was slight, with a greater concentration on the Thimsaman side than on the Waryaghar. There were then in al-Husaima some 18-20 motor boats, only one owned by a Rifian and the rest Spanish-owned. Almost half the crews and the captains were Rifians of the three tribes with coastal territory—Ibuqquyen, Aith Waryaghar, and Thimsaman—of whom the Aith Waryaghar are the least inclined toward fishing and the poorest fishermen. Those who hunt or fish only do so part-time in Waryagharland; they are still full-time farmers, or were as of 1954-55.

ECONOMIC SPECIALIZATION

Tilling the soil is the sole economic activity in which the great majority of Aith Waryaghar men engage; the few other men who do exercise a trade of some kind almost all have a modicum of arable land, so that their economic specialization is at best part-time. (Only one community, I'akkiyen, produces full-time specialists: tailors and butchers.) Table 2.1 gives the figures from Spanish administrative reports for the three qaidates of the tribe during 1954-55.[56] Figures

TABLE 2.1

Economic Specialists

A) *Uta* (*Figures derived from Saturday Market at Imziren.*)	
1) *Aith Yusif w-'Ari*	
'adul	10
Artisans	10
Basteros	3
Teashop keepers	2
Carpenters	1
Merchants (cloth, piece goods, etc;)	39
Candy sellers	0
Fuqra (members of religious orders)	46
Tinkers	1
Farmers	4253
Weighers of Grain	2
Gold and Silversmiths	1 (Jewish)
Barbers	1
Tailors (all from the community of I'akkiyen)	11
Weavers	7
Animal Merchants	1
Skin Merchants	1
Itinerant Vendors	17
Cobblers	1
2) *Imrabdhen*	
'adul	6
Artisans	9
Teashop Keepers	1
Carpenters	0
Merchants	12
Candy Sellers	1
Fuqra	28
Tinkers	0
Farmers	2461
Weighers of Grain	1
Gold and Silversmiths	0
Barbers	0
Tailors	0
Weavers	2
Animal Merchants	0
Skin Merchants	0
Itinerant Vendors	27
Cobblers	0
B) *Upper Ghis* (*Figures drawn from Monday Market Aith Hadhifa.*)[57]	
1) *Aith 'Abdallah*	
Masons	17
Carpenters	8
Blacksmiths	9[58]
Tinkers	1
Tailors	37
Weavers	3
2) *Aith Hadhifa*	
Masons	16
Carpenters	1
Blacksmiths	7
Tinkers	0
Tailors	15
Weavers	0
C) *Nkur* (*Figures drawn from Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash*).	
1) *Aith Bu 'Ayyash*	
'Adul	6
Farmers	1718
Masons	0
Teashop Keepers	18
Butchers (all from I'akkiyen)	16
Carpenters	1
Merchants (Wholesale)	16
Local Merchants	0
Ikhammasen	322
Spice Sellers	1
Charcoal Sellers	0
Skin Buyers	0
Blacksmiths	6
Farriers	1

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[56] Sources: Capt. Luis Crèspo Gavilán (1955) for the Qaidate of Uta (the Plain), including the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Imrabdhen clans as administratively defined; Capt. José Rodriquez Erola for the Qaidate of Upper Ghis, MS, op. cit., 1953, including the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa clans; and Capt. Manuel Gavilá Santamaria (Dec. 1954) including the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clan and the three subclans of the Jbil Hmam (Aith Turirth, Aith 'Arus, Timarzga).

[57] Here the figures for farmers are not given, but an idea can be gained from figures earlier in the same work by Erola: adult men in Aith 'Abdallah, 3093; and in Aith Hadhifa, 2060.

[58] Blacksmiths (*imziren*) who are greatly despised, along with members of certain other professions, all originate from Axt Tuzin, all theoretically practice endogamy and have almost no property—so theirs is in effect a full-time profession.

TABLE 2.1 (*continued*)

Tinkers	1
Day Laborers	969
Tailors (29 from I'akkiyen)	39
Bakers	0
Egg Sellers	5
Itinerant Vendors	54
Cobblers	1
2) *Jbil Hmam* (*Figures drawn from Wednesday Market of Tawrirt and all subclans continued*).	
'Adul	2
Farmers	1100
Masons	1
Teashop Keepers	12
Butchers	1
Carpenters	1
Merchants (Wholesale)	34
Local Merchants	2
Ikhammasen	133
Spice Sellers	1
Charcoal Sellers	3
Skin Buyers	4
Blacksmiths	1
Farriers	0
Tinkers	0
Day Laborers	529
Tailors	2
Bakers	1
Egg Merchants	1
Itinerant Vendors	10
Cobblers	1

are based primarily on the number of individuals practicing the trades in question at the major market sites of each Qaidate.

In the territory of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, but not directly kin to the main body of that clan, is the almost waterless community-enclave of I'akkiyen (whose members are related more, in their own eyes, to Aith 'Arus and Aith Hadhifa). This is the only community in Waryagharland where there may be said to be real full-time economic specialization: its members are largely tailors (who work with sewing machines) and butchers (another low-class occupational group) because the ecological base of the community is too slender to permit them to become farmers.[59] This means it is slender indeed.

One report[60] also lists four plow-makers in Aith Bu 'Ayyash, 35 wicker-basket makers in Aith Turirth (Jbil Hmam), one jillaba stitcher in Aith Bu 'Ayyash and one in Aith 'Arus (Jbil Hmam), three esparto workers in Aith Bu 'Ayyash and five in Aith Turirth (Jbil Hmam), and one potter in Aith Bu 'Ayyash and four in Aith Turirth (Jbil Hmam). My own notes bear out these statistics for the Jbil Hmam sub-clans. The men and women of the despised lineage of Ihawtshen[61] in the Aith Turirth community of Tigzirin specialize in esparto work: the men make mule and donkey panniers, baskets of all sorts, cow's muzzles, and sandals, while the women make cow's collars and mats. In the Iznagen lineage, in the same community of Tigzirin, there are female potters. In the Aith Yikhrif u-Hand and Aith 'Aru Musa the men make wicker baskets and do all the work in reeds. And in the Timarzga, particularly in r-Maqsuridh community, men specialize in woodwork: walking sticks, plow handles, and wooden fig containers.

But for all of these (except the tailors and butchers of I'akkiyen, perhaps) farming is the principal occupation. The *ikhammasen* are of course farm laborers and the day laborers are either *ikhammasen* or ordinary farmers who, in 1954–55 could augment their incomes by 16 ptas. per day by working on the road when there was no plowing or harvesting. That there were 969 of these laborers as compared to 1718 full-time farmers in Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and 529 as compared to 1100 full-time farmers in the Jbil Hmam—in each case more than half the active labor force—indicates with startling clarity the extreme slenderness of the ecological base in Waryagharland; and that there were, in Aith Bu 'Ayyash, 322 *ikhammasen* to 1718 farmers and 133 to 1100 farmers in the Jbil Hmam underscores yet further the poverty of the Upper Nkur region. In the same year 1,500 men did seasonal harvesting work in the Kart, and 2,000 were seasonal migrant laborers in Algeria. Given the population explosion since pacification, and the universal desire, in any case, for many sons, Waryaghar farmers must migrate to keep alive, for the land will not support them. Specialization, as we have seen, is extremely marginal; but so is agriculture itself, in terms of production.

BUDGETS AND THE DEBT STRUCTURE

Aith Waryaghar budgets, as determined both by Erola's study of the Upper Ghis[62] and by my own investigations among the Aith Turirth of the Jbil Hmam, reveal one fact with startling clarity: that no matter what the economic level of the individual, whether (by local standards) a poor man (*imsa'i*), an average man (*udji-shi dh-imsa'i, dh-udji-shi tajar,* "not poor, not rich") or a rich man (*tajar*, from the Arabic word for "merchant"), his annual expenses almost invariably exceed his income by a fairly wide margin (and a margin that gets wider in the case of wealthier individuals).

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[59] In Thafarsith, the same is true of the community of Aith 'arrur, which has very little water and produces butchers. Cf. J. Ojeda del Rincón, MS, 1954, op. cit.

[60] Capt. Manuel Gavila Santamaría, Jan. 1953.

[61] Who never feuded and who buried the dead of those who did—this point will be discussed fully in Chapter 11.

[62] J. R. Erola, *El Alto Guis, Estudio Económico Social*, MS, 1953, op. cit. The substance of his findings is that a small land holder with a family of five needed almost 20,000 ptas. per year for his expenses, while his income barely amounted to 15.000 ptas,

The cases of three individuals given below will serve to illustrate the point. Two of them, A and B, are members of a single lineage (Imjjat) in Aith Turirth; the third, C, is from another lineage (Ibutaharen n-Bulma) in the same sub-clan, and he was the *akhammas* of B in 1954–55. All figures are for 1954.

A (moderately wealthy): the *mqaddim* (local functionary under the protectorate administration) of his subclan. Seven dependents: wife and six children.

1) *Property and Assets:*	*Pesetas*
2 "days of cultivation"[63] under irrigation	28,000
40 days of dry-farmed cultivation	80,000
Total	108,000
Animals	
1 Cow	2,500
1 Calf	500
18 Goats	2,400
Total	5,400
Trees:	
5 olive trees at 500 ptas	2,500
25 fig trees at 150 ptas	3,750
Total	6,250
Houses:	
One-third ownership in house he lived in, in l-'Ass	15,000
TOTAL	134,650

2) *Income:*	*Pesetas*
Remuneration in kind	7,200.
Through Agricultural Produce	4,450.
Through Animal Products	1,520.
Through Trees	750.
TOTAL	13,920.

3) *Expenses*		
Through Upkeep of Fields		660.
Food		10,713.
Clothing		2,220.
Household		950.
Other		
Feasts	1,500	
Tax (*Tirtib*)	300	
+ Identity Card (*Nikwath*)	20	
Friday Mosque payments to Fqih and for Qur'anic instruction	100	
	TOTAL	1,920
TOTAL EXPENSES		16,463

Net Income	13,920 ptas.
Net Expenses	16,463 ptas.
Net Loss	2,543 ptas.

B (well off): only son (aged 23) of the deceased *shaikh* of the subclan (who was the elder paternal half-brother of A, the *mqaddim*, above). Thirteen dependents: widowed mother, younger unmarried sister, three wives, four children, two servants (one man, one woman), one goatherd, and father's sister.

1) *Property and Assets:*	*Pesetas*
5 days of irrigated land (at 14,000 ptas. per day	70,000
160 days of dry farmed land (with crop rotation at 2,000 per day)	320,000
Total	390,000
Animals:	*Pesetas*
6 Cows at 2,500 ptas	15,000
4 Calves at 1,000 ptas	4,000
1 She-Mule	13,500
50 Goats at 200 ptas	15,000
25 Chickens at 20 ptas	500
Total	48,000
Trees:	
6 olive trees at 500 ptas	3,000
50 fig trees at 150 ptas	7,500
40 almond trees at 250 ptas	10,000
60 grapevines at 100 ptas	6,000
Total	26,500
Houses:	
One-half ownership in house at Market of Tawrirt	2,500

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thus indicating that acquisitive capacity is 25% higher than ready cash. This follows a general regional pattern except in the case of certain larger land-owners who can sometimes make up their deficits through selling animals and living on credit. A budget study conducted by José Ojeda del Rincón, on the neighbouring Axt Tuzin (in *La Kábila de Beni Tuzin: Estudio Económico-Social,* MS, 1954), however, revealed, on the contrary, that income in that tribe was slightly higher than expenses. Here only the facts are given and the author does not attempt an interpretation; but I offer one myself, namely that Aith Waryaghar hospitality is proverbial and that Axt Tuzin hospitality is not. A Waryaghar host is shocked if one brings him chickens or sugar canes when one stays in his house for several days, to help defray his expenses; but amongst the Igzinnayen and the Axt Tuzin this is accepted and expected behavior.

[63] Aith Waryaghar, when asked how much property they have, seldom reply in concrete terms of hectares, but rather in terms of "days of cultivation," and these are of two sorts: (1) *r-iyyam n-dyarza,* "days of plowing," referring to dry-farmed land, and (2) *r-iyyam n-d 'arrasth,* "days of gardening," referring to irrigated land. The latter, as evidenced in the above example, is generally far less in quantity than the former, for agricultural produce. They also have two basic units of measure: the *lata,* a Spanish word, equalling 12 Kg. before independence (1956) and 13 Kg. since then, and the *mudd,* consisting of four *latas.* The term *'abra,* equivalent to 12 Kg., a term universal in most of southern Morocco, is not known in the Rif.

One-half ownership in house at Bulma	1,500
One-third ownership in ancestral house at l-'Ass	20,000
One house in l-'Attaf	35,000
Total	59,000
Utensils:	5,000
TOTAL ASSETS	528,500

2) *Income:*

From Agriculture:	25,000
From Animal Produce:	7,540
From Trees:	7,400
TOTAL INCOME	39,940

3) *Expenses:*

		Pesetas
Housing:		3,110
Household Servant:		500
Food:		20,955
Clothing:		
For mother:	315	
For unmarried sister	745	
For three wives		
a) First and second:	820	
b) Third:	1,095	
For father's sister:	315	
For children:	265	
For himself:	1,955	
For two servants	1,000	
Total Clothing:		6,510
Other Expenses:		
Tax (*Tirtib*)	800	
Identity Card (*Nikwath*)	75	
Cigarettes (20 ptas. per week)	1,200	
Feasts:		
'Aid l-Kbir	1,500	
'Aid s-Sghir	500	
Guests and Visits (i.e., taking his wives to visit their parents)	500	
Payment to *Fqih* of Friday Mosque and to Schoolmaster	100	
Total:		4,675

		Pesetas
Agricultural Expenditures		
Payment to *akhammas* (one fifth of crop):	5,000	
Daily wages to servants for plowing and harvesting (true *dhwiza*) with meals included:	1,000	
Seed for irrigated crops—derived from crops themselves	0	
Barley seed and seed for dry-farmed cereals—derived from crops themselves	0	
Irrigated crops	500	
10 quintals barley × 200 ptas	2,000	
Servant	500	
Animals:		
For goatherd: clothing for goatherd	500	
Food for draft animals (mule eats 2 kg. barley per day, 6 quintals per year)	1,200	
Implements (they repair them themselves; some are used up every year)	300	
Total Agricultural		11,000

Total Expenses:

Housing and Servant	3,610
Food	20,955
Clothing	6,510
Other	4,675
Agricultural	11,000
TOTAL	46,750

Total Income:	39,940 ptas.
Total Expenses:	46,750 ptas.
Net Loss:	6,810 ptas.

This deficit was covered either by the sale of animals or by occasional work that suited his social standing. It is worth adding that in 1956 this individual's gross income was 13,250 ptas. and his total expenses were 9,600 ptas.; that year he gained by trucking grapes down to Meknes. In 1957 his income was 4,265 ptas. and expenses were 13,100 ptas.; half his income was borrowed money. In 1958, he earned 89,000 ptas.[64] and spent 110,000 ptas.: he borrowed again in this year and had to sell his half-interest in a teashop on the market in order to pay his debts of that year and the year before. By 1959, he said he was no longer in debt, but he earned (by October of that year) only 70,000 ptas. to meet his 112,000 ptas. in expenses.

C (poor): The *akhammas* of B in 1954. Two dependents: wife and one son.

1) *Property and Assets:*

	Pesetas
2 days of dry-farmed cereal cultivation	4,000
Trees: none	
Animals: none of his own, but in 1954 he was keeping one cow and one calf both belonging to his wealthier partner in *shirxth* with the profits to be divided in half.	2,500
Housing: owned one-sixth of a house	2,500
Total	9,000

2) *Income:*

Agriculture:	
2 days farming, (dry)	
2 1/2 quintals barley at 200 ptas.	500

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[64] In 1958 the former Spanish currency of the independent North Zone of Morocco was switched to the Moroccan franc with 70 francs = 1 peseta. There may be some slight confusion here, as Rifians call a peseta *'frank'* (and five pesetas a *'duro'*) such that 10 newer francs was to them 1 *frank*. In 1959 the *dirham* became the official Moroccan currency, amounting to 100 francs, and thus 10 *franik* or 2 *duros* in Rifian terms. The overall Rifian term for "money" is *dhin'ashin*, obviously derived from the Arabic word for "twelve," but why this is so no one seems to know; it is also a term peculiar to the Rif, and the Arabic term *l-flus* is employed everywhere else in the country.

Animals:		
In *shirxth* with wealthier partner: profits to be divided in half, and he did not know how much he would receive—		
Milk: 1 litre per day × 6 months— 150 days × 4 ptas.		600
As *akhammas:* 80 *latas* grain		2,000
TOTAL INCOME		3,100[65]

3b *Expenses:*		*Pesetas*
Household		700
Food		5,745
Agricultural		100
Clothing		
For himself	735	
For his wife	480	
For his child	75	
		1,290
Other expenses		865
Total Expenses		8,700

Total Income:	3,100 ptas.
Total Expenses:	8,700 ptas.
Net Loss:	5,600 ptas.

This is calculating C's share (as *akhammas*) of one-fifth of B's crop as C himself gave it. Otherwise, if calculated as his partner, B, gave it, his total income would have been 6,100 ptas. and his net loss only 2,650 ptas. Even so, his poverty is extreme, and it is by no means untypical of the region.

* * *

The evidence adduced above shows clearly not only that the Aith Waryaghar in general are poor, but that they consistently live beyond their means. Debts (*imarwasen*) are eternally being contracted, eventually paid off piecemeal (for Aith Waryaghar have a well-deserved reputation for both honesty and hard work), and then contracted again. The month of December is widely recognized as the financial low point of the year. Not only does the debt structure help to preserve the economic imbalance in the tribal territory (and indeed in the region at large), but it also functions socially to preserve what are generally preexisting relationships—between kinsmen of all three sorts (i.e., agnatic, uterine and affinal), between neighbors, and between friends. These relationships are characterized by economic dependence with small scale clientage on the one hand, and relative independence with small-scale patronage on the other. For the wealthier landholder is as certainly a small-scale patron (at four-fifths of the harvest), as his impoverished *akhammas* (at one-fifth only), is a client (although, *insha'llah*, God willing, he may one day be a patron himself). This is a society that is fiercely egalitarian, both in fact and in its conception of itself; but in another, no less real image of the society, as seen both by its own members and by this anthropologist, some of its members are "more equal" than others.

It is common to rob Peter to pay Paul, and in this way to keep the debt structure automatically perpetuated. Debts can, of course, be (temporarily) liquidated through sale of livestock, and through another more drastic method: the sale of a part of the harvest, prior to reaping, for about half of what a person thinks it will be worth. A man can be paid a debt in land, if necessary, but money is preferred. During the *Ripublik*, a creditor could confiscate the debt equivalent in livestock from his debtor—a practice again tantamount to perpetuation. Also, grain and fertilizer given on credit to farmers by the present Moroccan government must be paid back at harvest time.

Another economic institution is known as *dhamristh* (lit. "deposit"), synonymous with *dhasrafth*, the grain storage pit in the courtyard of a house.[66] In *dhamristh*, A needs money and B lends it to him against some object or piece of property belonging to A. In almost all cases the loan is for a stipulated period of time only, and not at interest, for lending at interest is legally *haram*, forbidden. But the same Islamic law is against *dhamristh*, however, if land or real property is involved, because if the period stipulated is a long one, A can benefit very greatly from the land in question. This out-and-out renting on an annual harvest percentage basis or on an annual payment basis came to be the norm, and it was widespread before about 1954, when the Spanish administration (until then rather indulgent towards Berber "custom," or its vestiges in the Rif) took a dim view of it. In 1956 the independent Moroccan administration finally outlawed it as being contrary in spirit to the Shari'a or Muslim law.

The vicious circle remains unbroken, however, and the whole debt structure, engendered in large part by the triple combination of infertile land, poverty, and overpopulation, is the basic economic malaise, one that makes its contribution to an inherent social disequilibrium to be discussed in later chapters. Several recent researchers in Morocco have concluded independently that a major national pursuit (to what extent it takes place at the conscious level is beside the point) is that of "hedging one's bets:"[67] because one wishes to hold what one has by any means (herein lies the kernel of the Moroccan concept of power), and because one is never certain when or from what direction disaster may strike, one places virtually all one's eggs—economic, social, and political—in different baskets, so that if some get broken and come to grief, others will hatch and pay off. To this I would only add that the Aith Waryaghar subcultural version of this same pastime might be termed "hedging one's debts:" since their actual assets—or perhaps their potential liabilities—are hedged instead. It is a cultural ideal, in a sense, a game at which anyone can play, but one at which only the minority are successful.

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[65] The figure of 2,000 ptas. worth of grain reported here which he received as an *akhammas* is not in agreement with that of 5,000 ptas. quoted above for the value of wheat that his wealthier partner paid him. The reasons for this are probably several: one suspects a combination of his own possible exaggeration of his poverty plus a possible exaggeration, as well, by his partner of the quantity due to him as *akhammas*, and hence of the producing power of his partner's land.

[66] Known as *r-rhin*, "pre-emption, mortgage," elsewhere in Morocco.

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[67] Notably Mr. Lawrence Rosen, Mr. John Waterbury and Mr. Edmund Burke III. For my own part, I would also interpret the concept as one of "keeping a foot in both doors," which may include a variety of activities, chief of which may be in concluding successful alliances through marriage, in establishing successful clientage relations, and in placing one's sons in a number of different professions, even to placing them in (at the present day) opposed political parties. At the national level of the (very small) power elite of the present day, the eternal jockeying for position and "political dance" aspects of the question have been well described by J. Waterbury, "Marginal Politics and Elite Manipulation in Morocco," *Arch. Europ. Social VIII*, 1967, pp. 94-111.

3. MARKETS AND LABOR MIGRATION

TRIBAL MARKETS: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS[1]

Almost all Moroccan tribes have weekly markets[2] held on a fixed day in a fixed place, and called by the day of the week and the name of the tribe or location—for example, "Sunday Market (*suq*) of the Aith (or Bni or Ulad) X." The very smallest tribes share markets with their neighbors. Markets fulfill multiple functions in tribal life, as they are at once the economic, communicational, social, and political centers of the tribe. Blanco has cogently pointed out, for the Aith Waryaghar, that in terms of volume of attendance, the market day considerably exceeds Friday, the mosque day, in importance.[3] The reason is not far to seek: all males of all ages attend the market regularly, while only middle-aged and older men are in regular attendance at the Friday or congregational mosque. As a market is an extremely public place, going to market is almost exclusively a male concern; all women, save the poor and the elderly, are rigidly excluded—as indeed they are from the mosque.

Before the protectorate, the market site was completely deserted every day of the week except market day; but protectorate officials realized almost at once that the market was the ideal focus for tribal control. When the French *bureaux* and Spanish *oficinas* (hereafter referred to as "tribal bureaus") were set up close by all the major market sites, permanent shops began to open up along the newly built walls surrounding the sites themselves, and the economic functions of the markets were thus intensified. Communications were improved with the building of roads, and the resulting bus traffic from the nearest urban centers to the marketplaces, again increased attendance. The market crier could now announce the decisions of the village headmen through a loudspeaker, while those in the milling throng could see their friends, increase their contacts, and "hedge their bets" to the additional din of news and music from the radio that is standard equipment in every teashop. A site off the market, usually under a large and isolated tree, had always served as the meeting place of the tribal council, and now a special building was set up for this purpose, with the *qadi*, the judge of Muslim law, holding his own audiences and hearing out litigations brought to him in another part of the same building. And at another point just off the market is found the saint's tomb (usually half-hidden in a grove of trees that are sacred through association with the saint). The market lies under the protection of the saint, to whose name it may have been dedicated by its founders, and who may be visited by tribespeople for any number of reasons, from curing illness, or barrenness in women, to swearing oaths.

Early in the morning, people come streaming into the market from all directions. The peak period is around 11:00 a.m. to noon, and by early to mid-afternoon the tribesmen saddle up their mules or donkeys and file off whence they came. About 4:00 p.m. the buses, which have arrived shortly before the peak hour, make their departure, and by nightfall the marketplace is deserted once more.

There are two kinds of market: the local (or clan), and the regional (or tribal), in which the regular constituent attendance is derived from at least two, if not more, clans; the distinction is also based upon volume of trade, numbers in attendance, and accessibility (which today means proximity to main transportation arteries, although some of those who attend

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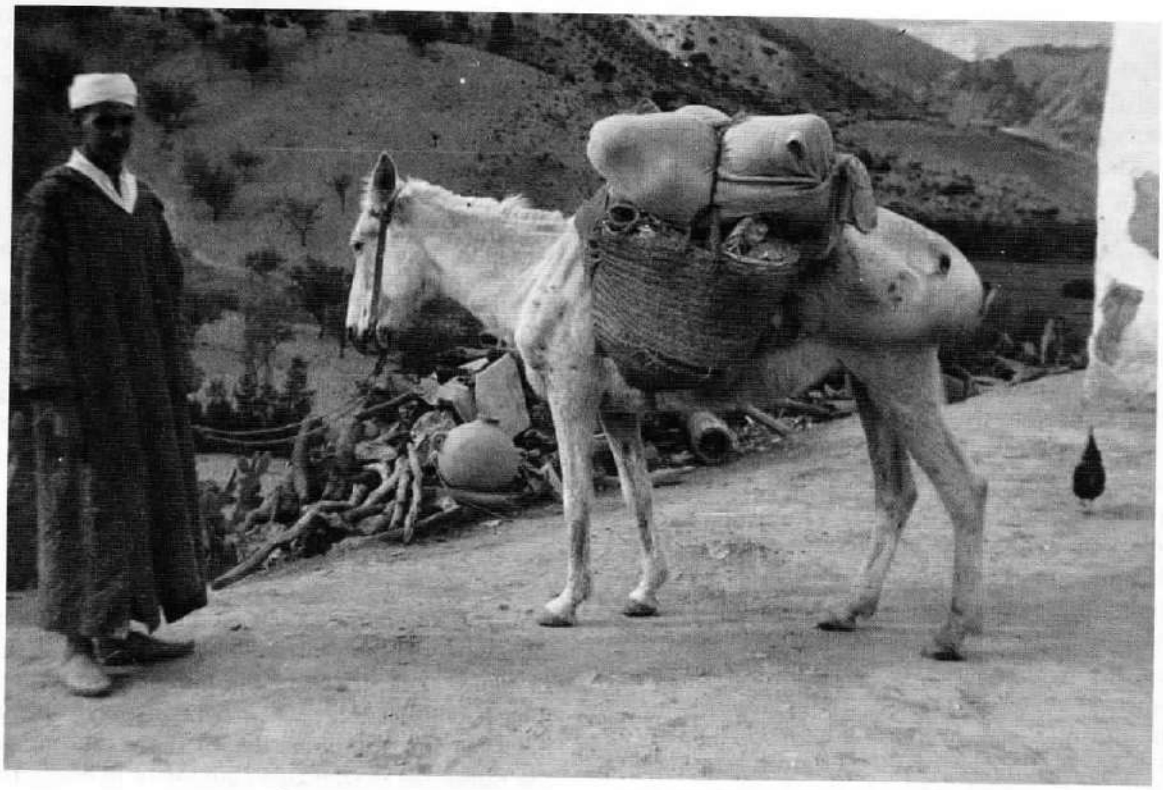
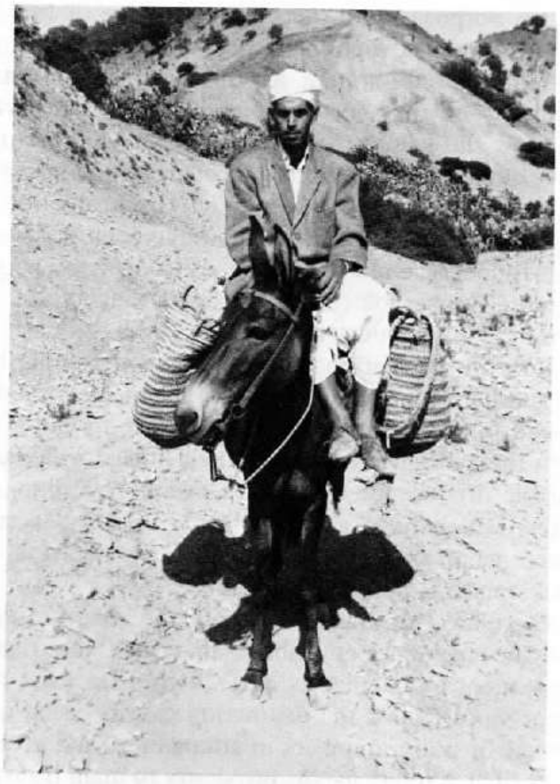
[1] For the relevant literature, cf. notably Walter Fogg, "Villages, Tribal Markets and Towns: Some Considerations Concerning Urban Development in the Spanish and International Zones of Morocco," *Sociological Review*, XXXII, Jan.-Apr., 1940; pp. 85–107; Francisco Benet, "Explosive Markets: The Berber Highlands," in Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson, Eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957, pp. 188–217; and Marvin W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco: Examples from the 'Northern Zone'," *Geographical Review*, XLVIII, 4, 1958, pp. 494–511, as well as Mikesell, op. cit., 1961. Cf. also D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1954 and 1958.

[2] Some tribal markets are semi-weekly, that of Midar in the Aith Tuzin, on Wednesdays and Sundays, being a Rifian example. In these cases, there are generally two actual market sites, near each other, and on one day the preponderant activity may be purchase and sale of animals, while on the other it may concentrate on grains, vegetables, and fruits. There are no semi-weekly markets in Waryagharland.

[3] Emilio Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 49. However, J. Brignon, A. Amine, B. Boutaleb, G. Martinet, B. Rosenberger and M. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris: Hatier and Casablanca Librairie Nationale, 1967, p. 189, express the opinion—no doubt well-founded—that weekly tribal markets in Morocco as known today are in fact a relatively recent phenomenon, having only started to "mushroom" when social relations became more intensified through, presumably, gradual population increase and gradual improvements in communications despite plagues and wars with the Portuguese and other Christians) and in particular with the introduction of a money economy.



a market regularly may come from as far as 15–25 km. away, by mule or donkey or on foot). Mikesell has emphasized the deeply rural character of most markets in northern Morocco;[4] nevertheless, some of them, particularly in the flatlands of the Eastern Rif, are, through greater volume of trade and accessibility, turning into what Troin has labelled "rural centers."[5] In Waryagharland, however, only one or two of the seven markets could be called rural centers, where the produce of the cities and the urban merchants make their presence felt. In the well-preserved localistic atmosphere of most Waryaghar markets, all the merchants and vendors are still as local as the consumers themselves, and the markets act purely as clearinghouses for the products of local specialization. Such markets may provide field for study in human relations as much as in economics: often a man may return home having exchanged virtually nothing more than a pannier of walnuts for one of almonds, and the cow he has brought along with him to sell he may take back with him.



a, b. Aith Waryaghar mountaineer and his mule (1959, 1962)

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[4] Mikesell, op. cit., 1958, 1961, pp. 90–91.

[5] Jean-Rancois Troin, "Une Nouvelle Génération de Centres Ruraux au Maroc: les Agglomérations Commerciales," *Revue de Geographie de Maroc* (special issue devoted to *Douars et Centres Ruraux*), No. 8, 1965, pp. 109–117. Many of the markets in the Eastern Rif have become such "rural centers," which are conspicuous in the Central Rif by their absence.

Roulette wheel at Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1960). (Roulette wheels are only a post-independence phenomenon at tribal markets)

Nonetheless, as Fogg has indicated,[6] the only urban center in the region, al-Husaima (then Villa Sanjurjo), which was built as a result of the Spanish disembarcations in 1925, was even by 1940 becoming integrated into the life of the surrounding tribal lands; by 1950 it had become completely so. It was until 1956 administratively Spanish-speaking, and with the new Moroccan government it became administratively Arabic-speaking; but apart from the Governor and some of his immediate staff, almost all the administrative personnel and almost all the inhabitants of the town are Rifians only a generation removed—if that—from the countryside. There has, however, been only a "partial opting-out" of tribal life, to use Gellner's phrase: many urban residents have "hedged their bets" by retaining most if not all property rights they had in their communities of origin, where they still count as *nubath* or nuclear families even though they reside most of the year in town. Should there be any administrative reshuffling in al-Husaima, individuals in this category can always return "home" to the lands which they themselves no longer work.

Mikesell has distinguished four main economic functions within any market: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialities for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from communities or villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. In protectorate times larger markets differed from smaller ones in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions, but since independence foreign imports have been considerably curtailed by the development of national industry. Larger markets (particularly those that have become rural centers) are also generally located at points where communication lines converge and at the limits or frontiers of complementary zones of production.[7]

Behind these economic functions stands a socio-political sanction of great importance: in order that tribespeople may go about their business unmolested, the market must be a place of peace, and market day a day of peace. Two Waryaghar dicta illustrate this: *n-nhar s-suq ghars r-hurma*, "market day is a day of respect," and *n-nhar s-suq dhags s-sulh*, "market day is a day of peace." The tribal council was present in order to see to it that this peace was kept, for the "explosive" character of Moroccan

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[6] Fogg, 1940, op. cit.

[7] Mikesell, op. cit., 1961, p. 91.

Crier making announcement, and attending crowd, Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1954)

markets, and of Berber markets in particular,[8] has not been entirely eradicated even since independence. It was for this reason as much as any other markets became centers of tribal control.

CLAN AND TRIBAL MARKETS IN WARYAGHARLAND

The Aith Waryaghar, as the largest single tribal grouping in northern Morocco, have more markets than any other; Tuesday happens to be the only day in the week on which no markets are held in Waryagharland (although there is no prohibition against Tuesday markets—the clan of Aith 'Abdallah used to hold one). There are currently seven markets in Waryagharland, and an eighth is being projected: (1) Sundays at Thamasind; Mondays at (2) Aith Hadhifa and (3) Aith Bu 'Ayyash; (4) Wednesdays at Tawrirt (serving the subclans of the Jbil Hmam); Thursdays at (5) Imrabdhen and (6) Aith 'Abdallah; and (7) Saturdays at Imzuren for the plain of al-Husaima. Map IV shows the distribution both of the men's markets and of the special women's markets, to be discussed below. These markets are not uniform but show considerable typological and historical variation from each oth by this is meant either expansion or contraction a attrition over time, such that it is possible to spe of the "life cycles" of markets. As noted above, o one Waryaghar market, the Saturday market of I suren, would really qualify as a rural center; the othe all fall into the local (clan) type or the regional (trib type. The Sunday Market at Thamasind and both t Thursday markets, that of Imrabdhen and the ne one at Aith 'Abdallah, belong to the first categor and the remainder to the second, although t Wednesday market of Tawrirt represents today special case of attrition to be discussed further o It should also be noted that tribal markets in Wary gharland are located at the borders between co stituent clans, and that since protectorate times, th expansion of any one of these markets at the e pense of another is directly attributable to impro ments in communication.

To take some concrete examples: during the *Ripu lik*, the Sunday market at Thisar was politically not economically the most important in the trib territory. Located in the virtual center of that territor just at the point of the upper Ghis River where th three Spanish-created administrative qaidates late converged, it was the logical site to hold a counc

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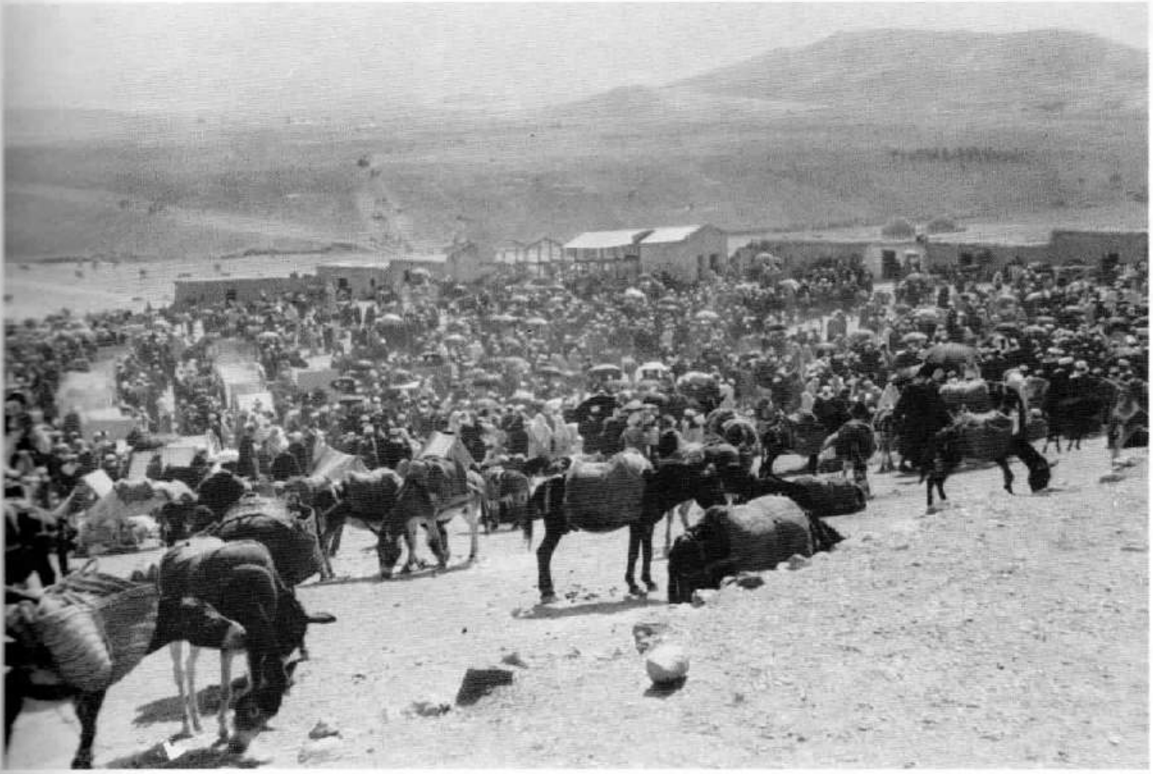
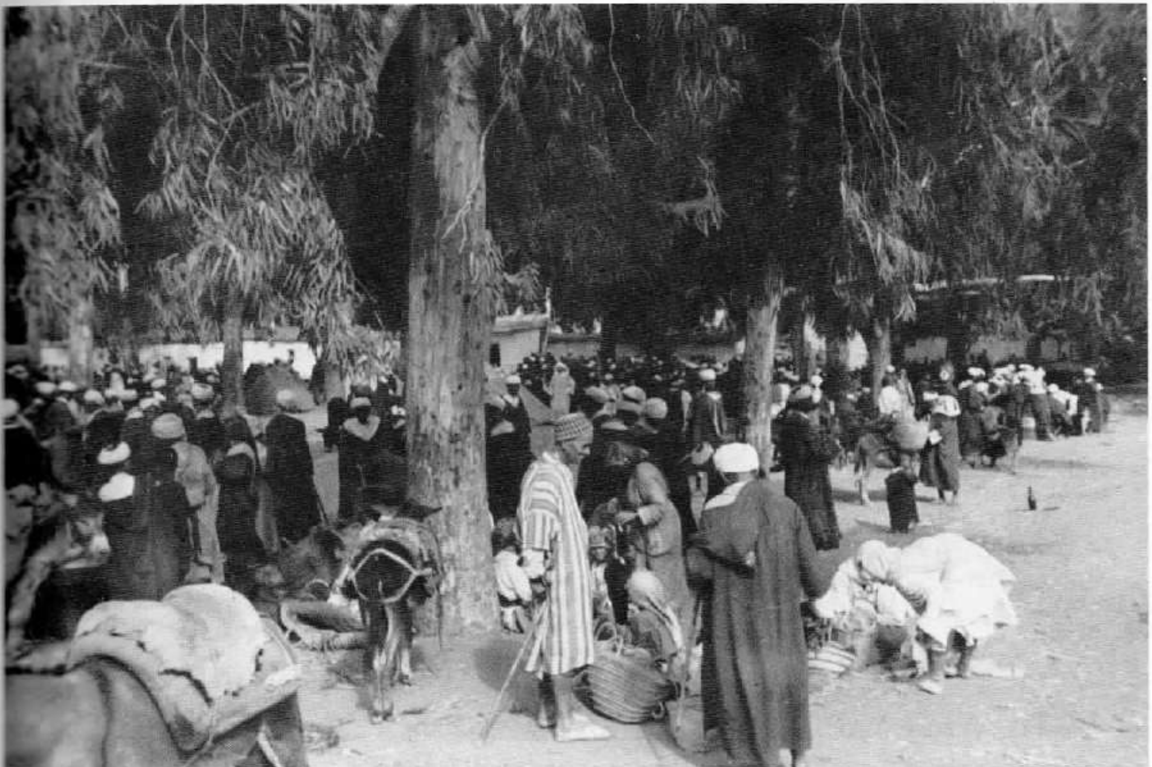
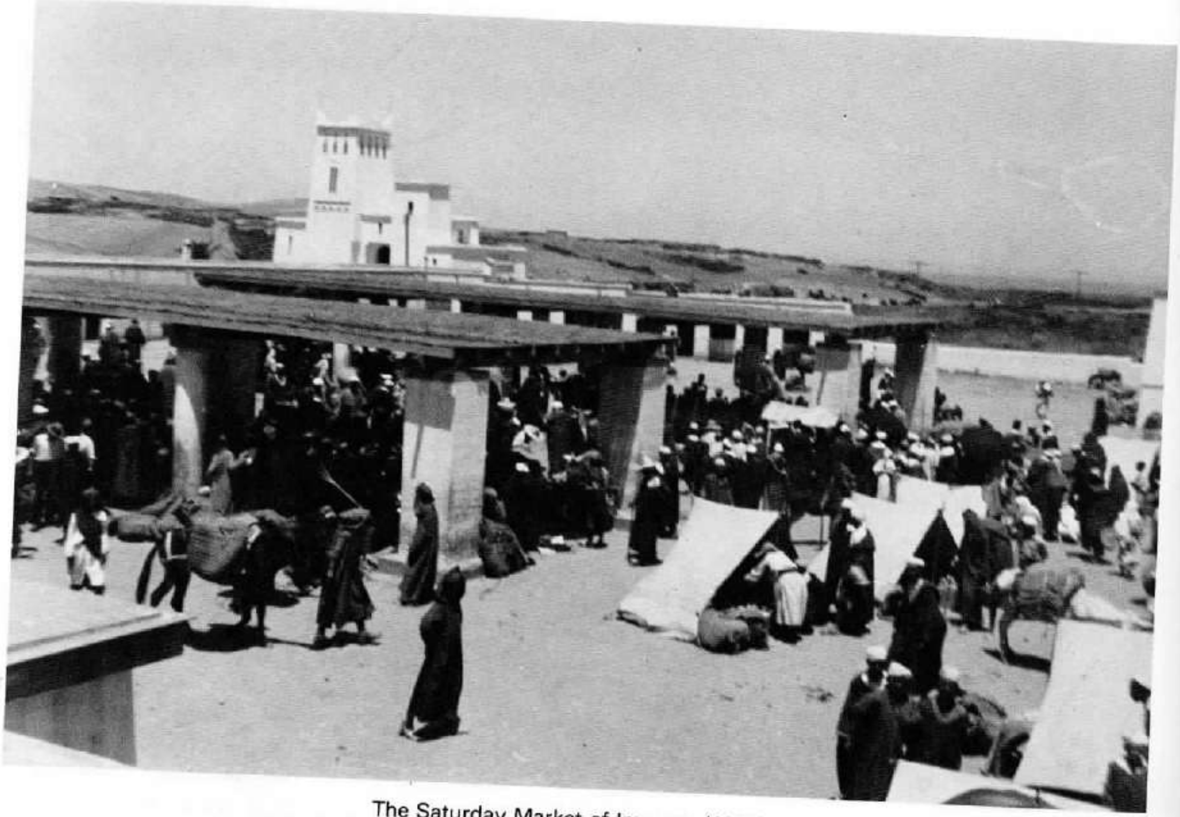
[8] See Benet, op. cit., 1957.



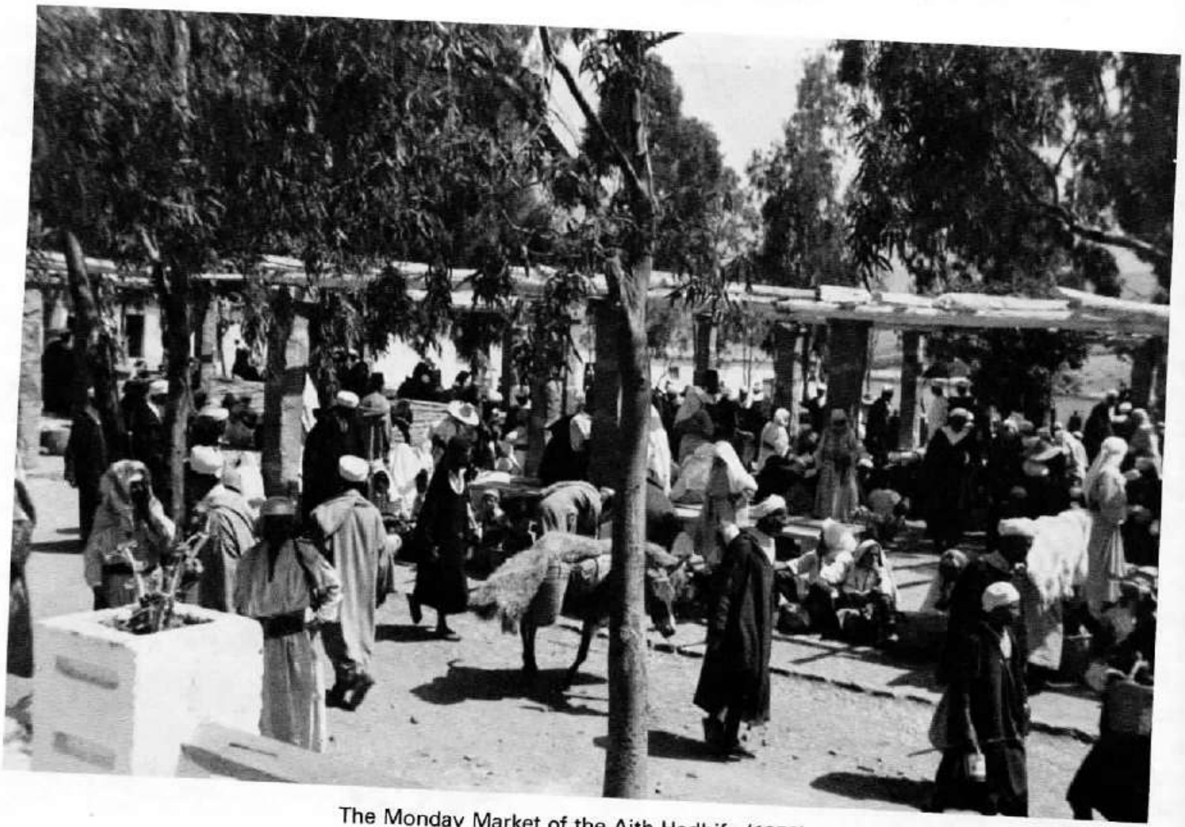
Mules and donkeys outside the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)



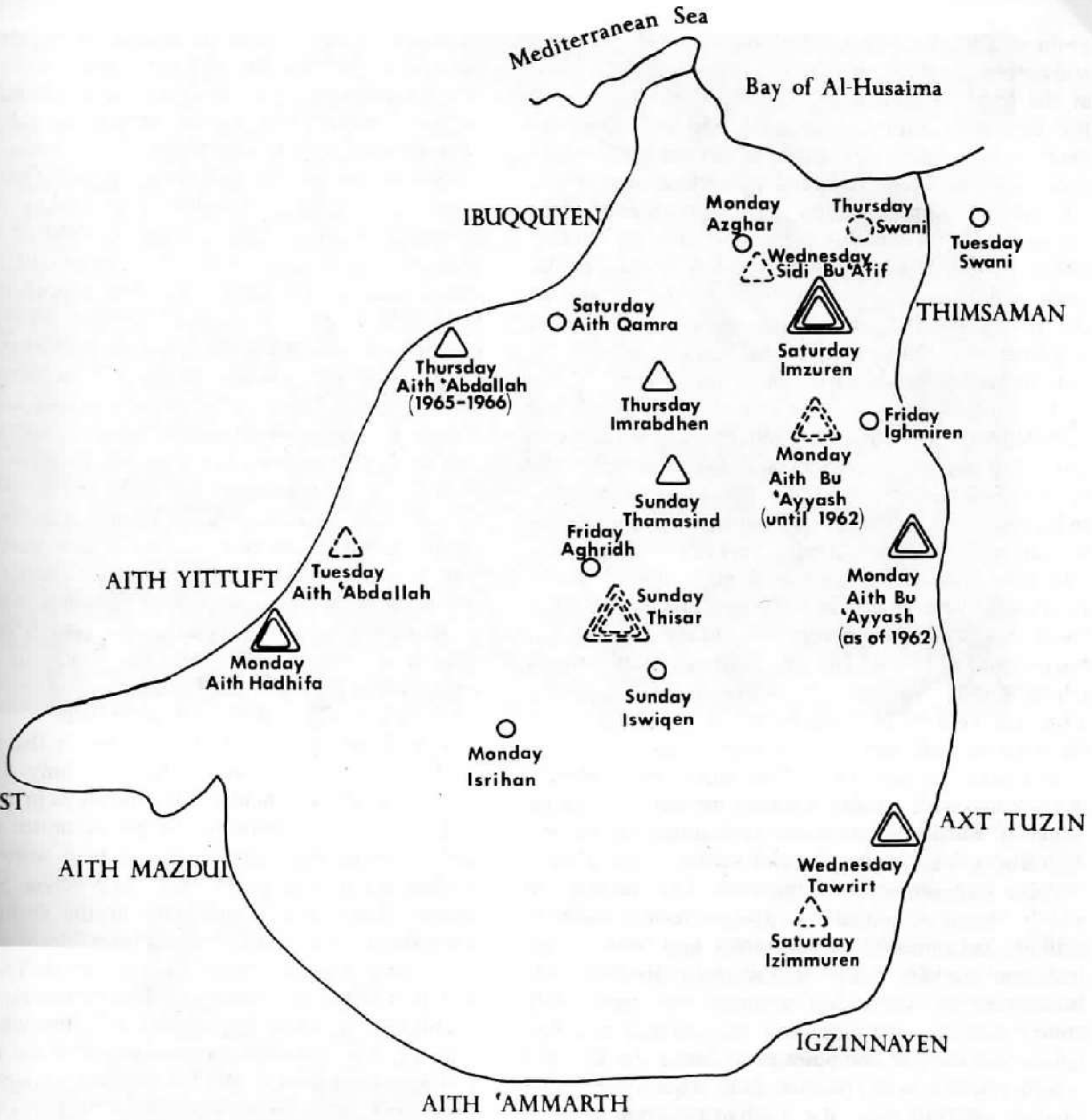
The Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1953)



The Saturday Market of Imzuren (1953)



The Monday Market of the Aith Hadhifa (1953)


Mediterranean Sea
Bay of Al-Husaima
IBUQQUYEN
Monday Azghar
Thursday Swani
Tuesday Swani
Wednesday Sidi Bu 'Atif
THIMSAMAN
Saturday Aith Qamra
Saturday Imzuren
Thursday Aith 'Abdallah (1965-1966)
Thursday Imrabdhen
Monday Aith Bu 'Ayyash (until 1962)
Friday Ighmiren
Sunday Thamasind
Friday Aghridh
Tuesday Aith 'Abdallah
AITH YITTUFT
Sunday Thisar
Monday Aith Bu 'Ayyash (as of 1962)
Monday Aith Hadhifa
Sunday Iswiqen
Monday Israhan
TARGIST
AXT TUZIN
AITH MAZDUI
Wednesday Tawrirt
Saturday Izimmuren
IGZINNAYEN
AITH 'AMMARTH

Map IV: Aith Waryaghar: Markets

△ —Major Markets

△ —Ordinary Markets

△ —Minor Markets

△ —Former Sites of Major Markets

△ —Former Sites of Ordinary Markets

△ —Former Sites of Minor Markets

○ —Women's Markets

○ —Former Sites of Women's Markets

of the entire tribe, when occasion demanded collective and corporate action on matters too grave to be handled at the local or clan level. But with pacification by the Spaniards and the ensuing administrative decentralization, the political role of this market abruptly diminished and had dwindled to nothingness by the time of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga's creation of three qaidates in 1934. In this particular case the market site was moved about 10 Km. north to lower Thamasind, and since it was not truly central to any of the newly created qaidates, it never evolved into anything more than a purely local clan market serving only the communities of its immediate vicinity.

The two Monday markets of Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa are both very old "tribal" markets in the sense suggested above, i.e., that of serving two or more clans, but the former has undergone a shift in location. After pacification (and again about 1934), the latter, on the clan border between Aith Hadhifa and Aith 'Abdallah, became the point of administrative control for the new Upper Ghis qaidate, and as a result it gained importance and volume of trade at the expense of the old Tuesday market of Aith 'Abdallah at 'Ain Thihrariyin, which dwindled and died. By 1949, the volume of trade at the Monday market of the Aith Hadhifa had reached 88,440 ptas.[9]

A higher volume, of 109,000 ptas., was attained in the same year by the Monday market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, located at the subclan frontiers of "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (community of Izakiren) and of Aith 'Adhiya (community of Ighmiren). This market, in which the sale of animals has always been a dominant activity, (as opposed to vegetables and fruits at the Imzuren market, grain at the Aith Hadhifa and Imrabdhen markets, and grapes, and until 1956, contraband at Arba 'Tawrirt) was relocated a few kilometers away at one point even during the *Ripublik* —informants speak of the Suq Aqdim or "Old Market" of Thifarwin, just south of Izakiren. In 1955, on the eve of independence, the Spanish administration built a new market place for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash along the main Tetuan-Melilla Road, but it proved too small and was abandoned. By 1961, a still newer market site was in the process of construction, at Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya) further south along the same road, and this is the Aith Bu 'Ayyash market site in use as of 1965. Prior to 1955, this market had to be reached by a pista or dirt road; today, however, it is on a main artery of communication and it continues to grow in local significance and importance, aided no doubt by the creation in 1962 of a separate "ru commune" of "Bni Bu 'Ayyash" (Aith Bu 'Ayyas which was no longer dependent upon the tribal bure at the Tawrirt market as it had been in the old Spanis administrative Qaidate of Nkur.

In contrast, the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, th most important of all the Waryaghar markets in Spa ish times, with a trade volume in 1949 of 122,4 ptas.,[10] has lost all its regional and even tribal signi cance since independence and has dwindled to th level of a large clan market; Aith Bu 'Ayyash ha completely replaced it in order of importance. Th reason is not far to seek: Tawrirt in protectorate time was the market in Spanish Waryagharland nearest t French Igzinnayenland, and a thriving business we on across the frontier both in money-changing (franc to pesetas) and in contraband. Even in 1965 it i like the Sunday market at Thamasind, accessible on by pista; the main road passes 6 km. north of i The now-crumbling "castle" of the Tawrirt marke office, built by Emilio Blanco in 1940 in a sentimenta architectural gesture evoking the collective sto houses of the Atlas Berber south (which are entire absent in the Rif), is in itself a testimony of the standi this market once had but has no longer.

The Saturday market at Imzuren, in the plain o al-Husaima, with a trade volume of only 51,953.6 ptas. in 1943, was held on Wednesdays in a slight different location prior to the protectorate; and sti earlier during the *Ripublik* it was held some 5 Km further north at Sidi Bu 'Afif. The newer Saturda market dates to the mid-1930s at the earliest, and yet today it is the only "rural center" in Waryagharland, easy of access from the main road. The layou and architecture are Spanish, whitewashed adobe wi corrugated iron roofing, and in 1953 the whole produced a drab and dismal impression that the barracks and parade ground of the local militia under Spanis command did little to alleviate.[11] Nonetheless, the seeds of the rural center that Imzuren was to become were already there; even then it was the only marke site in Waryagharland where the permanent shops wer

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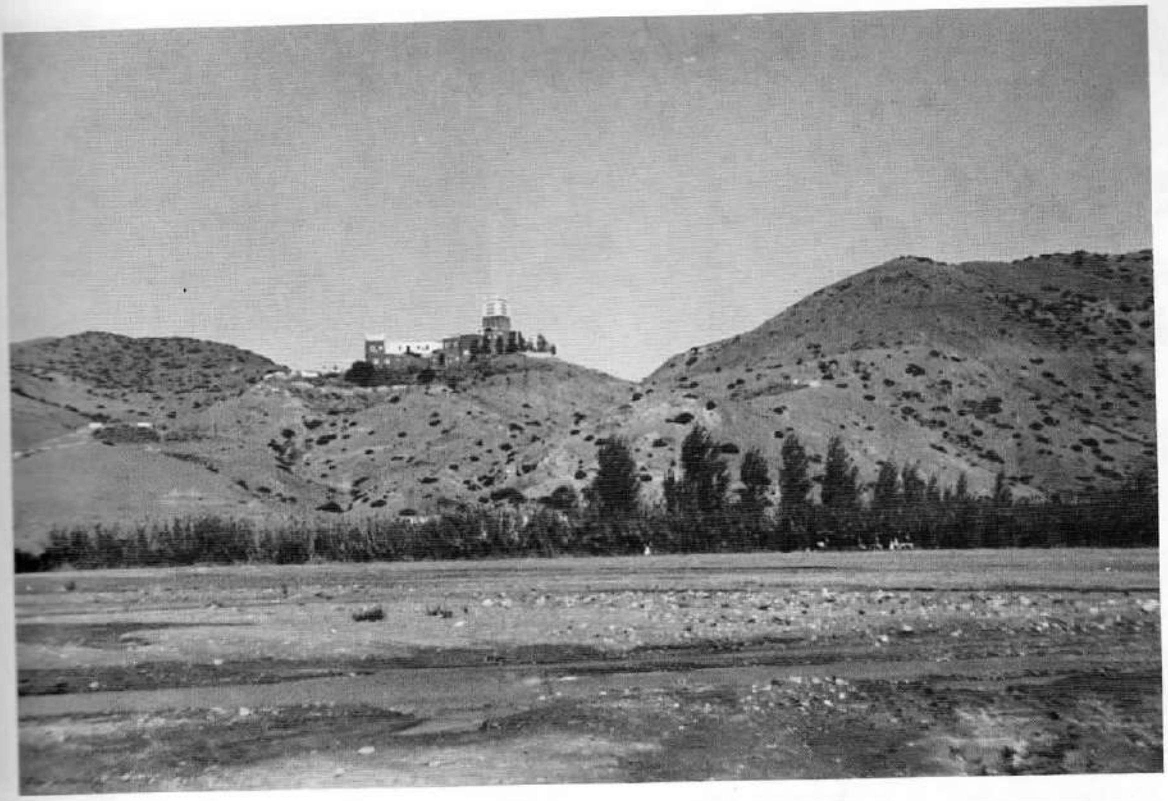
[9] Volume of trade figures in pesetas for the year 1949 are taken from Jose Cabello Alcaraz, *Apuntes de Geografia de Marruecos*, Tetuan; Editoria Marroqui, 1951, pp. 167–9.

[10] Even so, compare this figure with that of 240,000 ptas., f the Thursday market of Thimsaman, the highest in the whole o the Spanish Zone. Cf. Cabello Alcaraz, op. cit., 1951. At Arb Tawrirt in 1954, permanent shops around the walls of the marke included 15 tailor shops (10 from Axt Tuzin and 5 from Waryagharland; although none was from I'akkiyen, all the butchers, the othe traditional occupation of that community, came from there) shops buying figs and barley, (11 from Axt Tuzin, 3 from Ai Waryaghar) 11 general stores (5 from Axt Tuzin, 6 from Ai Waryaghar) 1 blacksmith (from Axt Tuzin but resident in Waryagharland) and 12 teashops (4 from Axt Tuzin and 8 from Ai Waryaghar).

[11] I do not wish to inject too personal a note here, but I live for six months in 1953–54 in a tiny room off the market pla itself in an atmosphere of almost unrelieved squalor, and hav only revisited Imzuren on two very brief occasions since then.

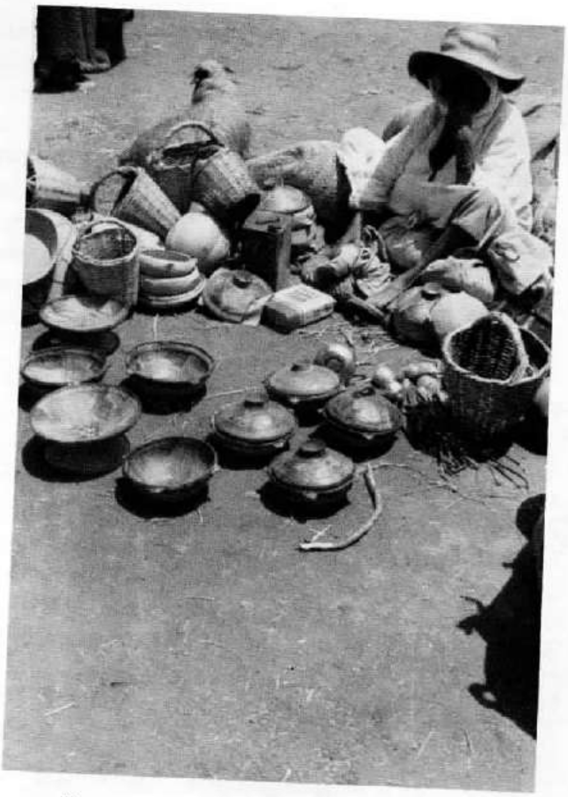


a, b. Emilio Blanco's "Castle" at Arba' Tawrirt (1953)

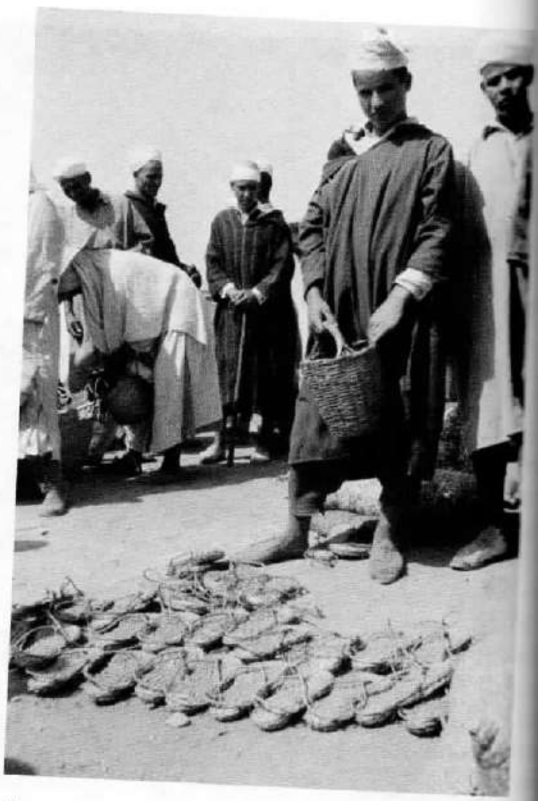
located at some distance from the market place itself, and not surrounding it. After independence Saturday at Imzuren achieved the highest trade volume of the Waryaghar markets, and Wednesday at Tawrirt dropped to fourth place.

I saw three of the larger Aith Waryaghar markets for the first time during the month of Ramadan (May, 1953) when they were perhaps only slightly more than half full. However, this fact made it easier to observe that the position of people who are selling articles of any sort within the market place always remains roughly the same each week, and that even though some women were to be found in the market, the segregation of the sexes is here more marked than ever.

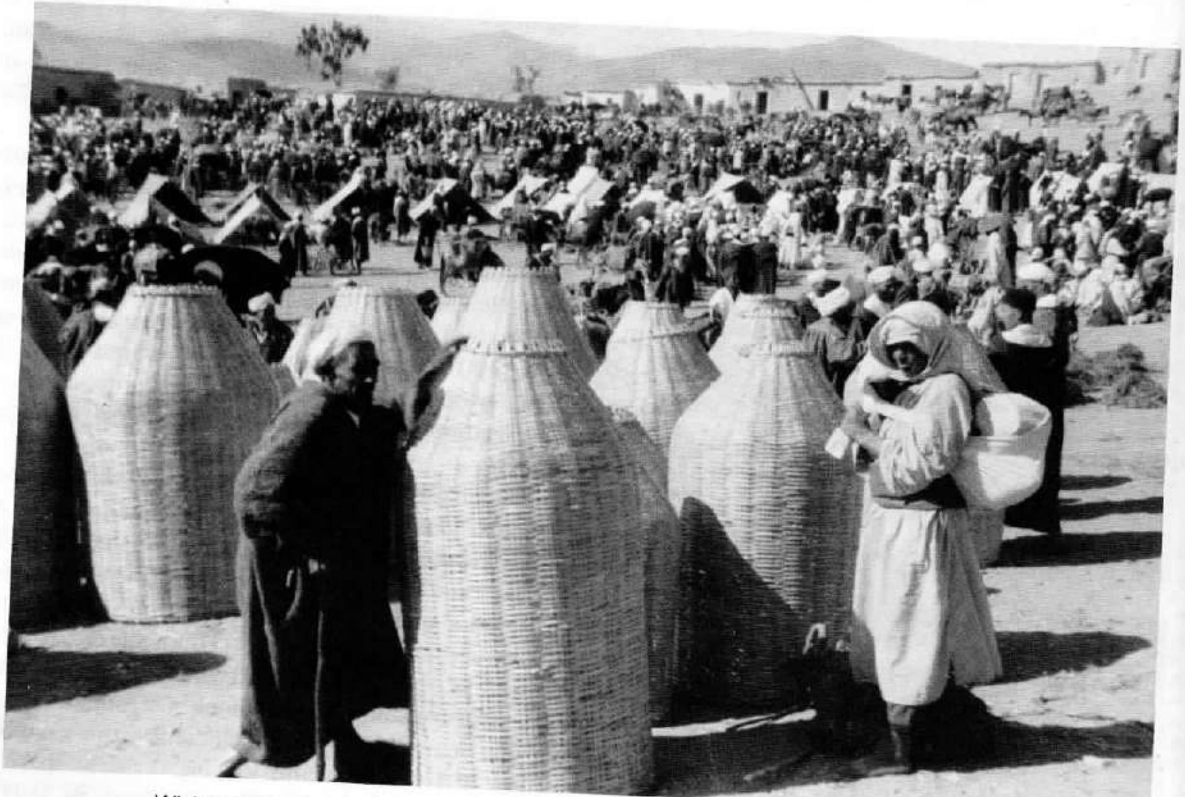
At Imzuren, for example, all factory-made articles (plates, glasses, kerosene lamps, frying pans, coffee- and teapots, and even butter and marmalade) came from Oujda in the French (now South) Zone by way of Nador and Arba' Tawrirt (Wednesday of Tawrirt). The merchants who were selling these articles were all local, though the goods themselves were brought by buses, trucks and muleback. Oil, sugar, flour, soap, green beans, rice and fish all came from Villa Sanjurjo (now al-Husaima), and Rifians resident there bought goatskins at the market for a factory in al-Husaima, where they were dried, processed and then sent to



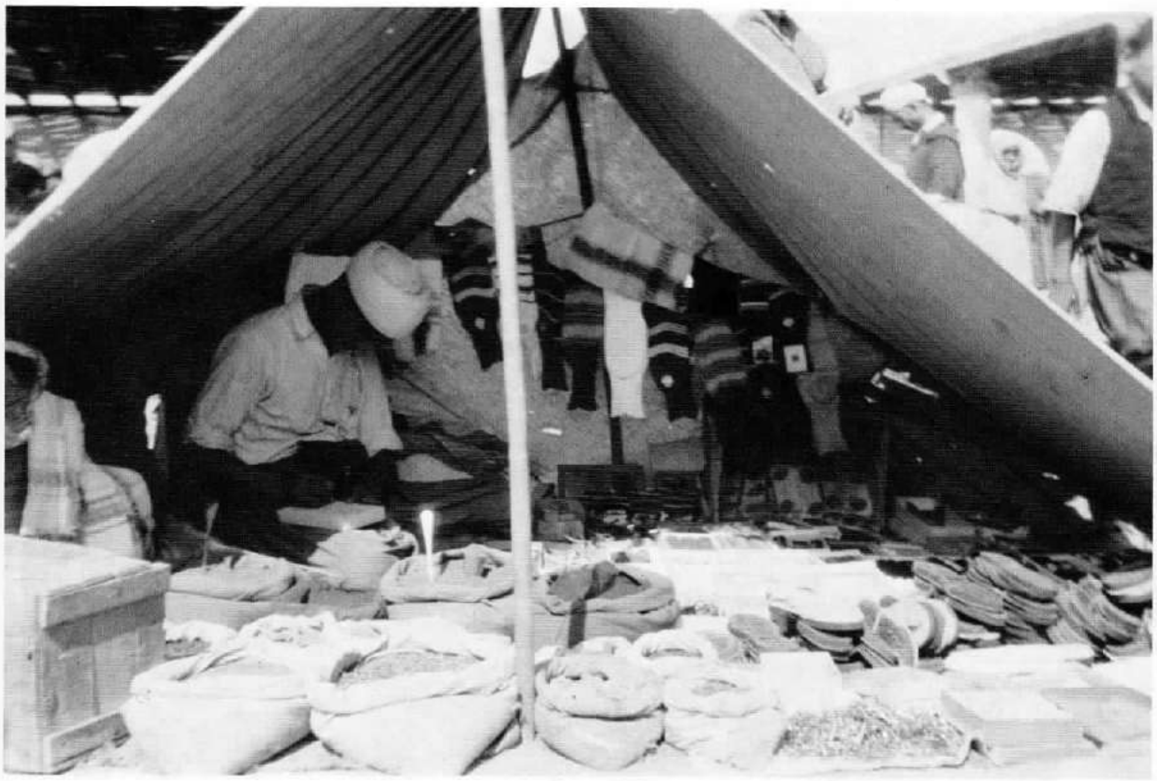
Woman selling pottery in the Thursday Market of the Thimsaman at Bu Dinar (1955)



Palmetto grass sandals for sale, Saturday Market of Imz
(1953)

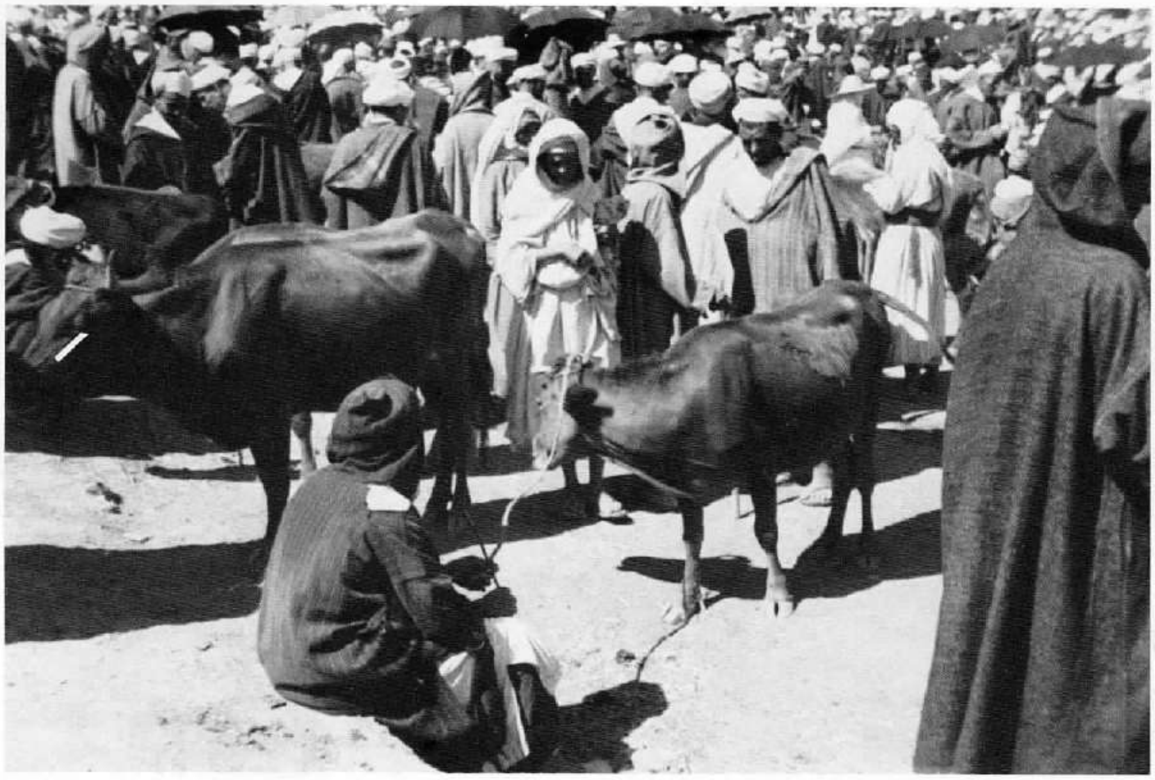


Wicker grain storage baskets for sale, Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)

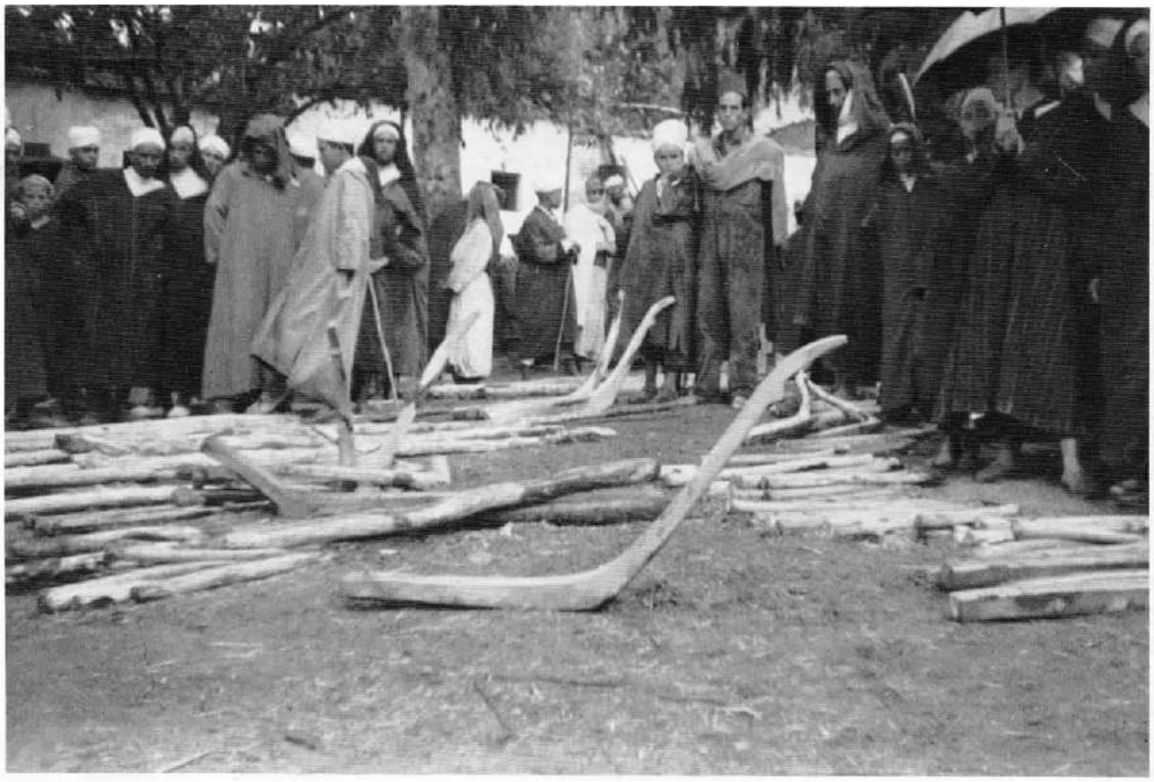


Vendor of spices, Saturday Market of Imzuren (1953)

Spain. Fish sellers came with trucks from al-Husaima Beach. Salt came from Nador, and hand-querns and rock salt from the Ibdharsen (l-Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif. Peppers and spices came from Murcia, in Spain, and women's woolen belts came from Malaga, while the tennis-style sneakers and rubber shoes that many Rifians still wear today came from Spain as well. Leather slippers came from Shawen and Taghzut in the Sinhaja Srir, while palmetto sandals were locally made. Men's clothing and handkerchiefs came from Tangier, and women's clothing from Tangier, Tetuan and Nador; it was tailored by I'akkiyen tailors at the market itself, and then sold by them to the merchants. Men's leather scrips and women's leather belts came from Taghzut in the Sinhaja. Walking sticks (a hallmark of Aith Waryaghar men, who were then seldom seen without them) came from Algeria; large palmetto straw hats were local, from the Ibuqquyen. Cloth and iron merchants came from the Thimsaman; animal merchants, who bought and then resold animals for a better price directly in the market, were from the Thimsaman and Ibuqquyen. Blacksmiths came who were resident in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash but who were all of Axt Tuzin origin (the same held true for the resident blacksmith, and his son, at Arba' Tawrirt, who had his forge just off the market); and the butchers at the slaughterhouse, working under the eye of a Spanish veterinarian, were, like the tailors, from the I'akkiyen. Donkey auctioneers and scale-makers and weighters were from the Axt Tuzin; basket makers from Swani, on the Aith Waryaghar beach; pannier-makers from Thafrasth, in the Aith 'Ari lowlands; pepper-millers, from Thamasind; cedar wood for *luhat* or Qur'anic schoolboards, from Zarqat and Ktama in the Sinhaja Srir; weavers, working in shops to weave jillaba cloth on horizontal looms, came from the Thimsaman and from Waryagharland (one from Aith Qamra, one from Swani) and one from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash); cord rope and palmetto sandal makers from the Ibuqquyen; people from every nearby community bringing in plows, yokes and winnowing forks; a master mason from Aith Qamra; a specialist in millwheel-making from Thamasind; goatskin buyers who were Jews from Melilla; egg-buyers with trucks from the Eastern Rif; mat-makers from the Ibdharsen (l-Mtalsa); porters; barber-bleeders who shaved their customers' heads with unsterilized straight razors (there was a barber in Azghar, but he was not a local man, as no Aith Waryaghar are ever professional barbers); a midwife (*qabra*); a specialist in curing rabies, from Swani; a specialist in curing worms, from Aith Hishim; an itinerant tooth-puller who kept his patients' teeth



Cows for sale in the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)

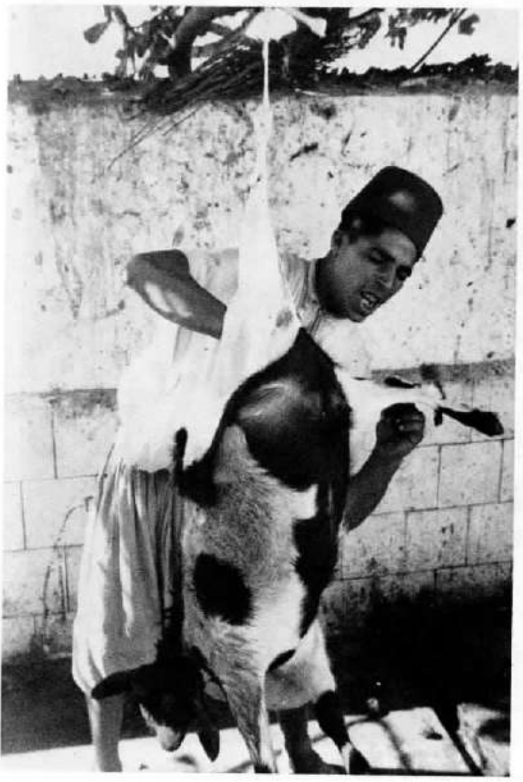


Plows for sale, Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1954). Photograph by J. R. Erola

Sweet counter, Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth (1954)

Selecting potatoes at the Thursday Market of the Thimsaman at Bu Dinar (1955)

Woman buying soap, Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)



Butcher in the Monday Market, Aith Hadhifa (1953)

in a box—he could hardly be called a dentist; the usual two Jews located side by side, one a packsaddle maker and the other a silversmith (this at the Aith Hadhifa market: at Imzuren there was only a silversmith); sellers of cooked meat on skewers, usually connected with teashop proprietors, in permanent shops off the market or along its edges; other permanent shops (generally clothing) along the walls; older women (or, by proxy, their husbands) selling eggs, poultry, bread and pottery;[12] people who sold vegetables and fruits of all kinds; vendors of bolts of cloth and of tailored clothing; seamstresses; shoe and slipper repairers; candy hawkers; olive and olive oil vendors; and at least one row of itinerant vendors of odds and ends—soap, spices, nails, candy, tobacco, paper, thread, flashlights, radio batteries, etc.—who were always installed in white cotton tents and who went regularly from one market to the next. Balloon sellers were common, and since Independence, every market has a roulette wheel with a pitchman shouting at the top of his lungs.

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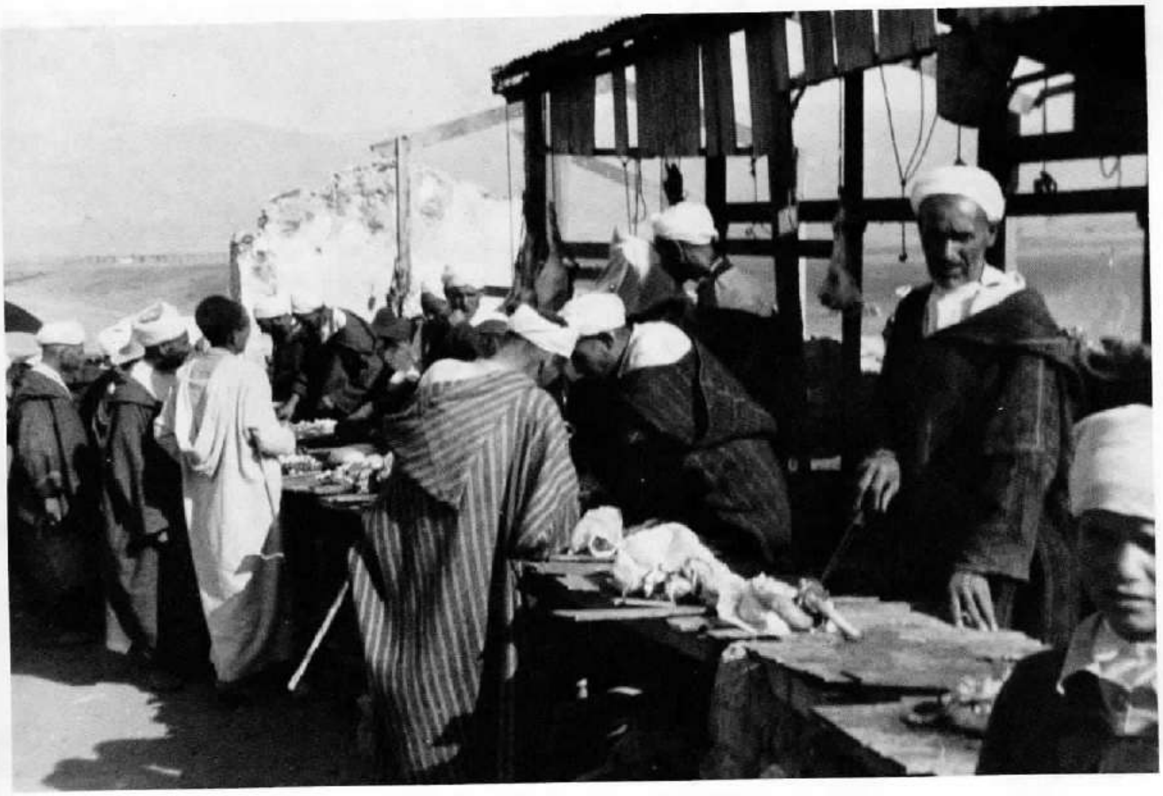
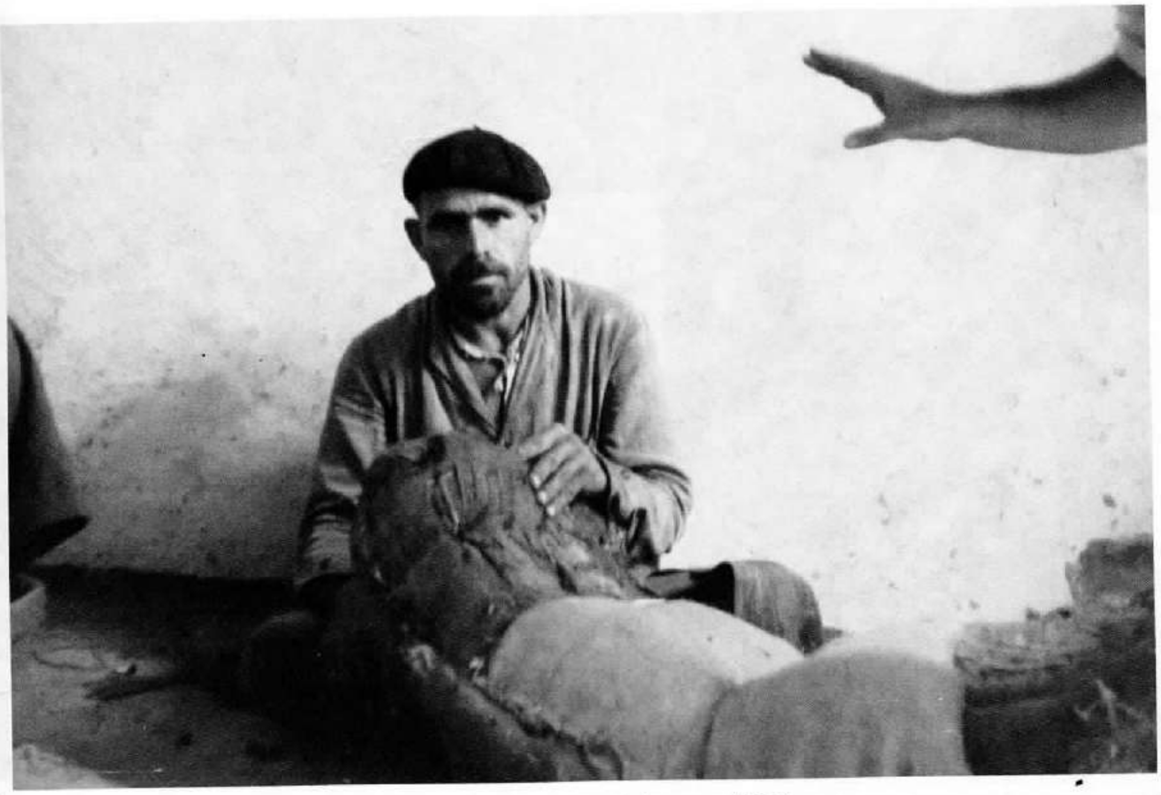
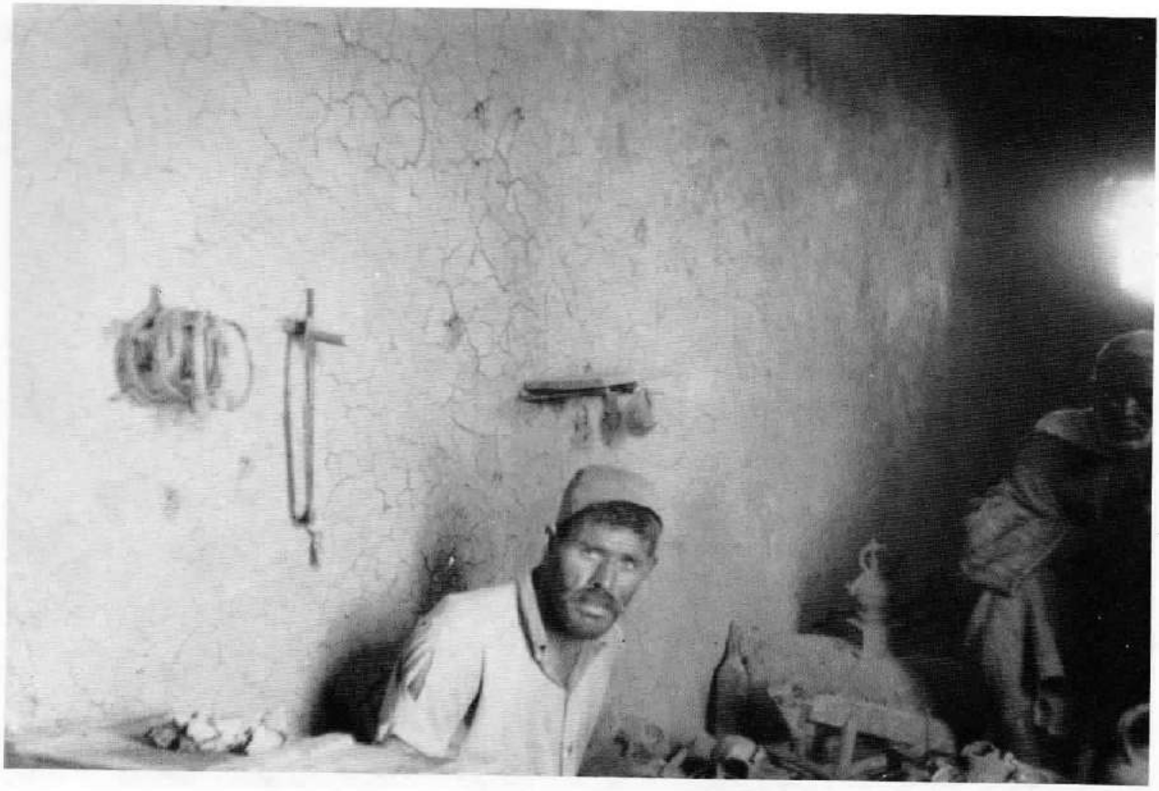
[12] In Imzuren the women who sell pottery are all blacks, from a formerly client lineage of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Abd r-Krim lineage in Ajdir. This is not true of potteresses elsewhere in Waryagharland. The social position of these lineages of blacks (some two or three, all told, and all living in the plain) will be discussed in Chap. 11.



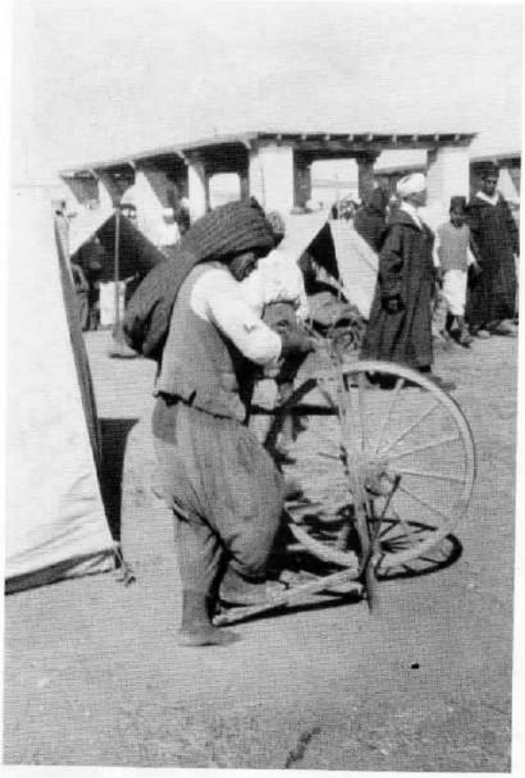
Slaughterhouse in the Monday Market, Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)



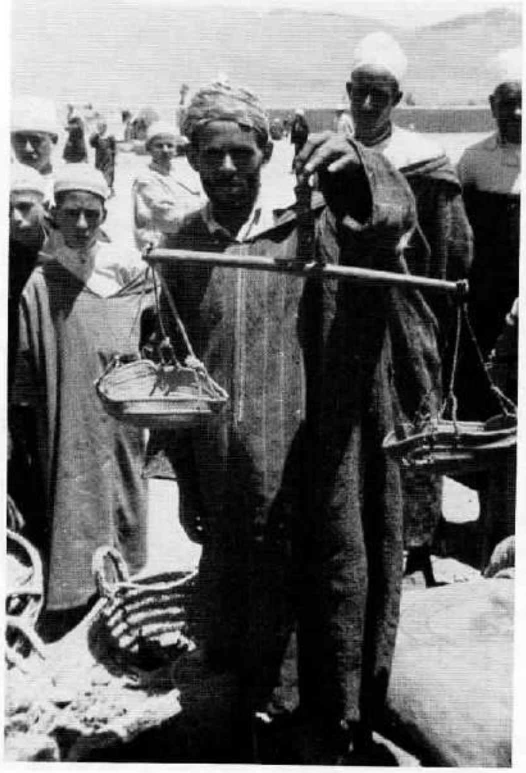
Jewish packsaddle maker in Imzuren (1953)



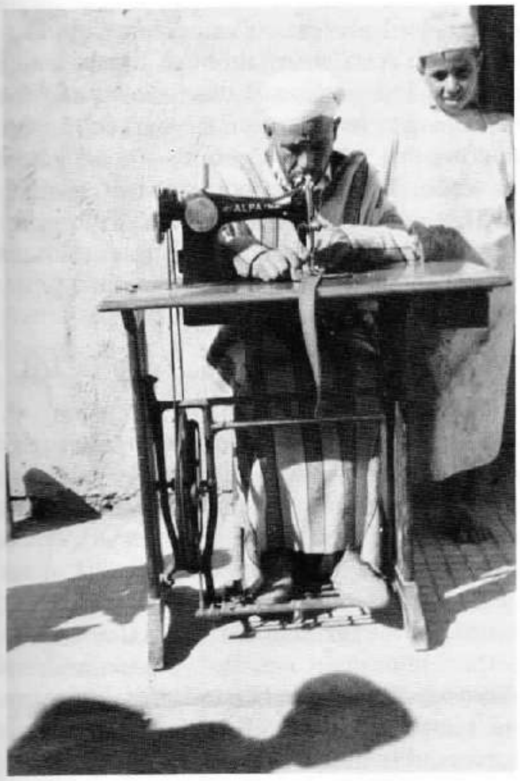
Jewish silversmith in Imzuren (1953)



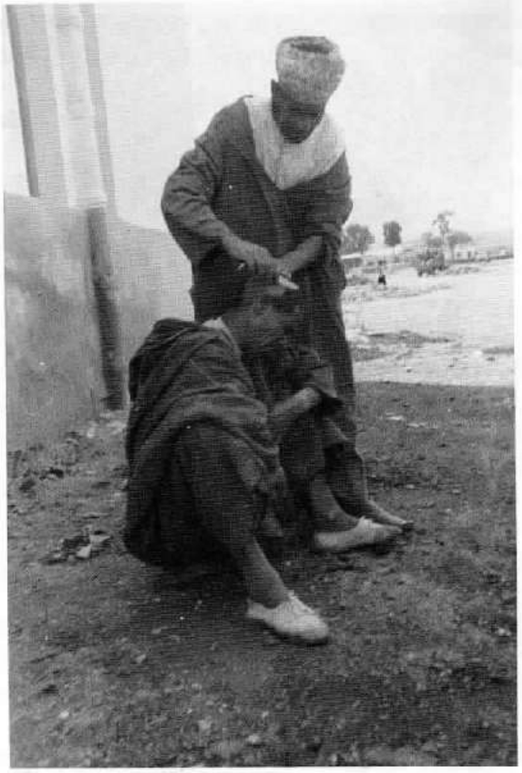
Knifegrinder, Saturday Market of Imzuren (1953)



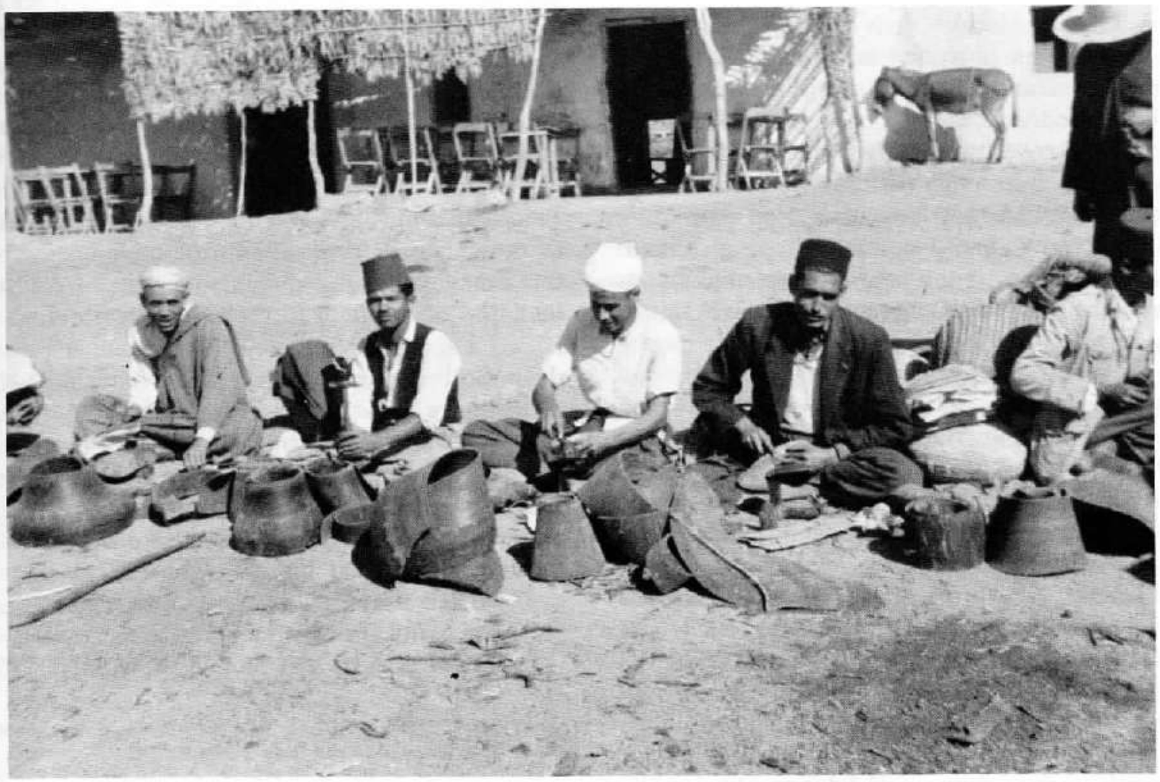
Weigher, Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth (1954)



Tailor from I'akkiyen working outside his shop at Imzuren (1953)



Barbering at Imzuren (1953)



Tinkers from the Axt Tuzin in the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1953)

Itinerant healer at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1960)

This listing is not intended to be exhaustive, and I give the items and the people selling them in no special order, as this is the jumbled and kaleidoscopic way in which one sees them as one is walking or pressing one's way through the crowd. As might well be imagined, any market (except in Ramadan) is a beehive of activity, and a continual roar of sound, with donkeys braying in the *funduq*, trussed chickens cackling on the roofs of the market buses, blacksmiths clanging on their anvils, the steady boom from the slaughterhouse as the butchers flay their animals, the radios blaring from all the teashops—and, from time to time, the *abarrah* or crier making an announcement to all and sundry, his voice emanating from the *qaid* or "office" over a crackling public address system.

Many further vignettes could be provided: men showing the teeth of their mules or donkeys to prospective buyers; the throng of people at the slaughterhouse (*dhagizzarth*) buying meat (as well as the invisible throng of supernatural *jnun* who love the smell of blood); the occasional itinerant story-tellers and (formerly) the two matted-haired members of the Haddawa religious order from the Jbala, also itinerant, smoking *kif*, beating drums and begging alms in the name of Mulay 'Abd l-Qadir l-Buhali; the *a'ashshar* or ticket collector at the entrance of the market, another despised profession whose practitioners also come from the Axt Tuzin (although I knew one from the Arab and Jbalan tribe of the Branis); and finally, in Arba' Tawrirt, then the frontier market, the money-changing booths, which went out with the advent of independence. The market is a place of jostling and hubbub, but also a traditional place of peace and respect. The political aspects and roles of markets will receive detailed treatment in Chapter 11.

WOMEN'S MARKETS: A SPECIAL PHENOMENON

Special markets attended only by women (*r-sswaq n-tmgharin*), from which all men and boys more than 10 years old are rigidly excluded, used to exist in the Anti-Atlas and the Sus, in southwestern Morocco; they also used to exist during the *Ripublik* in certain other Rifian tribes (in the Bni Bu Frah, the Aith 'Ammarth, and the Igzinnayen). But today, aside from one in the Thimsaman, which is right on the Nkur River border with Waryagharland, the only women's markets remaining in all of Morocco are those of Waryagharland, where there are no less than six.

In an earlier publication I labeled women's markets as a uniquely Rifian institution, and then modified this statement later,[13] but it is entirely correct to say that it is only in the Rif, and indeed only among the Aith Waryaghar, that they have survived—for the institution would appear to be as old as men's markets themselves. It is noteworthy that there are not, nor have there ever been, any women's markets in the Jbil Hmam subclan territories of the Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus; the reasons will be elucidated in the course of discussing the combination of factors that gave rise to women's markets in Waryagharland and contributed to their thriving survival there. Here I will only note that of all the women's markets, those of Iswiqen and Isrihan are the only two that do not correspond in location to a larger men's market, as do all the women's markets further north toward the plain (although the distance between men's markets and women's markets is always "respectful"). These two women's markets are on the northern edge of the Jbil Hmam, and since no women's markets have ever existed in the massif proper, the lack of correspondence with any men's markets in these cases seems to be paralleled by the lack of a women's market near the Wednesday market of Tawrirt.

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[13] Cf. D. M. Hart op. cit., 1954, pp. 80-81, op. cit., 1958, pp. 201–3. Previous observers have also noted their existence there: R. Montagne, op. cit., 1930 pp. 251-2, and notably A. Sanchez Pérez, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel," *Africa*, (Madrid), May 1943, pp. 22-23. Mouliéras, op. cit., 1895, p. 96, reports the existence as of about 1890, of a Saturday women's market, probably that of Aith Qamra.

Islamic custom (*qa'ida*), particularly the Waryaghar attitude toward women, was certainly a major, if not the sole, factor in the establishment of women's markets. There is no precedent for the institution in Shari'a law, and thus the tentative distributional explanation provided by Montagne, to the effect that in Berber-speaking regions the more heavily Islamicized and "puritanical" coastal tribes of the Rif and the Sus had adopted them to keep their women segregated, is only hitting around the target.[14] The question of segregation of women is indeed crucial, but its support is customary or perhaps jural rather than legal in the narrow sense.

Another hypothesis has been offered by Sánchez Pérez:[15] that women's markets were established as a result of endless intralineage, intraclan, and intratribal feuds. This line of reasoning says that since women were noncombatants and protected by the generalized respect (*hurma*) accorded them, they alone could carry on the commercial exchange that was necessary to the survival of the males who were not killed off in the feuds during the *Ripublik;* with shooting likely to occur in the men's markets, it was safer to set up special markets reserved entirely for women. It may seem a plausible explanation at first sight, but in fact it is not, for it fails to account for the continued functioning of the men's markets, which, during the same period, could and did operate every single week right along with the women's markets; although a given market might be "broken" (*yarza s-suq*) by fighting one week, it would still be open for business again the following week.[16]

A third hypothesis, of a physiological nature, has recently been suggested by André Adam:[17] since a more or less constant percentage of women are menstruating, and are thus automatically considered ritually impure, at any given time, and since this percentage is high enough to have originally barred all women from men's markets, the best solution for achieving absolute purity and segregation of the sexes was to set up markets for women spatially separate from those of men. Adam makes several other points: that the present attendance of some women at men's markets is a degeneration of the whole ritual surrounding markets from a hypothetical earlier state of custom; that women's markets are an extremely archaic institution in the areas where they existed or exist; and that the factors that gave rise to them in the first place cannot be explained by the rationalizations of present-day informants, since "rite survives belief." Aith Waryaghar informants chuckled at the ingenuity and originality of this hypothesis, but pronounced it categorically incorrect.

Given the widely diverse frames of reference of the hypotheses outlined above, it is now appropriate to consider the attitudes of the Aith Waryaghar themselves toward women's markets. The Aith Waryaghar say, first, that if any female of "good family" (*yiddji-s n-taddarth*, lit. "girl of a good house"), whether married or not, went to a men's market, she would be killed by her husband or brothers. Second, it is 1 said that women's markets are intended exclusively for married women, that the tribal council (*imgharen*) established them for this purpose, and that the men's 2 markets are attended only by old women, widows, and single girls who are not of good family or who are poor and of little account. All this in itself suggests that during the *Ripublik* no women went to men's markets at all, an inference that is supported by two other facts: the certainty that at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, women were forbidden by a powerful *shaikh*, the Hajj Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, to 3. attend the market at all, under penalty of a 50 ptas. fine and a beating (although this began to change somewhat after his death in 1946); and the total nonexistence of women's markets in the Jbil Hmam itself, where a tighter rein was and is kept on women than in any other part of the Rif. And a third fact 4 is that even in the less conservative region of the plain, for women of good family to attend even women's markets is looked at askance by many.[18] Thus the whole issue is clouded, and I submit that a powerful factor in the all-pervading segregation of women, and a probable reason for the fact that 5 women's markets were never established in the Jbil Hmam, is that men are afraid of what women are capable of doing to them through sorcery (*suhur* or *dhimgga*). Men do not know what may go on in women's markets, but they usually fear the worst, and this is why male informants' accounts of what probably transpires there invariably allude to women's purchases of herbs and potions designed either to turn their husbands' eyes away from other women and toward themselves, or, to cause their husbands to divorce them if their own eyes are turned toward other men.

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[14] Montagne, 1930, op. cit., pp. 250–1.

[15] Op. cit., 1943, pp. 22–23.

[16] One small market in the Igzinnayen, however, Saturday at Tharrushen, was "broken" for good because of a terrible battle in it, during the 'Ripublik,' and never re-opened.

[17] Personal communications, 1965–6. Adam's hypothesis is based on the former existence of women's markets in the Anti-Atlas and in the Sus; he is also against the bloodfeud hypothesis as well as against the "jealous husband" hypothesis, below. But his theory does not really explain either the origins of women's markets or, perhaps more to the point, their disappearance in the region he discusses.

[18] In the latter half of the last century, a seven-year war developed between the clans of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari in the plain, because the former had let two of their women attend the women's market in the Thimsaman, and the latter did not agree.

Each women's market has an *amina* who collects a little money as tithe (*'ashur*) from each woman who has something to sell. A dominant activity in the overt economic sphere of women's markets is of course the purchase and sale of articles that are women's property or are made by them: chickens, eggs, rabbits, pottery, jewelry, antimony for eye decoration, henna in leaf form, a special earth used by women to wash their hair, a special bark for cleaning their teeth, and women's clothing. Here, too, older women always start the initial negotiations for the marriages of their children. In 1949 the Friday market at Ighmiren grossed only 702 ptas.: the Monday at Isrihan, Sunday at Iswiqen, and Friday at Aghridh markets together only grossed 1,552 ptas.; and the Tuesday at Swani (Thimsaman), Monday at Azghar, and Saturday at Aith Qamra markets together grossed 1,734 ptas.[19] Comparing these figures with those of the men's markets given in the preceding section clearly indicates that the function of women's markets is social rather than economic. The charms and amulets for warding off the *jnun* or the evil eye and above all the ingredients for love potions are considered by men, however, to be the dominant, if a somewhat more *sub-rosa*, activity—whether in fact this is so or not. Since all males, except for boys up to ten years old who used to act as guards outside (a role assumed in Spanish times by a pair of armed *mkhaznis*), were and are rigidly excluded under penalty of heavy fine and imprisonment, a male anthropologist can only record the male view of the institution.[20]

Aith Waryaghar women, as Sánchez Pérez observed, seem to show a real enthusiasm for their markets, one which is, of course, not entirely shared by the men, whose attitude about them is ambivalent: there is, on the one hand, the all-pervading notion of *hurma*, or respect, due their women, by Waryaghar men ("the *hidalgos* with white turbans and black umbrellas," as Col. Capaz once described them); and on the other there is the equally all pervading view that no man must ever even see the wife of another. The institution is thus both a logical result of the extreme degree of sex segregation in Waryagharland and a concession by men to the fact that women want to see each other and be in each other's company just as men do. It is only what the women may be designing against them in these markets over which men have misgivings. As one must never underestimate the power of a woman, one keeps her rigidly under one's thumb; and in the Jbil Hmam one is indeed so aware of this fact that women's markets have never been permitted at all. Trading in l-Arba' Tawrirt is strictly men's work: it is understood by all that if a man is selling eggs and chickens there, he is doing it for his wife, who gets the proceeds; no shame attaches to this. She gets the proceeds, however, only for the above items: otherwise, her husband has full control over the purse-strings, again underscoring the economic character and function as opposed to the social character and function of women's markets—which exist, in fact, as a kind of afterthought.

LABOR MIGRATION TO WESTERN ALGERIA

The economic institution of Rifian labor migration into western Algeria and the rich plains behind Oran began, it would seem, about 1880 or even earlier—not long, in fact, after the initial penetration by the French and their subsequent establishment in the Orania region. It would also seem that the opportunity to profit from this type of migration was first extended to the Aith Iznasen "cousins" of the Eastern Rifians, and afterward to the Central Rifians, particularly those of the Iqar'ayen. This labor migration came to an abrupt end in 1962 with Algerian independence, and it is now convenient to speak of it in the past tense. It was not, evidently, linked either to any later Spanish labor migration to Algeria or to the Kabyle labor migration to France that began about the turn of the century; the two North African phenomena and the Spanish one would seem to have represented different labor currents entirely.[21] In any event, Rifian labor migration to the Orania plains was clearly a result of the development of this region by the French, who turned it into vineyards, wheatfields, orange groves and artichoke farms, and it also clearly antedated the pacification of the Rif by the combined forces of Spain and France. Men of the Aith Turirth subclan, for example, who became powerful *imgharen* or councilmembers during the late *Ripublik* period immediately prior to the rise of 'Abd al-Krim had previously served as laborers on French Algerian farms before returning to the Rif to carry on their bloodfeuding. However, the peak period of labor migration was from the drought of 1945 (when Rifians indeed went in all directions) until the beginning of the end, in 1955, with the closing down of the French frontier because of the Algerian war.

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[19] Cabello Alcaraz, op. cit., 1951, p. 168.

[20] That the women of the Aith Waryaghar can be as violent as the men is revealed in an incident which occurred in the early 1950s to the 2 *mkhaznis*—themselves both Aith Waryaghar from the Jbil Hmam—guarding the Sunday Market at Iswiqen. When some women in the market got into a quarrel leading to blows, the *mkhaznis* stepped in to try to break it up. At this point, a woman named Arhma n-'Aisa Thamzidha grabbed the gun of one of them, a Timarzga man, and told him to get his hands in the air. The other *mkhazni*, from Isrihan, had already started to run away. The Timarzga man then did the same, as the woman loosed a couple of shots over his head! She and the other women, now united, then marched in a body to the local administration office at Thamasind and turned in the gun to the Spanish army captain acting as *interventor*. The latter commended her good behavior, and jailed both the *mkhaznis* when they slunk into the "bureau" somewhat later. Today at the same market there is only one *mkhazni* on duty, but the two headmen of Ikattshumen and Iswiqen also alternate on weekly guard duty.

[21] André Adam, personal communication, 1967. Daniel Noin, personal communication, 1968, suggests that as Milliot (cf. note 22) refers to Moroccan (for which read Rifian) labor migration in Algeria as having begun about 50 years before he wrote his article, this would place the date of commencement at approximately 1880. Noin interviewed two men from the Aith Wurishik whose grandfathers had worked in Algeria prior to the Spanish protectorate, and I know of at least one highland Waryaghar man who must

The economic imperatives behind Rifian labor migration to Algeria (to which the Spanish literature gives the expressive label *emigración tipo golondrina*, or "swallow-type migration") are not far to seek. Benedicto Pérez[22] has stated them succinctly: (1) overpopulation in the Rif, and resultant disequilibrium between the number of inhabitants and the amount of available arable land; (2) instability of the agricultural economy in the Rif, where some land is good but much of it is infertile and is often subjected as well to drought; and (3) disequilibrium between the total potential labor force and the amount of work available.

Labor migration was thus the absorption of an excess of Rifian energy by the far richer and more developed agricultural lands of Western Algeria. Benedicto Pérez also observes that although migration was a very old phenomenon in the Rif (i.e., to Tangier, Tetuan, l-'Ara'ish, the Gharb, Fez, etc.), "swallow-type" labor migration to Algeria, involving a repeated pattern of about six months a year in that country and six months at home, was far more recent.

For the French, the overpopulation and resultant lack of agricultural work in the Rif came to represent a labor bonanza in the form of what they called merely "Moroccans." The colons needed and were enthusiastic about Rifian labor: they found Rifians in general to be excellent workers, far better than the local Algerians; they could do any job asked without complaint, they kept to themselves, and almost never created any trouble. Their basic objective was to work long, hard hours (with time-and-a-half for overtime), to scrimp and save. Whether or not a laborer might shoot an old enemy on his next trip home was of absolutely no concern to the colon, for Rifians, and the Aith Waryaghar in particular, had a reputation for "keeping their noses clean" while on the job.

Labor migration from Waryagharland was almost nil during the times of plowing in autumn and harvesting at the beginning of the summer. The peak return time was October, for plowing, and the peak for leaving, February–April. The migrating groups were organized by a foreman at the level of the local community (although this was not always the case when Milliot wrote in 1934, it had become generally true by 1948, when Benedicto Pérez wrote that each group from a given place tended to work every year at the same farm, even though the personnel within the groups might change). Each local group went to Algeria in a body, Central Rifians usually crossing the Spanish-French Zone frontier at 'Ain Zuhra in the Mtalsa. When the work was finished, the profits were divided up equally among the workers, with the foreman receiving two shares and his assistant, half a share.

During the working season the workers were paid off periodically so that they could send home remittances. There were couriers (*bushta*) from the same clans as the workers who were responsible for taking the money and giving it to the workers' families. These couriers were a traditional part of the arrangement, and as of the early 1950's they seem to have done

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have been there very soon after 1900. However, the very first mention of the Aith Waryaghar in connection with Algeria may date from 1856. The reference is archival, "Sobre la Resolución Adoptada por las Autoridades Francesas Acerca de las Marroquíes que llegan a las Puertas de Argelia con Pasaportes Expedidos por el Gobernador de Melilla," and comes from the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Madrid, Legajo 8357. It may also possibly be significant that the Aith Waryaghar are the only tribe actually mentioned by name (as "Beni Urriaguel"). The memorandum is largely concerned with the passports and other documentation issued to Rifian workers by the Spanish governorate in Melilla in order to give them entry to the Algerian ports, and covers the period 1855–1859.

[22] There are two very worthwhile studies available of (predominantly Eastern) Rifian labor migrants in Algeria, but neither is concerned with migrants from the Aith Waryaghar in particular, except in passing. My own data highlight certain significant differences between Central and Eastern Rifians, particularly in the type of work sought. Louis Milliot, "L'Exode Saisonnier des Rifians vers l'Algérie," *Bulletin Economique de Maroc*, Vol. I, nos. 5-6 1934, pp. 313–321, 397–402, is concerned with all Rifians in general, from the Aith Waryaghar eastward; and Fernando Benedicto Pérez, "Trabajadores Rifeños en Argelia," *Conferencias Desarrolladas en la Academia de Interventores 1948*, Tetuan 1949, pp. 5–17, is concerned primarily with Eastern Rifian migrants, and especially those of the Aith Wurishik. Milliot's material was largely derived from the Aith *Algerian* side of the frontier (he gives month-by month statistics of Rifian entries into and exists from Algeria, on a tribe-by-tribe basis, from May 1931 to December 1932, and on this basis he calculated that about one-tenth of the total population of the Central and Eastern Rif migrated to Algeria, during the time in question). The Aith Waryaghar entries and exits ranked only second to those of Axt Tuzin. Benedicto Pérez' later information, however, was derived from interviewing Rifian labour migrants in Spanish Morocco. My data on the subject noted early in 1955, derive largely from a man in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clan who had spent 18 years in Pérregaux and in Orléansville (now al-Asnam) as a contractor of Rifian (Waryaghar) labor with French colons in those regions. Unless otherwise indicated, my own material forms the backbone of my account. I have unfortunately never been able to get the picture in the round, i.e., from the Algerian side of the fence.

considerable smuggling. A more or less resident labor contractor in Algeria contracted for the group with the French colons, usually for a given job in a given place. And if one of its members became sick or weakened, he was no longer considered as belonging to the group. At home, in the Rif, the community headman (*mqaddim*) had to provide the Spanish *interventor* with weekly lists of workers who were away.

In normal years 35% of the adult male population was migrating, and a principal determinant of migration was the amount of harvest obtained in the Rif rather than the availability of jobs in Algeria.

The main idea of every worker was to save money, and to this end he spent as little as possible on food; Milliot notes that Rifians tended to eat somewhat more meat than the Algerians, but perhaps this was natural since Rifians were almost always employed in jobs demanding greater physical stamina. The contractor, or in some cases the foreman, obtained as much work as possible for his group and arranged it so that they lost as little time as possible in going from one job to the next. The members of the groups often showed their appreciation by giving presents to their contractor from their own pockets.

A striking feature of labor migration was its tribal organization. The great majority of the workers, foremen, guards, and other Rifian personnel on each farm were from the same tribe, if not always from the same clan. A dhu-Waryaghar, for example, always gravitated toward a place where fellow tribesmen, or better, fellow clansmen, were established, and Milliot points out that in the early 1930s virtually every bus stop and Arab tea shop was an informal clearinghouse for information, such as: Which farms are near here? What tribe do most of Monsieur X's workers come from? What is the work (wheat, oranges, artichokes, vineyards)? What are the openings? It is also important to note that Rifian workers were not placed in their jobs by the colons, with whom their personal contact was always minimal; rather they sought work with members of their own tribes by looking for individual contractors, preferably fellow tribesmen, who were known both in Algeria and at home in the Rif. By the late 1940s the system of labor contractorships, which in Milliot's time had only been rudimentary, was solidly established and greatly facilitated placement.

Given this community and clan-based organization of labor groups, the principal work zones tended to follow distinct tribal lines. Most Aith Waryaghar workers came from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the subclans of the Jbil Hmam, and workers from the plain of al-Husaima and the upper Ghis region were distinctly fewer in number. The Aith Bu 'Ayyash were concentrated in the towns of Mustaghanim, Ighil-Izan, Orléansville (now al-Asnam), and Wad Fadda in the Orania, and in Bu Farik and Rghaya in the Department of Algiers. Pérregaux contained some Aith Waryaghar from both the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil, but was not primarily a Waryaghar center. The clans of the Jbil Hman went to the same towns as the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also to Frenda in the Orania, where there was a heavy concentration of Aith 'Arus, and Bu Farik, where there was a similar concentration of Aith Turirth. Workers from central Waryagharland gravitated toward Sidi Bu Hanifiya.[23]

The majority of the Rifian workers lived outside these towns in neighboring villages where the colons had their farms. Unfailingly, the colons appreciated the Rifians far more than they did the native Algerians: the former were stronger and worked harder and as a result were generally given better jobs, such as guarding houses, storehouses, farms, and estates (in which case they were generally provided with shotguns). Rifians were also made foremen of gangs of Algerian workers—a practice that tended to create much bad feeling between Rifians and Algerians.

All Rifians—and the Aith Waryaghar in particular—coveted the jobs as shotgun guards on the big estates; however, the Central Rifians gravitated toward jobs as day-laborers, in orchards and vineyards, while the Eastern Rifians worked where they were paid by the job, as road workers, construction workers, dock porters, etc. This correlation was not absolute, of course, but informants say that it was fairly generalized. The Iqar'ayen, Aith Sa'id, Aith Wurishik, and Ibdharsen all did work by the job; the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin were divided between work by the job and day labor; and the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen were day-laborers on farms or guards of estates.[24]

In 1954-55, French colons in the Orania—where the great majority of Rifians from all tribes were working—were paying a daily wage of 420 frs. per worker. Until 1953 the wage was only 345 frs., but it was still more than double what a Rifian would receive working on the road in Spanish Morocco: 16 ptas. (=160 frs.) per day. Each laborer worked from sunrise to sunset every day except Sunday. If a man chose to work Sunday, he was paid time-and-a-half for overtime (i.e., 630 frs. per day). Often, too, if a colon wanted to get a given job finished in a hurry he doubled the salaries of his workers. Workers who had families in Algeria (a very small minority) also received an extra stipend. Workers were paid every week or every other week by the contractor, who was also the paymaster.

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[23] As for the other Rifian tribes, the Ibuqquyen workers went to l-Harrash near Algiers, and the Aith 'Ammarth workers were all in two villages near Mustaghanim. Igzinnayen workers, the most welcome of all, being from the French Zone, were scattered all over the Orania and West Algiers region, though a good many were in the same places as the Aith Waryaghar. Workers from the Thimsaman went to 'Ain Tmushint, to Blida and to Algiers itself, and those from the Axt Tuzin went to Tlemcen and Sa'ida, and to Marengo, west of Algiers. The Aith Wurishik and Ibdharsen workers gravitated toward Sidi bil-'Abbas and Sa'isa, those of the Aith Sa'id went to Pérregaux and Arzew, and those of the Iqar'ayen went to Oran itself, where they are said to have had their own quarter, and to Tlemcen.

[24] A classification of work sites according to the predominant agricultural activity would show the vineyards to be located near Sidibil-'Abbas, 'Ain Tmushint, Oran, Mustaghanim, Mascara and Blida, to mention only a few; the wheatfields near Sa'ida, Frenda and Orléansville; and the orange groves and artichoke gardens, near Perrégaux, Iahil Izan and Bu Farik. Algiers itself was the eastern limit of Rifian labor migration, and at no point did it ever go east of that city.

The contractor himself did nothing but contract Rifian labor for the colons, on either a piecework or day labor basis. A contractor obtaining labor by the job in vineyards was paid 3,000 frs. per hectare. For harvesting wheat, he received 6,000 frs. per hectare, for construction and road work, 200 frs. per square meter; and for orange groves, 150 frs. per tree. For day labor, he received 1,000 frs. per day. Each Algerian town that functioned as a clearing house for Rifian labor had its quota of contractors: some 20 in Pérregaux, 50 in Orléansville, 10 in Mustaghanim, and 70 in Sidi bil-'Abbas.

The contractor acted as intermediary between the colon and the Rifian workers in virtually all matters. He saw to it that the worker's insurance and hospital bills were paid. For day laborers there was an insurance system, amounting to half the daily wage if a worker was sick, but there was no such insurance for workers on piecework. Each month, on the average, a worker would send about 25% of his pay of 8,000–9,000 frs. home to his family by the clan courier or by some other worker who might be returning home. His principal expense was food, which usually cost about 100 frs. a day, on poor man's rations: potatoes, bread, and mint tea. On Sundays it cost a little more because almost all workers bought some meat on their day off. To eat well cost a daily minimum of 150 frs. After deducting the remittance home and necessary expenses, about 50% of the total wage remained.

On the basis of the foregoing, a worker's annual salary and expenses are calculated for the years 1952-53[25] and 1954–55 in Table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1

Migrant Laborers' Income and Expenses, 1952–1953 and 1954–1955

(*In Francs*)

	1952–53	1954–55
Yearly Pay	134,200	151,200
Expenses		
Insurance (20%)	26,840	30,240
Remittances (25%)	38,550	37,800
Food	36,000	54,000
Total Expenses	101,390	122,040
Yearly Savings	32,810	29,160

There was no rent, because each colon housed all his workers in adobe huts on the edge of his farm; each farm had 30-40 such houses. Each family had two rooms and a kitchen, and on another part of the farm was the bachelor housing, in which ten bachelors were allocated one house. Every farm also had a general store and a teashop.

Any farm had 300–400 workers at a minimum, and the big ones had up to 900, of which at least 200–250 were Rifians. A Rifian who landed a good job in Algeria would stay there three or four months at a time if he had agricultural tasks to perform in the Rif; if he did not, he would stay six to eight months and only return home for the Muslim feast of the 'Aid l-Kbir.

The arrangement was also ideal in terms of the agricultural year, because the peak work periods in Algeria tended to correspond with those when there was little work at home—i.e., December through February, when the grapes were picked and the artichokes cut in Algeria, and then harvest time in late spring and early summer, always at least a month ahead of the far more meager harvest in the Rif.

Each group of twenty men selected one of their number as foreman in order to look for more work when a given job had been completed. He had to line up the job beforehand so that the group he represented would not lose time or money. He received 600 frs. per day and was confirmed in his nomination as foreman either by the colon directly, or by the contractor, with the colon then ratifying the nomination, so to speak. The Aith Waryaghar in particular made good foremen because they were capable, intelligent, and (perhaps until just the very end) totally nonpolitical, and they kept out of trouble.

Each farm had two guards, working in 12-hour shifts. Wages were 75 frs. per hour, paid by the month. Since guards were armed with shotguns, the jobs had prestige as positions of trust. The guards were always

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[25] A peak year when well over 2,000 men from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil Hmam alone, aside from 500 from the Plain, went to Algeria, according to an unpublished Spanish estimate, as compared to 2,065 Aith Waryaghar from May through December 1931, and 3,625 through the whole of 1932. Cf. Milliot, op. cit., 1933–4, p. 318. The figures for 1953–55 were probably higher in an absolute sense, but in terms of opportunity the period of which Milliot writes was the heyday of Rifian labor migration, the decade prior to World War II.

Rifians, generally Aith Waryaghar from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash or the highlands. If they wanted to supplement their earnings in off-hours, they could earn 420 frs. per day as ordinary workers. An informant calculated that out of every 100 guards, some 10–15 opted to work day and night for 1,320 frs., around the clock.

By the early 1950s, workers coming from the Rif tended to cross the Spanish Moroccan–French Moroccan frontier at Safsaf and to go from there to Oujda by bus. Before the Algerian Revolution broke out on November 1, 1954, they generally took the train, traveling fourth class, from Oujda into Algeria, but as of 1955 and the state of emergency, many of them were crossing the border at night and on foot. In that year, too, the French authorities began to make things difficult for them, because 1954–55 was the peak period of nationalist resistance in French Morocco (although the Spanish Zone was very quiet). Rifians found themselves in Algerian jails on the pretext that their passports or identity cards were not valid for Algeria.

Under normal circumstances, however, when they had finished their work, they returned home via the same route, always stopping off in Oujda to sell their old clothes and to buy new ones, at lower prices than in Algeria, from Rifians who had shops there.[26] (A large part of the commerce in Oujda came from Rifians returning from Algeria with money to spend.)

There is no statistical information on the marital status of workers, but the permanent population of Rifian workers in Algeria who had Algerian wives was always small, and almost none of them were Waryaghar. It can be safely surmised that only this small permanent population married Algerian women. Of the "swallow-type" migrant laborers, a good half were still bachelors, young men of 17 and 18 years. Of the married remainder (young men in their twenties), there were differences again between Eastern and Central Rifians: the former tended to take their wives with them and seek housing for couples on a given farm; the latter, and the Aith Waryaghar in particular, left their wives strictly at home—one further manifestation of the greater conservatism of the Central Rifians.

It was Rifian migrant laborers who imported the teachings and doctrine of the 'Alawiyin religious order from Algeria back to the Rif.[27] The emphasis on sobriety and austerity in this particular order appealed to Rifians, as did its energetic litany, and almost all Rifian residents in Algeria became members, especially in Mustaghanim, where the main lodge is located.

The relations between Rifian workers and the Algerians were of variable quality, depending on which segment of the local population was involved. With the French colons their relations were excellent, and the latter could not get enough Rifian labor; they considered Rifians to be far and away the best workers in the country. Their preference was clearly revealed in the 1930s, when they paid Rifian workers perhaps half again what they paid Algerians; but by 1954–55, the wage scale had become regularized, and the pay was the same for all.

With the Algerians, the relations of Rifian workers were very much worse. In the migratory heyday of the 1930s, as Milliot observes, the issues hardly arose, since the two groups gravitated toward different kinds of work; but by the 1950s, both groups were seeking the same kinds of jobs. Prior to World War II there was relatively more opportunity for migrant laborers in Algeria than there was by the 1950s, and by this time there was also less opportunity for piecework and for work by the job, because of the increasing use of tractors and other machinery. The Rifians were invariably given preferential treatment by the French colons, and this became a heated issue. The constant withering comments by Rifian workers regarding the spinelessness and lack of stamina of Algerians did not help the matter. The Algerians, not without justification, claimed that the Rifians were stealing the bread from their mouths, and they became particularly incensed at the open favoritism shown by the colons to their "Moroccans."

The Rifian Liberation Army's attack on three French posts in the Igzinnayen on October 1, 1955, tolled the death-knell of Rifian labor migration to Algeria. Rifians felt they could no longer go away and leave their neighbors and fellow tribesmen behind to fight and perhaps be killed in their absence. Moreover, the Algerian war had already been going on for eleven months and was now getting very "hot."

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[26] In the Spring of 1955, I interviewed one Murud n-Muhand from Aith Ta'a in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash who happened to be waiting on the side of road for a bus to take him on the final lap of his journey home. He had worked in Perrégaux as a guard on an orange grove for a year and a half at a salary of 12,000 frs. per month. He had just come from Oujda and was completely outfitted in brand new clothes: a blue cotton jillaba, red tarbush, French shoes, shirt and sweater, as well as an impressive array of gifts for his family: German kerosine lamp, teatray, Swiss alarm clock, hand-washing basin, 3 umbrellas, blanket, large basket, loaf of white bread, a carton of Gauloise cigarettes (for himself), women's clothing, sneakers and three headscarves. He reckoned at the time that he might possibly remain in Waryagharland for as long as six months, but certainly no longer; then it would be back to Pérregaux and Monsieur Bianchini's orange grove again—a good man, who paid well, who had confidence in him as a guard, and who had even helped him to learn Arabic! I wondered, given the later events in Morocco in the same year, whether or not he even made it back to Algeria.

[27] The *'Alawiyin* religious order will be discussed in Chap 7, Islam.

There was some desultory labor migration after Moroccan independence in 1956 and even after Algerian independence in 1962, but the well had dried up entirely by the time of the Moroccan-Algerian border dispute in the autumn of 1963. By 1967, strained relations between the two countries had led to the total reciprocal repatriation of the nationals of each country who were still residing in the other. The whole phenomenon has now passed into history, and with the massive exodus of the French "*pieds noirs*" from Algeria in 1962 (which can be considered the final year of migration), it became extremely unlikely that it would ever be repeated.

Since 1960, however, Rifian labor migration, far from being a dead issue, has taken a new direction: to Western Europe.

LABOR MIGRATION TO WESTERN EUROPE[28]

The pinch of unemployment was felt very severely between 1956 and 1960 and aggravated by the uprising of 1958-59, but by about mid-1960, the new destination for Rifian migrant laborers opened up. The West Germans began to look for Moroccan labor for several types of industrial plants: e.g., beer breweries and automobile assembly plants. Rifians who could afford the passport fees and their traveling expenses went to West Germany via Spain and France, and by their own reckoning, they were in 1961 making excellent wages. Their passage at the time cost 70,000-80,000 frs., but once in Germany, they were paid on the German wage scale for a seven-hour day. In 1961 most of the Rifian migrants, perhaps around 7,000, were from the Nador province, but approximately 700 went from that of al-Husaima (or so I was told); two men were from the Wednesday market of Tawrirt.

One man, the son of a former *qaid* under the Spaniards, was reported to be earning 12,000 frs. per day; he had saved up 3 million francs over the course of eight months' work in the Mercedes factory, and the company had already presented him with a new car for being a good worker! Workers in beer bottling plants were earning 5,000 frs. per day, and it was commonly predicted that in a very few years, only those who were too poor to afford the passage would be left in the Rif. By November, 1961, more Rifians than ever were going to Germany or waiting to do so; a pick-and-shovel worker was said to receive 9,000 frs. for an eight-hour day, plus 100,000 frs. per month for his wife and 7,000 frs. per month for each child. In France, however, a certain alarm grew over these wage scales, because there Moroccan labor had a considerably lower wage ceiling, and it was apparently as a result of French complaints that the Moroccan Foreign Ministry began to slow down on issuing passports.

By the following year, 1962, the labor market was already glutted with Rifians, and there were a number of cases of repatriation, through the Moroccan Embassy in Bonn, of Rifians and other Moroccans who had had to sleep in the streets because they could not find work; the recently created restrictions in passport insurance were, they felt, designed to keep them from returning to Germany. Many who wanted to go there also found that they only had enough money to get to France, where wages were only half what they were in Germany.

In 1963 another country entered the picture and reoriented somewhat the direction of new labor migration: Holland. Here the labor quotas were less restricted than in Germany or Belgium, and the social security benefits for married workers with children were maximal (even if the wives and children were all left at home in the Rif, as is almost always the rule). Holland has now become a Rifian labor goal. Many Rifians in Europe work on a time-and-a-half basis for overtime, as they did in Algeria; the work itself is in factories of almost any sort, mines, and construction. In Holland jobs in milk-canneries seem to be especially sought after.

By 1966, all young able-bodied Rifians wanted to obtain passports and leave for Europe. Their eyes had been opened to the kinds of salaries being paid there, and they wanted above all to get out of the Rif. The prestige of all returning workers was high, and even individuals who were previously considered to be of little account at home were returning (even from France) with 1 1/2 million Moroccan francs, or $3,000, after a year's work. One young man of twenty, who had previously unloaded trucks at Arba' Tawrirt, came back with this sum under his belt and spent 300,000-400,000 frs., ($600-800) on his wedding. The peak period of returnees coming back home, usually for three months (one month as paid vacation and the other two generally without pay), is in winter, since Rifians find northern European winters very cold. Much of the money they have saved goes toward improvements on their houses, such as construction of extra rooms, and no returnee on vacation is without his transistor radio and tape recorder.

One difference between the new European and the old Algerian pattern of labor migration, aside from the obvious one of industry and factory work as opposed to farming, is that migrant laborers in Europe stay longer on the job. They remain at least a year or two, before returning home—as all do eventually—rather than the six months that characterized the Algerian pattern. The Algerian pattern was seasonal; the new European one is annual, based on the notion, new to Rifians, of a steady job. Moreover, it no longer has the group character of Algerian migration: today, it is every man for himself.

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[28] My data on this subject are more impressions than data, and my concrete statistical information is almost nil. Nonetheless, I present the material as it is, because of its considerable intrinsic interest.

The first reliable statistics on Rifian labor in Europe date only from 1966, in which year there were 2100 labor migrants from Waryagharland and the al-Husaima Province, out of a total tribal population of nearly 80,000, while migrants from the Igzinnayen in the Taza Province numbered 1400 in the same year and those from the Aith Iznasen in the Oujda province numbered 3000.[29] But the exodus from the Nador Province was, in the same year, very much greater, with a total of 20,300. As of 1965, Nador, in contrast to al-Husaima, was extremely active; there was a great deal of labor migration both to West Germany and to Belgium. Labor migrants were returning well-dressed and driving German cars and trucks; on six-month licenses, they were supplementing their incomes by transporting animals before driving the vehicles back to Europe and reselling them. The whole province has been drawn into the orbit of labor migration, particularly the Thimsaman.

The province of al-Husaima, however, had not (as of 1965–66) been so drawn, and a major reason was the character of the Aith Waryaghar themselves: a tribal society far more closed than any other in the region, one in which local community life is very intense, and one that is turned in upon itself. It is also said to be more difficult to obtain passports in al-Husaima than in Nador. Nevertheless, a number of mountain Waryaghar and Igzinnayen are gravitating to two more minor outlets that have opened up in France since 1964. The first is the Simca-Fiat automobile factory in Paris, where jobs were paying 3,500 frs. per day in 1965, although a worker had to pay for his own lodging. The second is a kind of transplantation of the French Algerian colon situation to Corsica. A good many ex-colons have established themselves in eastern Corsica, and as they were very used to Rifian labor and encouraged it in Algeria, they are doing the same thing in their new home. One grape grower there was paying his workers 3. frs. per day in 1966, lodging and feeding them at a nominal sum, and apparently even paying their transport. Under these circumstances some fifteen young men from the Aith Turirth went to Corsica and Toulouse in September 1967. This pattern is obviously a reemergence of the older Algerian one, and it is equally obviously one that appeals to Waryaghar labor migrants. Moreover, the *bushta* or courier system in which one man regularly takes the pay packet of his fellow tribesmen back to the Rif every month for a fee, is reemerging in Europe, and the Courier often gains on the exchange as well.

The Rif in general and Waryagharland in particular are too poor to support any appreciable population surplus. The region, by and large, can only support one system of cultivation, depending, as it does, almost exclusively on cereals, which probably makes it especially vulnerable to unpredictable weather (more than the Jbala, Ghmara, and Sinhaja Srir, which also have no labor migration to speak of). Therefore, given relative slack periods both in midwinter and late summer, the surplus must migrate elsewhere in order to work. Labor migration has become such a deeply rooted pattern of economic behavior that one can indeed say that it has in effect become the socioeconomic institution that has replaced the bloodfeud (with which, until 1921, it co-existed).[30] Furthermore, labor migration is looked upon as highly desirable, while the bloodfeud, in retrospect, is looked upon as regrettable. Nonetheless, there is, in my opinion, no question that the values that formerly underlay the one have since been integrally transmitted to the other: during the *Ripublik*, in order to prove himself a young man had to kill an enemy, and since the protectorate he has had to get himself a job. The same prestige that attached to a councilmember who had several notches on his rifle, so to speak, now attaches to the migrant laborer who comes back home on vacation, perhaps with a Dutch wife (with whom his conversational ability is generally limited) and driving a Mercedes. (The women in the local community at home may not appreciate the Dutch wife, but there is, now as ever, precious little they can do about it: in Waryagharland, the man has always been the master, and continues to be). Feuding, during the *Ripublik*, must undeniably have contributed to keeping the population growth within certain limits—as indeed the Rifian war itself must have done; but in the subsequent absence of all such checks save infant mortality, the surplus must be siphoned off the land. Here, labor migration was the only feasible answer; and the favorable impression that the intelligent and hard-working dhu-Waryaghar highlander made on the French colon in Algeria was so indelible by the 1950s as to promote a gradual new wave of labor migration into Corsica in the mid-1960s, one that is still in its infancy. Rifian labor seems to be highly favored in Holland, for essentially the same reasons that it was in Algeria: Rifians are content with lower wages than European workmen, they are eager to work overtime, they live very frugally, and they never create disturbances or incidents as Italian or Spanish workmen are sometimes said to do. And they all know at least a modicum of Spanish, which has become the informal vehicle of communication between them and their employers, supplemented with gradually learned phrases of Dutch, French, or German. One young man from the Waryaghar highlands even went to Northern Canada in 1966; this may represent the beginning of yet another wave, to reach still further afield.

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[29] These statistics are based on a survey carried out in 1966 by Daniel Noin, and they appear as Table III (p. 22) of J. F. Trion, "Le Nord-Est du Maroc: Mise us Point Régionale," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, 12, 1967, pp. 5–41. The breakdown for the Nador figures is 6200 migrants from the Iqar'ayen, 10,900 from the Thimsaman and the Aith Sa'id, and 3200 from the Ikibdhanen, Aith Bu Yihyi and Ibdharsen. In 1968 one informant said the total number of Moroccan workers in Holland alone was 14,700, of which 95% were Rifians.

[30] Milliot observes that it dropped off very sharply in Algeria during the Rifian War of 1921–26. Milliot, op. cit., 1933–4, p. 321. During this period the total work force of the colons in the Orania was cut back to about a third of its normal strength!

The phrase one heard most frequently in the Rif of the mid-1960s was that the whole region would be empty in five years. Given the new (1967) Moroccan government projects of sugar-cane plantations in the plain and the pine reforestation of the whole Jbil Hmam, the main effect of which (as far as the Aith Waryaghar are concerned) has been a rapid erosion not only of collective pasturelands but even of individual holdings on the mountain slopes, this contention has come to carry considerable weight. The ecological imbalance between the human population and the landscape is becoming more pronounced than ever before. It strongly appears as though the Aith Waryaghar will soon be converted into a large rural proletariat, and the prospect is not a comforting one.

4. PROPERTY, LAND TENURE, SUCCESSION, AND IRRIGATION

TYPOLOGY OF PROPERTY AND LAND TENURE

It now seems to be more or less axiomatic in social anthropology that in the study of a given society, the consideration given to its property and land tenure systems falls about midway between that given to its ecology and economic system and to its social structure proper.[1] Certainly in any Muslim community, ideas about property and land tenure also encompass ideas about succession and inheritance, all of which have their legal basis in the Shari'a. As Muslim society in general has a strong agnatic bias these same ideas again imply the existence of social units based on patrilineal or agnatic descent; in the case of the Aith Waryaghar, these social units are agnatic lineages. Property and land tenure, furthermore, involve not only questions of private as opposed to collective holdings, but also the question of whether or not the inheritance is divided up among the heirs in the case of private holdings. And since ownership and usage of irrigation water is based on exactly the same principles as ownership of land, all these questions are, to a greater or lesser extent, ones in which agnatic lineages (or incipient lineages) may be involved as corporate groups. For this reason, the discussion of Waryaghar irrigation techniques and the ideas underlying them will conclude this chapter on property.

As elsewhere in Morocco and in the Muslim world, there are in Waryagharland three basic and traditional categories of land ownership or real property. In Rifian these are labelled (1) *murk* "property" or privately owned land; (2) *misra'* or collective land, usually used for pasturage and held by the *jma'a* in concert; (3) *habus* land donated inalienably to mosques by pious individuals, as an act of charity, with the yield being devoted to pious purposes or religious bequests. In Waryagharland, the importance of the first category greatly overshadows that of the second, while the second, in turn, is much more important than the third. There is also in fact a fourth category of land, *hurm*, which surrounds mosques or saint's tombs, and on which no trees may be cut down, although animals may be pastured. In a wide sense, however, such land is subsumed under the category of *habus* property, which includes mosques, saint's tombs, commemorated spots where saints have stopped to pray, and *zawiyas*, or buildings devoted to religious purposes. These latter categories will be discussed fully in Chapter 7.

Murk means at once "property" and "ownership," both in a private sense. *Dhamurth* is the generic term for "land," and an owner of land is *bab n-tmurth;* an owner of a house is *bab n-taddarth;* and an owner of property consisting both of houses and of arable land whether irrigated or dry farmed is *bab nj-murk.* Therefore, one may speak either or *r-murk Ufqir Azzugwagh* or of *dhamurth Ufqir Azzugwagh*, the "property" or the "land" of the Fqir Azzugwagh—to employ a name that will be referred to often in subsequent chapters. Anyone who refers to his land in general will call it *dhamurth-inu* "my land," while he will reserve *r-murk-inu*, "my private property," for the land that is his personal property received through inheritance.[2]

A major point about *murk* land is whether it has been divided up (*dhibdha*, from *battu*, "division")[3] or whether it has remained undivided (*ur ibdhi*, "not divided"). The question of "division" or "indivision" of land almost always concerns property held in common by brothers (or by other, slightly less close agnates). Contrary to a popular stereotype, the great majority of Aith Waryaghar divide after the death of the lineage head. It is commonly recognized that brothers often do not get on well together, and for this reason alone division is virtually automatic after the father dies. Nonetheless, in those rarer cases where brothers do get on amicably, or in which the amount of land itself suggests a maintenance of the status quo in indivision,—i.e., when there is enough land to go around comfortably among the heirs—the eldest brother becomes administrator (*na'ib*) of this private land on behalf of his agnates; in Rifian he is known as *amqqran n-aithma-s*, "the big one of his brothers." Yet if they quarrel, division (*battu*) can occur at any time, and a special term (*afiddjahuh*) describes the situation where two brothers have divided all their property right down the middle (an indication of real hatred between them). Two full brothers of a lineage in Aith Yusif, in the subclan territory of Timarzga, did just this, because the younger one suspected the elder of having poisoned his wife. (Because these two brothers looked enough alike to be twins, I was, in the beginning, never quite sure of which one I was addressing; this on at least two occasions proved most embarrassing, as they hated each other implacably). They lived in a jointly owned house, inherited from their father, but they had walled it straight in half, and every possession they owned, down to the last match, was divided equally between them. This tense and tenuous state of affairs persisted until 1963, when the Timarzga River flooded and washed away not only their house but most of the community of Tazirand. The elder brother then moved across the tribal border into the Igzinnayen and settled with affinal kinsmen in Ikhuwanen while his younger brother rebuilt in a less vulnerable spot not far away from the original house.

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[1] Cf. for instance, Paul Bohannan, *Social Anthropology*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, p. 366, but with the following admonition: "Property is another of these simplifying (Western) ideas such as 'money' and 'time.' Property is a conceptual way in the folk system for linking the system of material culture with the social system. Property ideas assume a set of social relations; they also assume a set of things. 'Property' is only one of the possible relationships of people to things. The relationship of people to things is universal; in that sense and that sense alone is 'property' universal."

[2] Movable property, as indicated in Chapter 2, consists of animals (*r-ksibth or r-mar*) household furniture (*tarika*), and clothing (*'ar-rudh*). And as noted there, *murk* is also used to refer to land that is presently being worked, "property," as opposed to land that is lying fallow, *dhamurth*, "land" in itself.

[3] As in *battu dhamurth*, division of land; *battu w-aman*, division of (irrigation) water; *battu nj-haqq* division of fines; *battu n-tqbitsh*, division of a tribe (i.e. top-level segmentation); *battu n-ar-rba'*, division of a clan (i.e. secondary-level segmentation); *battu n-tarfiqth*, division of a lineage (i.e. lineage segmentation). A very common verbal usage: *ibdha ag aithma-s* "he has divided (land) with his agnates," as well as *ur-ibdha-shi ag-aithma-s*, "he has not divided (land) with his agnates." The *battu* concept is crucial in Waryaghar social structure, as will be made evident.

This is, of course, an extreme example; but at the other end of the scale, that of indivision, very few examples can be cited, at least in the Jbil Hmam. In the Aith Turirth in 1954–55 there were only two cases of indivision: one of these involved the sons of the late 'Ais Muhammadi Bu Tahar of Ignan community, who had been the headman of the wider community of Bulma; when he died in 1956 his sons all divided up his inheritance, although they continued to live together. The other case, that of the sons of the late Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa in l-'Ass, was the only one remaining as of 1965. In the Timarzga, the heirs of the late 'Abdssram n-'Ari of Asrafil had not yet divided as of 1965, but there were indications that division would soon occur.

Division rarely occurs while the father is still alive, although two instances can again be cited from the Aith Turirth in both of which the father himself opted for division when he had reached a very advanced age. One was the Fqir Azzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass, a stranger lineage from the Igzinnayen that rose to become one of the two most powerful lineages in Aith Turirth and would have remained so had a fratricidal blood-feud (to be recounted in Chapter 12) not intervened to wreck the lineage unity; the other was a very old man of the Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar sublineage of Aith Uswir, residing in Ignan. In the first case, division occurred some five or six years before the Fqir Azzugwagh's death; in the second, interestingly, although the sons had received their shares by 1967, while the father was still alive, none of the daughters had received theirs. This circumstance brings up a crucial element in the problem of succession, which will be discussed fully below.

Regarding the absolute size of *murk* holdings, unpublished figures for the Nkur Qaidate (Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the three subclans of the Jbil Hmam) for 1952 are revealing:[4] 676 individuals owned less than one hectare of land, 1,286 owned from one to three hectares, 25 owned from seven to twelve hectares, and one man (unidentified, but probably the late Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) owned as much as fifty hectares. Thus holdings of less than three hectares predominate in the region.

The second basic category of real property, *mishra'* (literally "ford" or "passage" from the collective land of one community to that of another), has been translated by several terms: collective land, common land, and more recently, "commonage."[5] It has also been called grazing land, pasture land, and "brushwood land," from *ghaba*, "firewood, brushwood," which indeed it generally is: the grazing land of a given community is also located on just those same mountain slopes where the women go out to collect scrub and brushwood (in Waryagharland, generally lentiscus and thuya) for charcoal. Despite this terminology, however, the real distinction between categories of land resides principally in the type of ownership or holding rather than in the use to which the land is put, which is a secondary consequence. *Mishra'* is owned by the jma'th, the male members of the local community as a collective city, and for this reason it is also called *dhamurth nj-jma'th* or "*jma'a*-land." It is also the community that owns (1) the paths leading to such land and other communities (like the houses, the paths are often bordered by hedges of cactus so that the animals will not pass over cultivated land); (2) the cemetery; (3) the mosque or Qur'anic school and any associated saint's tomb; (4) any ponds from which the animals may drink; and (5) all irrigation ditches, although these may also be shared by other *jma'ths*, or other local communities, of the same order.[6]

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[4] Capt. José Rodriguez Erola, *Caidato del Nekor Comercal de Beni Uariaguel, Territorio del Rif*, MS. 1952.

[5] Cf. D. H. Reader, *Zulu Tribe in Transition*, Manchester University Press, 1966, p. 68.

There are no community lands that are cultivated collectively anywhere in Waryagharland; rather, if need be, the *jma'th* assigns plots to individual nuclear families for cultivation, either temporarily or permanently. Some of the holly oak (*Quercus ilex*) trees in the highlands are collectively owned. These trees produce high-quality acorns, and in the Timarzga and the Aith 'Ammarth they are picked in *dhwiza* gatherings. The produce is put into piles, and these are then divided up by drawing lots, *dhasgharth*, while a representative of each family or lineage is present. Again in the Jbil Hmam (as well as in parts of the Aith 'Ammarth and the Sinhaja Srir), drawing of lots is a feature of the *dhifarsi* or "intermittent cultivation" (Sanchez Pérez) of collectively owned hills or mountains: in this case the members of the *jma'th* either break up the ground on the mountain or burn it, and then cultivate the plots (determined by lot drawing) for two or three years. After this they abandon them to turn into *ghaba* or "brushwood land" once again, and break up new plots, using the ashes from the burned areas as fertilizer.

Generally, *mishra'* land does not lose its common or collective character until after a considerable passage of time. When the members of the *jma'th* decide to break up any collectively held lands, these are parceled out by lot proportionally to the male agnatic members of each participating lineage. An individual from each nuclear family within the lineage deposits an object in a given place. When all the objects (pieces of wood, sticks, stones, etc.) have been put down, someone in the *jma'th* calls out to a passer-by or a stranger, who then picks up the objects one by one out of the pile. This order determines the orientation of the plots of land. When all the objects have been picked up and the land has all been parceled out, the judge (*qadi*) and two notaries (*'adul*) then draw up a document indicating how the land has been assigned and giving details of ownership, including a specific statement that the land was previously collective. Usages, procedures, and custom resorted to for settling disputes resulting from this type of parceling out of common land, however, are not in any way codified. During the *Ripublik*, all complaints were submitted to the collective decision of the *jma'th*, but in practice, as Sanchez Pérez notes, the opinion of its strongest member generally triumphed, "usually after a long and terrible vendetta between the constituent lineages, which could last for months or even years."[7]

Another practice, formerly very common in the Jbil Hmam, was for individuals to plant trees in mountain land that was once collective and later broken up into plots. These trees were then the private property of the person who planted them, as was the space they occupied, the area they shaded, and the terrain covered by their roots. Lands such as former river or stream beds, which have no owner and are hence considered "dead," can be reactivated and recultivated by any member of the *jma'th* or even by a stranger. After ten years of usufruct,[8] they become the private property of the person cultivating them. This type of utilization of collective land used to be very frequent in the Rif during the *Ripublik*. Also common in the past, because of the prevalence of bloodfeuds, were solicitations of the *jma'th* by individuals who wanted to remove their houses to a collectively held mountain. Even in Spanish times many Rifians sought to establish themselves on such mountains and had no trouble in obtaining the authorization of the *jma'th*. They built their houses quickly and planted fig trees and cactus hedges around them—and thus private property was erected without complications, and a secondary method for handling the ever-expanding population pressure was discovered. These concessions for the use of common or collective land may also be given to strangers who have had to leave their own tribes, to *shurfa* (descendants, real or alleged, of the Prophet) who have prestige in the region, and to the *fqihs* or Qur'anic schoolmasters in the mosques. In the latter two cases, it is customary for the men of the *jma'th* to plow the land for these individuals in a *dhwiza*. A *sharif* or a *fqih* is then obliged to solicit the usufruct of the land over successive years and to bow to the decisions of the *jma'th* regarding it. However, it is customary to give the *fqih* the concession and to provide him with a *dhwiza* not in collectively-held land, but in *habus* land only, to which we now turn.

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[6] In the Rif there are no collectively owned storehouses whatsoever, although these do exist in the Ghmara (cf. Carlos Pereda Roig, *Los Horreos Colectivos de Beni Sech-yel*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939; and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas*, Paris: Larose, 1930, pp. 61–62). The collective storage pits of the Eastern Rif (Iqar'ayen) as described by Andrés Sanchez Pérez ("Aprovechamientos Comunales y Formas de Cooperacion en el Rif," *Selección de Conferencsas Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores Durante El Curso 1950-51*, Tetuan: Delegación de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 95–104), and guarded by an *amarras* (ibid., p. 102) are, again, entirely absent in Waryagharland.

[7] Ibid., pp. 99–100.

[8] Not ten months, as Sánchez Pérez has it, op. cit. 1951, p. 99. He says that his information comes from the then *qadi* of Ajdir, but doubtless this was an error in transcription.

If a person for any reason whatsoever donates land to a mosque or to a saint's tomb (usually associated with a mosque), this land is automatically classed as *habus*. During the Spanish Protectorate, a Ministry of *Habus* Property was created in Tetuan, the capital, with offices in all five Spanish territories (Jbala, Ghmara, Lukus, Rif, and Kart) and a *nadir l-ahbas* at the head of each. The *nadir* of *habus* depended on the regional *qadi* for all legal matters, and he had to be present at the annual auctions (conducted by the market criers) for the use of the *habus* property in his territory;[9] Since independence, a Special Ministry of *Habus* has been established in Rabat, and under the separation of powers that has characterized post-independence Morocco, the *qadis*, who are in the Ministry of Justice, no longer have anything to do with habus.

The auctioning off of the right to work *habus* property to the highest bidder only began in Spanish times with the establishment of regional *habus* offices. During both the *Ripublik* and the Rifian war, the *jma'th* concerned worked the land more or less as a body, selling the barley they harvested and using the proceeds to buy mats for the mosque and contribute to its upkeep. In some instances, however, the *jma'th* would designate someone, usually a poor man, to work the land, and he would receive one-third or one-fourth of the harvest, according to whether or not the land was irrigated.

Habus property never has an individual owner, and the so-called family *habus* reported in the Anti-Atlas[10] does not exist in the Rif. It is also irrevocable: once someone turns land over to the mosque or to a saint's tomb as *habus*, he must sign a paper that he has done so, and this paper is kept in the mosque. Neither the *fqih* of a mosque nor the *mqaddim* of a mosque or saint's tomb (the caretaker who is simply nominated by the jma'th) receives any income from the *habus* property, although the *mqaddim* must act as its administrator. He may possibly receive some charitable offerings made in money (*sadaqa*), but it is never much.

In Waryagharland, *habus* property is near minimal in extent; in the Jbil Hmam, there are only 3.5 hectares of registered habus-land, in Tigzirin of the Aith Turirth, and possibly slightly more of undeclared *habus* land in Aith Yusif of the Timarzga. Both cases are of some interest. In Tigzirin nearly a century ago, a woman named Saruth of the Iwsa'idhen sublineage of Iznagen was married to a man named Aznag (who despite his name was probably not the ancestor of all the Iznagen). When Aznag died his wife was pregnant, and as he had no living kinsmen at all, she stood to inherit all his property. She swore that if God presented her with a son, she would give one-fourth of this property to the Tigzirin mosque. She did in fact bear a son, named r-Mqaddim Uznag (r-Mqaddim son of Aznag), who became the ancestor of the Iznagen sublineage of Yinn nj-Mqaddim, and grandfather of the present *shaikh* of the Aith Turirth. Thus one-fourth of the property, amounting to four hectares less 100m^2, was left to the mosque. Since r-Mqaddim Uznag himself had numerous progeny, the result is that the present *shaikh's* lineage has very little property today. The land itself became *habus* in the sense that the *jma'th* planted, plowed, and reaped it and turned the proceeds over to the mosque. After the Rifian War, the Spaniards officially registered the property as *habus* and the proceeds went to the regional *nadir l-ahbas* in Villa Sanjurjo (now al-Husaima). Since independence, every year in October, the local representatives of the Ministry of *Habus* in Rabat have come to fetch the proceeds. The land is rented to the highest bidder at a sum that varies according to whether the harvest that year is a good or a bad one. In Spanish times it rented for 800–1,000 ptas. per year, but with rising prices, by 1967 it ran to 10,000–20,000 frs. per year. The lessee, of course, keeps the crop.

The Timarzga case, involving mainly the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage of Aith Yusif, is rather different. Here the *habus* land belongs to the Shurfa of Wazzan, none of whom are resident anywhere in Waryagharland. This is not as paradoxical as it may seem because r-Mqaddim Muhammadi Ufqir Misa'ud, the point of fission of one of the constituent sublineages, was the *mqaddim* who bore the flag of the Shurfa of Wazzan; and on his death this flag passed on to his son, Shaikh 'Amar nj-Mqaddim, who carried it around with him wherever he went to ask for *sadaqa*. As it happens, on the latter's death a male parallel cousin inherited the flag, and on his death, his brother inherited it: the inheritance of this particular flag skipped around almost as much as the inheritance of the *baraka* among the Shurfa of Wazzan themselves at their mother *zawiya*, if Michaux Bellaire's account of the latter is accurate[11]—and there seems no reason to think it is not.

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[9] V. Beneitez Cantero, op. cit. 1952, pp. 144–5.

[10] Andre Adam, personal communication, 1960, and J. Lafond, *Les Sources du Droit Coutumier dans le Sous: le Statut Personnel et Successorial*, Agadir: Editions du Souss, n.d. [ca. 1948] pp. 83–95.

I do not know how much of this particular *habus* property is undeclared as such, but a good deal of it is, both in Aith Yusif and in some other Timarzga communities. The reason the locals themselves give for nondeclaration is that the profits thus go directly to the mosque of Aith Yusif rather than to the Ministry of Habus.[12] In mid-1962 apparently there was even an attempt by the provincial authorities to sell off some *habus* property at auction (although not, one gathers, that of the Timarzga); it was locally thought that this was a reflection of the fact that the provincial treasury was empty, although the circumstances surrounding this event are obscure.

SUCCESSION AND INHERITANCE

What social anthropologists generally call "succession," the Aith Waryaghar call "inheritance," *r-waratha*. Those who stand to inherit are collectively known as *iwrithen* (sing. *awrith*). The whole issue of succession is one in which the divergences between the idealized Qur'anic and Shari'a norms, the rules of the game, so to speak, and actual behavior come to the fore—and this is particularly true in the crucial question of whether or not daughters inherit. The Shari'a rules, which the Aith Waryaghar all believe they adhere to unswervingly, will be stated briefly and a discussion of the discrepancies between these rules and actual practice will follow. The discrepancies stem from the fact that, as Coulson has noted in an excellent little book,[13] the intention of the Qur'anic rules was not to do away with the presumably unrelieved agnatic system of inheritance in the customary law of pre-Islamic Arabia, but merely to modify it somewhat in order to ameliorate the successional position of women. This view is hardly original with Coulson—in fact, since Robertson Smith's time if not earlier, it has been generally accepted by both Islamicists and anthropologists—but Coulson's work puts further teeth in the argument and presents it concisely and succinctly.

Dhasgarth (*pl. dhisqqar*), the word used above for "lot drawing," has the primary meaning of "part" or "share," and it is most typically employed in connection with the division of inheritance. The Qur'anic rules of inheritance are:

1. The basic rule is that a son receives twice what a daughter receives; and all sons inherit equally from their deceased father,[14] as do all daughters. Before the inheritance is so divided, however, the widow or widows of the deceased collectively receive one-eighth, and then the division into two parts—(*dhisqqar*), to each son to one (*dhasgharth*) for each daughter is made.

   1/8 w 7/8 2×♂ 1×♀
2. Should a man die leaving only a widow or widows and daughters, but no sons, the widow or widows again receive one-eighth, but of the remaining seven-eighths, two-thirds only goes to the daughters and the remaining one-third goes to the deceased's brothers—here called *r-'asabath*. One of them may then take the widow to wife in widow inheritance.
3. If the deceased has no agnates, the daughters get everything, minus their mother's one-eighth.
4. Should the deceased have no children, his widow then receives one-fourth, and his brothers three-fourths.

Before continuing this Qur'anic rulebook exposé, it should be noted that the order of inheritance among agates, *aithma* or *aith 'azizi*,[15] is as follows: (a) sons (*dharwa*); (b) father (*baba*); (c) paternal grandfather (*jiddi*); (d) brothers (*aithma*); and (e) paternal uncles (*aith 'azizi*). This order is illustrated in the cases given below; the basic rule is that agnates may inherit only if the deceased has left only daughters; if he has left any sons, no other agnates enter into the picture at all. To continue along the same line:

5. When a man with children predeceases his father, his widow gets her usual one-eighth; and of the

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[11] Cf. E. Michaux Bellaire, *Rabat at sa Region*, tome IV, *le Gharb (les Djebala)*, in series *Villes et Tribes du Maroc*, t. VI, Paris: Leroux, 1918, pp. 236-56, plus genealogical charts.

[12] I was told in mid-1967 by responsible personnel at the Ministry of Habus in Rabat, when checking on this whole problem, that the paucity of *habus* records in rural tribal areas in general is in striking contrast to the profusion of *habus* documents in the cities. I found in al-Husaima itself that the records concerned list only the name of the land in question and that of its present tenant; they do not give name of donor, date of donation, nor circumstances under which the land was donated. Under such circumstances, the lack of "declared" *habus* land seems eminently understandable.

[13] N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Islamic Surveys No. 2, Edinburgh University Press, 1964, p. 17.

[14] There is neither primogeniture nor ultimogeniture in Islam, but in fact a father sometimes favors his youngest son over the others, "on the sly," with furniture, money, etc. The rationale behind this is that the elder sons are grown up and married and have what they want and need, while the youngest son still has nothing. Equality among sons, however, as among brothers, is the standard rule even if one of them should be a mental defective. In such a case the Shari'a appoints someone to act as his *ukil* or representative. When any person dies, his heirs divide up first his *tarika* or furniture, then his *mar* or animals, and finally his *dhamurth*, his land and house.

[15] These terms are collective: *aithma*, "brothers: and *aith 'azizi* or *ibin'azizithen*, "people" or "sons of the paternal uncle." However, for strict purposes of inheritance, agnates are generally termed *iwrithen*.

remainder the deceased's father gets one-sixth and the children get five-sixths.

6. The same applies should the deceased be survived by his mother: parents inherit one-sixth equally.
7. Should a man's parents both survive him, they receive a third jointly, and his children receive two-thirds.
8. Should a man be survived by his children, and by one or both of his grandparents (*r-jdud*, pl. of *jiddi*), the latter each get one-sixth, as his parents would.
9. Grandchildren (*ayyawen*)[16] must have their right to inherit attested in a document called *wasiya*, drawn up by their paternal grandfather in front of the *qadi* and two *‘adul*. Without this, they have no right to anything from their grandfather on his death.
10. Should a man be survived by his father, his wife, and no children, the widow gets one-eighth and the father gets the rest.
11. Should both his father and mother but no children survive him, the mother gets one-sixth and the father five-sixths (again after subtracting one-eighth for the widow).
12. The same applies to grandparents (patrilateral only) in case a man's parents are dead and he has no brothers.
13. If he does have brothers, his grandparents together get one-third and his brothers two-thirds.
14. If his father is alive, his brothers (and sisters, of course) get nothing.
15. If both his parents are dead and he has only sisters, they receive one-half, and his grandparents, if he has them, receive the other half; if not, his father's brothers receive the other half.

Some further rulings:

16. Inheritance rules are just the same for the various children of a man's polygynous marriages; there is no discrimination in favor of the children of one wife as opposed to those of another, or in favor of one wife as opposed to another, for that matter.
17. Should an unmarried man die, everything he has reverts to his father; if his father is dead, his mother gets one-sixth, and his brothers get the rest. If he has no mother, his sisters then receive half the amount received by the brothers.

Regarding women:

18. If a woman is divorced, and if she returns to her father's house, the land that formed part of her inheritance continues either under her own care or under that of her brothers; her ex-husband has no right to it. It goes when she dies to her children, if she has any not taken over by her ex-husband (which, if they are by him, is highly doubtful), according to the standard ratio, one son equaling two daughters.
19. If a woman predeceases her husband, he receives one-fourth of her property, if she had children, and the children receive three-fourths. If she had no children, her husband receives half, and the other half reverts to her agnates.
20. Should an unmarried woman die, her father receives everything, if he is her only living parent; but if her mother is alive also, she receives one-sixth and the father five-sixths. If only the woman's mother is surviving, she receives one-sixth and the woman's brothers get five-sixths.
21. If a man dies leaving no children, one-fourth is subtracted for his widow, and any foster-brother or "milk brother" (*uma-s zg-ubbish*, "brother of the breast"—or indeed any foster-sister or "milk sister"—receives one-third of the remainder. But otherwise there are no mutual inheritance expectations among "milk brothers."

Some subsidiary points: first, a father can disinherit any son, married or not, who has repeatedly been disrespectful to him, though he must do so in properly documented form. Second, by the nature of the institution known as *shuf‘ath*, if two members of the same agnatic lineage own land jointly, and if one of them wants to sell his part, he cannot keep the fact from his agnate. Should he try to sell to a third person, his agnate has the right to protest to the *qadi* on the basis of the Shari‘a. Often, on hearing that he wishes to sell, his agnate will pay a trusted third person to buy the land for him, thus thwarting the would-be vendor-agnate and keeping the land in the hands of the lineage. In Waryagharland and in the Rif generally, the priority rights of agnates subsumed under *shuf‘ath* extend to land only and not to women, in contrast to the practice among Berbers in the Central Atlas before independence, where the extent and range of this institution was much vaster. Arabic *shafa‘a* (Rifian *shuf‘ath*) is usually translated by French authorities on Muslim law of the Maliki rite, at least, as "preemption," and this, as I see it, is its narrow sense. Among Berbers, it generally has a wider interpretation, involving the priority rites of agnates over women as well as land. The priority rights over land seem to be the fundamental factor, underwritten by Maliki law, while the priority rights over women are no longer in the domain of Law but in that of Custom. However, the existence of such rights is one thing and their actual invocation is another; Rifians generally take a dim view of parallel cousin marriage with the father's brother's daughter, or at least say that they do. However, as will be noted in Chapter 9, the incidence of this marriage pattern may not be great, but it does occur. The Aith Waryaghar say it generally terminates in divorce, although this is by no means always the case. Given the fact that brothers always quarrel, their children, who have known each other since babyhood, tend to do so as well.

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[16] The kinship term *ayyaw*, pl. *ayyawen* (with its feminine equivalent *dhayyawxth*, pl. *dhayyawin*), is a very crucial one in the Rifian kinship system, referring as it does not only to all grandchildren (both son's children and daughter's children), but to sister's children and to father's sister's children as well. The apparent (although not real) asymmetry produced by the existence of this term in the Rifian kinship system will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. Here it need only be said that none of the kin subsumed under this rubric can inherit without a *wasiya* document.

Finally, regarding absentees (*r-ghuyab*) and persons who have died without issue: if a man who has no descendants leaves his home for more than three or four years, the Makhzan (since the beginning of Spanish times) takes over his land to parcel out for plowing and harvesting, but it must be returned to him if he returns. An *ukir nj-ghuyab* or representative of absentees handles such cases in al-Husaima. A similar functionary is the provincial *bu mwarith*, who takes over, in the name of the government, the real and movable property of any person who has died without issue of heirs.

The above rulings illustrate the major provisions made in Maliki law for the usual, or even unusual, inheritance situations that might arise. It will now be useful to see to what extent these rulings were actually observed in several examples of Waryaghar practice. All cases discussed are from the Jbil Hmam, mainly from the Aith Turirth.

I) The Fqir Azzugwagh. The joint purchase of land in what is now the local community of l-'Ass (Aith Turirth) by the Fqir Azzugwagh, the ancestor of the present lineage of Imjjat, and by 'Amar w-'Aisa of the Aith 'Aru Musa lineage will be described in detail in Chapter 12; here we shall consider only how the Fqir's land was divided up among his heirs. The Fqir Azzugwagh had four sons, 'Amar, Muh Akkuh, Mzzyan, and Muh, as well as a daughter, Fadhma, whom he gave as wife to his younger partner 'Amar w-'Aisa. She not only predeceased her father but had renounced her share of the inheritance in favor of her brothers; some five or six years before his death, this fact impelled her father to divide up his land (as he was now very old and blind and could no longer work it) into four equal parts, one for each son. However, unequal proliferation of the sublineages descending from each son produced the following extremely complex patterns of succession:

A) 'Amar. The share of 'Amar Uzzugwagh, the eldest son, was redivided into 8-1/2 parts. One whole

Tea drinking at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1960)

Agnates of the Imjjat lineage, Aith Turirth (1960)

Two Aith Waryaghar highlanders (far left and far right) and two members of the neighboring Igzinnayen; both pairs are agnates, and the Igzinnay at left is a corporal in the Royal Moroccan Army (1960) part was for his surviving widow (his second wife), while the remaining 7-1/2 parts were for his six sons (6 parts) and three daughters (1-1/2 parts).

By his first marriage, 'Amar had four sons and two daughters. Each son received one full share, and each daughter (technically, as we shall see in the following) received one half share. These four sons were: Muh n-'Amar, 'Allush n-'Amar, 'Aisa n-'Amar, and Hammadi n-'Amar. The first two of these sons, however, died without male issue, and thus the two remaining sons received all four shares. Muh n-'Amar had one daughter, Yamna. However, Yamna did not receive any inheritance from her father through the following circumstances: she passed first into the custody of her paternal uncle 'Aisa and then, on his death, into that of her other uncle Hammadi; these brothers, in a classic case of successive widow inheritance, had in turn married Yamna's mother (Fatima Umrabit 'Ari, daughter of the Amrabit 'Ari, who like the Fqir Azzugwagh had come from the Igzinnayen to settle near l-'Ass).

Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh left only one surviving son, as did Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh; these two sons, both still living, are maternal half-brothers through the successive widow inheritance mentioned above. The division of the 5 shares from their fathers thus left each of them with 2-1/2 parts apiece, and this is still the case.

Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who was *mqaddim* of Aith Turirth under the Spaniards from 1926 until his death in 1946, left four daughters as well as a son. The son being legally equivalent to two daughters, he received one-third of his father's inheritance on the latter's death, and the daughters collectively received two-thirds. Typically, these same daughters, on marriage, elected to leave their property in their brother's hands rather than to work it themselves: women do not, in any case whatever, "work" land. The property their brother held for them had not been divided as of 1967, but if it is, his mother (Fatima, who represents the classic case of successive widow inheritance described above) will receive one-eighth, and the remainder will be divided into three parts, one for him and two for his sisters.

Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh had left a daughter under the guardianship of her paternal uncle Hammadi; but when, very much against her uncle's wishes, she eloped with a *mkhazni* sergeant from Tafarsith in the Eastern Rif who was stationed in l-'Ass about 1943 or 1944, her uncle bought her share from her.

Two sons and one daughter were born of 'Amar's second marriage. One son, Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, received 1 part, and his own two sons divided this between them when their father died. A second part went to the other son, who was the *mqaddim* of Aith Turirth under the Spaniards at the time of my initial fieldwork (1954–55). When his mother died he also received her one-eighth as a widow (i.e., one whole share in the present configuration), as well as the half share of his full sister, which totals 2-1/2 parts.

Of the three daughters born to 'Amar Uzzugwagh, two died before their brothers, and the third married into the Igzinnayen and assigned away her inheritance rights. One was full sister of the *mqaddim* mentioned above, and thus he received her half share. The other two were full sisters of 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. Therefore, these two brothers received the half share of each sister, making one full share. This added to the total of 4 shares which they had already made 5 shares.

As of 1967 then, the original inheritance of 'Amar Uzzugwagh was divided as follows: of the original 8-1/2 parts, the one surviving son of Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh has one part; the ex-*mqaddim* of Aith Turirth and son of 'Amar Uzzugwagh by his second wife has 2-1/2 parts (one for him, one for his late mother, and one-half for his full sister); and the surviving sons of 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh each have 2-1/2 parts, through the pattern of inheritance traced above.

This case is admittedly extremely complicated, with its convolutions of successive widow inheritance and of sons who died (by violence) and left daughters only; it is included, however, because it beautifully illustrates two cardinal principles: (1) that of paying lip service to the Shari'a regarding inheritance by daughters, while at the same time (2) exploiting to the full the idea that when daughters marry, the shares they would normally have according to the Shari'a revert for all practical purposes to their male agnates. There is never a direct contravention, which the Aith Waryaghar would regard with horror as *haram*, "forbidden"; it is rather a question of latitude (whether conscious or not) in legal interpretation, of, one might say, the spirit versus the letter of the law. This latitude, and the free and fluid play within it, links the whole issue of inheritance to another issue, that of the marriage marketability of daughters, who serve as pawns in the creation of political alliances around the lineage network, and even on occasion into the networks of other clans and even into those of other neighboring tribes. It is not anticipating the subject of marriage patterns to say here that, in general, when lineage X "gives" a woman to lineage Y, the latter is expected to return the favor, considerations of possible difference in bridewealth aside.

B) *Muh Akkuh.* The case of the inheritance of Muh

Akkuh Uzzugwagh is very much simpler. On his death in 1956, his property was divided initially into two parts: 1 part for his three elder sons and their two full sisters, all by the same mother, and 1 part for his two younger sons and their three full sisters, all by another mother. There were 9 actual shares, 5 for 5 sons and 4 for 8 daughters, and the division was effected as follows: (a) 3-1/2 parts to the eldest son (one for him and 2 for four sisters, one a full sister and three half-sisters by yet a previous wife to his father); (b) 2-1/2 parts to the second and third sons, i.e., one full part for each of them and one-half part for the other full sister; and (c) 3-1/2 parts for the two youngest sons, including two parts for them and 1-1/2 parts for their three full sisters. The sons got the daughters' shares by assignment. The eldest son and the second eldest divided up their shares of their father's inheritance, and the second brother took over the share of the third (who had then been in Algeria for about five years).

C) *Mzzyan.* The case of the inheritance of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh is simpler still; 1 part each for his two sons, Hmid n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh and Muh Akkuh n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh.

D) *Muh.* Since Muh Uzzugwagh, who died violently, left only one son, Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh, who also died violently (his being named for his father indicates that he was born after the latter's death), his daughters were taken over by and thus subsumed under the successional rubric of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, who married the widow of his brother Muh.

The above instances only serve as complements to the more complex case of the inheritance of (A) 'Amar Uzzugwagh, in showing not only how succession in Waryagharland groups full siblings together as opposed to half-siblings, but also how the institution of widow inheritance serves perpetually both to regroup agnatic cousins and to differentiate between them internally: the children of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh and of Muh Uzzugwagh would automatically be arranged against those of 'Amar Uzzugwagh simply because Mzzyan married Muh's widow.

II) Another Aith Turirth case concerns inheritance by a grandparent in the Aith Uswir lineage in Tazirand. Muh n-'Amar n-'Ari, of this lineage, at the time of his death was married to the only daughter of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage above. They had a son, but he died a bachelor, so his paternal grandmother, Hadduma nj-Mqaddim of Timarzga, received one-sixth of his inheritance. Such cases are in fact commoner than might be supposed: the late Qaid r-Hajj Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (d. 1955) was famous during his lifetime for outlasting his own sons and collecting his grandparental sixth.

III) In the case of the Imjjat lineage IA above, it was shown that the four daughters of Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, upon marriage, preferred to let their shares remain with their one brother in a state of indivision. We now turn to a contrary case from Timarzga in which the daughters divided. The reason for their doing so is clear: the daughters are by two mothers different from the mother of the two sons, and most of them married poor local men. When Abdssram n-'Ari 'Amarush died, his inheritance was divided into 9 parts: 4 parts for his two sons (full brothers) and 5 parts for his five daughters by two wives other than the mother of the two sons. Four of the daughters opted for their shares of their father's inheritance as soon as they were married. They all married men of the same local community, Asrafil, and poor men at that; indeed, the men married these women for the little land they possessed, hence the division in land, which would probably not have occurred otherwise.

The fifth sister was married to the son of Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of Imjjat in the Aith Turirth (IA above) in May, 1954, and this man at the same time gave one of his younger sisters to a son of Abdssram n-'Ari in a marriage by sister exchange.[17] In this case the two young men got on very well together, so each agreed to let his wife leave her share in the hands of her brother, and each sister's share is still worked by her brother as though it were his own. The two sons of 'Abdssram n-'Ari 'Amarush had not yet divided as of 1965 but were thinking of doing so.

All these cases clearly indicate that there is a very considerable latitude involved in the question of whether or not daughters inherit. Moreover, the whole issue is bound up with that of division or indivision of the land itself, which as we have seen, depends on a number of variables: if there are many sons, the tendency is always to divide, particularly if there is little land, whereas if sons are not numerous and daughters are, the tendency is to remain in indivision. In the majority of cases in the Jbil Hmam the property inherited by daughters stays with their brothers when they marry, and thus in the hands of their natal agnatic lineages; division is apt to occur only if the sisters have a different mother from the brothers (as it did in Case III, with four of the five sisters).

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[17] In such marriages, each man must pay bridewealth to the other, and the bridewealth of whoever of the two marries first is always slightly higher. The two marriages involved in exchange of sisters do not cancel each other out in terms of bridewealth payments, as might be imagined. In this case, the two young men themselves arranged to exchange sisters, as their fathers had both been long dead.

The latitude in this crucial issue of whether or not daughters inherit is of course manifest in the ambiguity between stated ideal behavior and actual practice. Aith Waryaghar pay lip service to the Shari'a in this matter, and I have never yet run across an instance in which the Shari'a regulations were directly contravened. But there is no question about the ambiguity between theory and practice, and it existed even during the *Ripublik*, according to documentary evidence I have found.[18] It might even be said that over this issue, fact and Qur'anic theory maintain a kind of polar relationship with each other, and this is interesting in itself: Aith Waryaghar genuinely and sincerely believe that women do inherit and that the Shari'a is followed; they are quite unaware of any contradiction between fact and theory.

The same men who say that daughters inherit half of what sons do also say, on cross-questioning, that their sisters who have married into other lineages or clans or even other tribes (in which case, again in practice, most of their ties with their natal lineages are severed) have a perfect right to return home to cultivate their share of the land and to take its produce. When one asks an informant whether he knows of any such cases, however, his answer is almost always negative, with the comment, "Why should there be? A woman's husband provides for her, and agriculture is a man's job anyway!"

This makes one think that Marcy's judgment to the effect that women are excluded from inheritance because they are incapable of bearing arms is not only erroneous but tautologous.[19] Women are indeed equivalent to minors in Rifian society, as Blanco has pointed out,[20] but even minors have some rights. The more correct answer, if there is any single correct answer, is also the more utilitarian one: that noninheritance or, perhaps, "latent" or "dormant" inheritance by daughters acts as a form of insurance to prevent their shares of their late fathers' property from escaping the control of their brothers or other male agnates. Daughters themselves may in fact be inherited by their agnates under certain conditions, as we have seen, although this is more true of Central Atlas Berbers than it is of Rifians. In Waryaghar society the role of women on a purely structural plane is negligible: they are pawns, passive instruments of policy, so to speak, linking two lineages, two clans, or even two tribes affinally; and their passivity is a potential which may be activated through the corporate behavior of either their agnates or their affines, or both. Both groups have very strong demands on any woman's loyalties, and ideally the aims of both groups converge, or the ones would not surrender their women to the others as wives. I say nothing here about the individual social or political behavior and roles of women, who may indeed be very active sub rosa or behind the scenes, especially in the domain of sorcery; I merely wish to point out that while women themselves may physically remove to another location, their real property generally stays with their brothers as a safeguard. Moreover, there is always the possibility that they will be divorced and will then have to return to their natal lineages.

Finally, a postscript on Waryaghar attitudes toward inheritance in general. When going over the unpublished papers of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga in Madrid in 1960, I discovered a wonderful line drawing (he was a consummate artist) of a mountain Waryaghar man, walking stick in hand, standing outside the "bureau" of Arba' Tawrirt, looking down and slyly to one side, both suspicious and pensive. The caption to the picture said (loosely translated): "Here is our good friend Muh n-Mhand, brave, honest, hardworking, suspicious, and quarrelsome. He will have to wait about 45 minutes to see me in my office, and in the meantime he is doing his level best to think up a plausible excuse for doing his half-brother Hmid n-Mhand out of his share of their father's inheritance."

IRRIGATION AND DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER

In Waryagharland, the basic principles governing the distribution of irrigation water are four in number:

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[18] Cf. MSS nos. 18–19 of Aith Turirth in Appendix V, dated 1749 and 1736, respectively, in the latter of which a woman sells land in Thasriwin community to her brother Hmid b. Musa l-M'awti (the name l-M'awti refers to the supposed clan ancestor Amrabit Bu M'awiya), who then buys, in the former document, more land from another woman in r-'Attaf by the Nkur River. (In MS no. 16, dated 1750, the same, or another, Hmid u-Musa—of lineage Aith w-'Amar, now non-existent—is murdered and the Fqir Hmid b. Muhammad receives bloodwealth in land and trees for his murdered agnate.). This indicates that even at that time, pressure was put on women to sell their shares of land to their agnates.

[19] Georges Marcy, *Le Droit Coutumier Zemmour*, Publications de l'Institut de Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome XL, Paris Larose, and Algiers: Carbonel, 1949, p. 257.

[20] Emilio Blanco Izaga *Conferencia Sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, MS 1935. This unpublished paper, as well as the same author's late work *La Ley Rifeña*, op. cit., 1939, are both far more perceptive and useful works than the later studies by José Maria Paniagua, "Notas sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, No. 4, 1 Semestre, Madrid, June 1948, pp. 7–44, and same author, *La Prescripción y el Retracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario del Rif*, Madrid, I.D.E.A. 1950. The last work in particular is of very limited utility, and results merely in an exercise by a Spanish lawyer in trying, unsuccessfully, to force certain Rifian jural institutions into a Spanish legal framework.

(1) water division ideally follows the division of land in all respects, for the owner of a plot of land is also the owner of the subsoil, and water running through the latter, as well as passing over the former, belongs to him; (2) rights of preference are for human beings, animals, land, and grain mills, in that order; (3) river water is collectively owned; and (4) upstream people have a prior claim over downstream people (a self-evident premise). This final principle presents no grave problems (except insofar as the course of the river itself is subject to modification—by rains, for instance); but although the first principle is adhered to both by all groups that irrigate from the upper course of the Ghis, it is not adhered to by those groups that irrigate from the Lower Ghis, below the point where it reaches the plain. In this last case, which will be discussed later, water rights and land rights are quite distinct and may be sold separately. (5) A fifth rule of thumb is simply that the less irrigation water available, the more elaborate are the rules governing its distribution; this again is a principle that is more evident in the plain. I propose, however, to start with the relatively simple division of irrigation water in the area of the Jbil Hmam, water originating for the most part from the upper Nkur and its tributaries, and then to move down to the greater complexities of the plain.

We begin with a brief discussion of irrigation ditches themselves. The ditch itself is called *dharga*, and it may be either one of two kinds: a ditch emanating from a river (*dharga ughzar*), or one emanating from a spring (*dharga nj-'umsar*). The main distinction between these is based both on volume and on use of the water concerned: water from river ditches is not divided up on the basis of a "turn" (*nubth*, the same word used to refer to the elementary family, the economic unit of production), since there is always enough for everyone, but water from spring ditches is so divided because most springs in the region provide only a trickle of water. The "turn" concept of the division of irrigation water is of crucial importance and will be discussed below. Blanco's verdict on the Aith Waryaghar, "Es, pues, una sociedad turnante,"[21] is very much to the point.

The point of origin of any ditch, the point at which the river water actually enters the ditch, is called *uggug n-targa*. The point further along where this water is channeled off from the ditch in order to irrigate a specific field or plot of land is called *anqssar*, while *dhasarsth* is the term given to the hollowed-out log or tree trunk acting as a conductor of the water over points where it would otherwise be lost or wasted. Such hollowed-out logs are a major feature of the irrigation ecology of the Aith Turirth and Timarzga. The total surface area of any garden, orchard, or field under irrigation (and thus in the category of *dhamurth w-aman*) is known as *dhaghzwith;* in the local community of l-'Ass in the Aith Turirth, for instance, the total irrigated land is collectively termed *Dhaghzwith nj-'Ass*.

A given plot or terrace of irrigated land, the maximal segment, so to speak, of a *dhaghzwith*, is known as *dhaqqirat;* in l-'Ass, to continue the example given above, there are about 140–150 such *dhiqqiradhin* (pl. of *dhaqqirat*). Each of these is subdivided into subsegments called *dhathutsh*, and each of these in turn is further subdivided into minimal segments called *hawdh*. The walls of earth between terraces or plots of any or all of the three above categories are termed *dhsunda*, and boundaries between plots or subplots are called *agmir*. Every single level of irrigational segmentation thus has its corresponding designation.

A schematic diagram of the serial division of the land, from the time of its original purchase, into irrigated plots and sub-plots as the lineages grew and proliferated unequally is shown in Figure 4.1:

Comment on Fig. 4.1: The letters *a–g* represent only theoretically the plots of the descendents of the sons of the Afqir Azzugwagh. I have left "Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh" undivided as he was the last of the original four sons of the Afqir Azzugwagh to die (in 1956). (a), (b), and (c) might correspond, respectively, to Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, but the fluid character of the diagram is apparent when it is realized that neither Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh nor Muh Uzzugwagh (g, h, and i) left any sons. At the present generational level of living individuals, (a), (b), and (c) might represent Muhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, the last of 'Amar Uzzugwagh's surviving sons, the only son of 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, the only son of his brother Hajj Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh—while again the only surviving son of Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh is left out.[22]

In the division as of 1959 the irrigated land of the sons of 'Amar w-'Aisa (with whom in 1870 the Afqir Azzugwagh originally went halves in the ownership of both land and irrigation water) is still undivided, because the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa are few in number and have felt no need to divide—an index of the very unequal proliferation of these two lineages.

The question remains, however: how did it come to be this way? The present unequal water distribution

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[21] E. Blanco Izaga, *Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, MS., 1935.

[22] Documentary evidence, MS. 28 of Aith Turirth. It might be asserted that Fig 1 represents, in a sense, the highland Aith Waryaghar answer to Berque's notions of "agrarian order" and "parcellary orchestration" among the Seksawa. Cf. Jacques Berque, *Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas*, Paris: Press Universitaire de France, 1955, pp. 218–233.

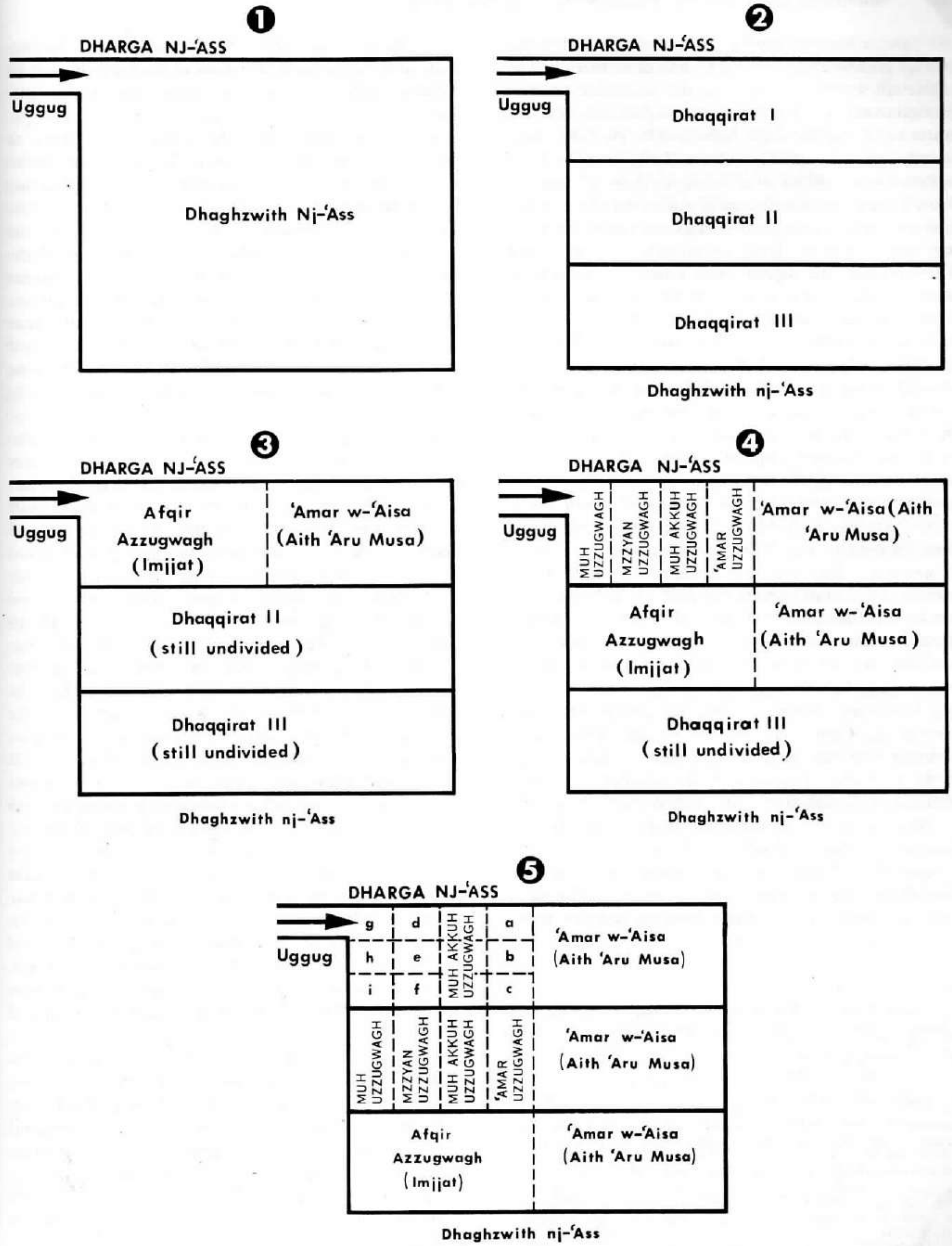
❶
DHARGA NJ-'ASS
Uggug
Dhaghzwith Nj-'Ass
❷
DHARGA NJ-'ASS
Uggug
Dhaqqirat I
Dhaqqirat II
Dhaqqirat III
Dhaghzwith nj-'Ass
❸
DHARGA NJ-'ASS
Uggug
Afqir Azzugwagh (Imjjat)
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
Dhaqqirat II (still undivided)
Dhaqqirat III (still undivided)
Dhaghzwith nj-'Ass
❹
DHARGA NJ-'ASS
Uggug
MUH UZZUGWAGH
MZZYAN UZZUGWAGH
MUH AKKUH UZZUGWAGH
'AMAR UZZUGWAGH
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
Afqir Azzugwagh (Imjjat)
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
Dhaqqirat III (still undivided)
Dhaghzwith nj-'Ass
❺
DHARGA NJ-'ASS
Uggug
g
d
a
h
e
b
i
f
c
MUH AKKUH UZZUGWAGH
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
MUH UZZUGWAGH
MZZYAN UZZUGWAGH
MUH AKKUH UZZUGWAGH
'AMAR UZZUGWAGH
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
Afqir Azzugwagh (Imjjat)
'Amar w-'Aisa (Aith 'Aru Musa)
Dhaghzwith nj-'Ass

Fig. 4.1: Division of Land into Irrigated Plots

in l-'Ass is, like the land distribution, due to unequal lineage proliferation over time; and even though there is enough water to go around, the inequality persists. It originated in the joint purchase of the land, including water rights, by the Fqir Azzugwagh, from the Imjjat lineage across the tribal border in the Igzinnayen (local community of Hibir), and 'Amar w-'Aisa, a local Aith Turirth man from the lineage of Aith 'Aru Musa. These two men had become fast friends, and they each paid half the cost of the land, which is steep and craggy. They bought the upper land from the lineage of Ihammuthen (today very small, but the oldest of the Aith Turirth lineages, going back at least to the late eighteenth century),[23] and the lower land from the much larger lineage of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (which in 1853 had given a wife to the Afqir Azzugwagh).[24] These two lineages had themselves previously bought the land from the people of Ikhuwanen in the tribe of Igzinnayen, the original owners not only of this land but also of the adjoining lands of the present Aith Turirth communities of Bulma and Ignan, which again came into the hands of the expanding Aith Turirth through purchase.[25] It is perhaps ironic that in the l-'Ass case, half the land reverted, through repurchase, to a man of Igzinnayen, the Afqir Azzugwagh; but he and his sons became Aith Waryaghar in fact if not in name. Documents indeed speak of the Afqir and his descendants as *l-Gzinnayi aslan, wa l-Waryaghli daran*, "of Igzinnayen origin, but of Waryaghar residence," indicating clearly that from a long-term point of view, fixity of residence or domicile takes precedence over tribal origin.

As with the land, so with the water: today, as at the time of purchase in 1870, both are divided in half, or, more accurately into eight shares: four for the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa and four for the Dharwa ("sons of") Ufqir Azzugwagh. The latter are divided into shares for the sublineages: one for Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, one for Dharwa n-Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, and two for Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh combined with the now extinct sublineage of Dharwa n-Muh Uzzugwagh (see case ID in the previous section).

The Saru nj-'Ass or l-'Ass River, a tributary of the upper Nkur, trickles out of a spring, the Mizab nj-'Ass, in the rock. Legend has it that this spring gushed forth when one of the saints or *shurfa* of the holy clan of the Dharwa n-Sidi Hand n-Musa of the Igzinnayen, finding no water on the spot, tapped the rock with his stick. His taps produced a miraculous trickle, which gradually developed into the deep gorge cut today by the l-'Ass River. Even though water is relatively abundant, there are nonetheless *nubath* or "turns" of irrigation, which begin every evening between 1800 and 2000 hours and continue for 24 hours.

The irrigation turns in l-'Ass are divided in the same way as the land. Four days or 96 hours of water are allotted to the whole lineage of Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, subdivided in 1955 as follows: one 24-hour day for the five *nubath* or elementary families of Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, one of which consisted of a young unmarried man with a widowed mother (a situation that is always counted as a proper *nubth* not only administratively, but by the Waryaghar themselves); a second 24-hour day for Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh (now deceased) and his one married son (Sha'ib), thus two *nubath;* and two days or 48 hours for the three *nubath* of Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, one of which again consisted of a young unmarried man and his widowed mother. After the death in 1956 of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, the marriage of his second eldest son (Muhammad), and the formation of a *nubth* by a younger son (Mimun), half brother to the other two, with his widowed mother, one *nubth* was lost and two were gained. The other four days or 96 hours were allotted to the three *nubath* of Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa, again including an unmarried man and his widowed mother. By 1959 the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa had been reduced to only two *nubath* by the death of one of their members, whose widow was inherited by the still unmarried brother mentioned above.

These instances of the proliferation and attrition of *nubath* within a lineage are mentioned here for good reason: to show that despite such fluctuation over time, the rules governing ownership both of land and of its irrigation water are absolutely ironclad. Since the land and the water rights in l-'Ass were originally bought by two friends, all the descendants of both of them continue to observe the original distribution in halves—a scheme that also applies to olive oil, for the Afqir Azzugwagh and 'Amar w-'Aisa jointly set up an olive press as well. One result is that the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, who are numerous and live on the upper slope, have all long since divided up their land and water, while the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa, who are few and live down below, remain to this day in indivision. It is perhaps ironic that when the savage bloodfeud broke out that was to ravage l-'Ass, it was not between these two lineages of very unequal size, but between 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh and their sons, with the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa taking the side of the former.

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[23] In 1797 Musa u-Hammu at Tawrirth, son of the lineage ancestor, bought land from his father's wife "between the territory of the Aith Misa'us" (now non-existent) "and of Muhammad w-'Aisa" (MS. 20 of Aith Turirth).

[24] MS 31 of Aith Turirth.

[25] The perpendicular rock of Azru Ukhuwan in l''Ass and the flat plain of r-Udha Ukhuwan (*akhuwan*, "thief") are onomastic indicators that the land of these communities originally belonged to Ikhuwanen of the Igzinnayen. All the rest of Aith Turirth territory was Waryaghar-owned land in the beginning save for Tigzirin, which the Iznagen lineage (themselves from Ikhuwanen) bought from the tribe of Axt Tuzin. All of Aith 'Arus and all of Timarzga were also Waryaghar-owned clan territories from the beginning, save for Asrafil in the latter, which Timarzga purchased from Aith Turirth. All of Aith Bu 'Ayyash has also always been Waraghar-owned land; but patterns of purchase and sale and even of repurchase of land are very old indeed.

Like all natural features, all irrigation ditches are named. Appendix I lists those of the upper, middle, and lower Nkur and of the upper and lower Ghis, with names of ditch, community where located, irrigating lineages, and the essential information on water division. The mere existence of secondary and even tertiary ditches in the plain, which lead to those irrigating individual plots, is already an indication of the considerably greater complexity of water rights there than in the Jbil Hmam, where the l-'Ass case may be considered to be fairly representative. This kind of ditch segmentation, if one may be permitted the term, exists in the Jbil Hmam, to be sure, but not to the same degree as in the plain, where not only is there less water available—for much of it is lost through filtration—but where the population density is also considerably higher. Furthermore, it was only after the *Pax Hispanica* that the Nkur River, along its middle and lower courses, was stabilized as the border between Waryagharland on the west and Tuzinland and Thimsamanland on the east. Even today, there are overlaps on both sides of the river, i.e., minor territorial extensions of Waryagharland into Tuzinland and Thimsamanland, and vice versa. Some general remarks on water utilization in Waryagharland will serve to bring these points into greater relief.

As I have pointed out elsewhere,[26] all usage of water, both at the collective and at the individual level, is subject to agreements between the users. These agreements, particularly for the lower Nkur and the plain, are generally made verbally at the beginning of the summer, and apply especially to sources that have only an intermittent flow or a short duration. They deal with the whole range of matters mentioned earlier: (1) dams, (2) networks of ditches, (3) repairs to ditches effected on a *dhwiza* basis, (4) irrigation turns, and (5) infractions and sanctions. The last category, as we have seen, is usually concerned with the appropriation of turns out of order, and the resultant quarrels, which are generally settled by the local *aquwwam*.

One obstacle to such agreements, however, may lie in the path of the ditch itself rather than in the distribution of the flow (which is calculated in as equitable a manner as possible) because it is necessary to obtain the prior consent of each property owner over whose land the ditch will pass. An owner would of course raise strenuous objections if he were not provided with a turn, and in any event he generally makes it understood that the ditch is not to cross his land at all but to follow the boundaries around it.

Under these circumstances, the division of irrigation turns poses no major problems, and during the *Ripublik* natural means were used to calculate the time (usually, though not always, on a 24 hour basis). The actual hour of day, before the wristwatch was introduced, was calculated by measuring the length of a man's shadow and pacing this length off with one foot just in front of the other.

Once the number of turns has been decided upon, the duration of each and its order of occurrence is then established. This generally takes place at the point of origin of the ditch and is done by drawing lots, which are usually straws, pieces of wood, or stones. In the Jbil Hmam, in communities such as l-'Ass where water is plentiful, the order of turns is fixed once and for all: this is not necessarily the case in the plain, however; for the Dharga n-Tfirasin from the lower Ghis, for example, lots are redrawn at any time the users deem it necessary, such as when the ditch is washed out by rain or, at the other extreme, when there is a complete lack of water in summer. Once the necessary repairs have been made, under the aegis of the *aquwwam*, redrawing takes place.

It was mentioned at the beginning of this section that a major and self-evident premise underlying the Waryaghar irrigation system is that upstream people have priority over downstream people. To this a corollary must now be added: in fact the jurisdiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river bed. The basic reason for this lies in the torrential regimen of the rivers themselves: they are short in overall distance but have rapid currents, they become easily flooded during storms, and as a result they give rise to new and diverse channels that constantly vary and modify their banks. This is particularly true of the Nkur, as any observer can tell at a glance. This fact of hydrography gives rise, of course, to a multiplicity of incidents and to frequent modifications of agreement, "all of which are contrary to the essentially conservative and traditionalist character of the Rifian."[27] Even more important in this connection is the role of the Nkur River as a somewhat fluctuating tribal boundary, as the following story graphically illustrates.[28]

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[26] Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 208 sq. Most of what follows in this section is a paraphrase, plus certain significant additions, of the observations on irrigation made in that article.

Sidi Mhand u-Musa, the founder of the Iziqqiwen lineage of the Imrabdhen, who died about 1838–39 and is buried in the "Hillock of the Saints" in Aith Hishim, is generally recognized as the foremost saint of the plains Waryaghar. Not only did he have, so legend has it, the ability to be in two places at once, but he is also credited with having mounted the Aith Waryaghar guard on the mainland (at the Burj al-Mujahidin in Ajdir) against the Spaniards, who since 1673 had occupied al-Husaima Island.[29] But his most spectacular accomplishment was to miraculously cause a heavy rain to reroute the course of the Nkur River in favor of the Aith Waryaghar and at the expense of the Axt Tuzin (whose own saint, Sidi Bu Jiddain, was thus bested in this hagiolatrical contest). This particular incident had other repercussions that will receive attention elsewhere, but it is mentioned here in order to indicate the advantages (or disadvantages, depending on the point of view) of a "fluid boundary."

This sort of augmentation of already existing points of friction has, as Blanco correctly asserts,[30] made a virtue of necessity. The segmentary organization of Waryaghar society has deeply conditioned the attitudes toward ownership of land and water, so that any possible demands or threats voiced by downstream groups for a transfer of even a minimal portion of the flow are useless. Those upstream use all they can; those downstream, the surplus. This may sound like belaboring the obvious, but the principle is very well suited to Rifian rivers because in normally dry river beds water rises up only in certain parts; these narrow fissures seem to be independent of each other, and each, by means of an improvised dam (*uggug*), feeds a series of successive ditches. Furthermore, the nature of these streams, with their irregular flow and occasional devastating overflow, have convinced the Rifian farmer that he cannot profitably cultivate any land beyond what is necessary for his own subsistence; in any case, further cultivation would attract the attention and envy of neighbors and strangers, which would, in turn, lead to blows.

Here another factor emerges: in the mountains of the Jbil Hmam, only a very small part of the water in the upper courses of the rivers needs to be used for irrigation, since in general water is overabundant and land is lacking. As Blanco very appropriately observes, this has been an excellent reason preventing the mountaineers of Waryagharland from ever thinking in terms of large-scale irrigation developments; as of 1967, however, the Moroccan government was planning to build a dam on the Nkur River at Imnudh in Aith Bu 'Ayyash and to turn the whole plain into a sugar-cane plantation. Blanco went on to observe (in 1939) that since the Rifians had been favored in no way by nature, it was up to the protecting power, Spain, to help them; but he then realistically recalled that in fact there had been "nothing but prejudice and injuries" involved, as in the case of the irrigation turn that the lowland Waryaghar had had to cede to the Granja Agrícola or experimental farm (in fact, a rather abortive experiment) at Imzuren. There the land appropriated by the farm looked like "minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and caustic comments are just, logical, and in no way flattering: *nubth nj-makhzan*, 'the turn of the government,' as they say, which means in effect that a squad of *mkhaznis* have to be stationed on the spot to see to it that no poverty-stricken *akhammas* tries, in the middle of the night, to get water out of turn." Blanco was indeed keenly conscious of the fact that his fellow Spaniards derived the benefit from the farm's irrigation turn (which in 1953–55 lasted two days a week, from Tuesday afternoon to Thursday afternoon), a turn that "did not cost them the least effort, except for sitting down and waiting for the Makhzan to appropriate it for them. In such a case, neither the Makhzan nor the Europeans (i.e., Spaniards) stand to gain anything; on the contrary, they have much to lose."[31]

In the plain, water is divided on a 24 hour basis in the major ditches, but in the smaller segments of these, division on a "hoe," "yoke," "half-yoke," or "days of ploughing" basis is resorted to. The first refers to the number of regular users of the ditch who turn up, hoe in hand, to irrigate, and division is made in proportion to the land owner. "Hoe" (R. *ayarzim*) also means the proportion in which each landholder contributes to the number of workers in the maintenance and construction of the ditch. The "yoke" (*dhiyuga*) principle means that those who have two draft animals (usually cows), which constitute a "yoke," receive a full turn, while those with only one animal receive half a turn.[32] In the upper Nkur, where water is abundant, only the 24-hour principle the Rifian."[27] Even more important in this connection is the role of the Nkur River as a somewhat fluctuating tribal boundary, as the following story graphically illustrates.[28]

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[27] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 104.

[28] Taken from an unsigned Spanish administrative report dated 1944.

[29] A. Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., 1952, however, says that this guard was mounted simultaneously with the Spanish occupation of the island.

[30] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 109.

[31] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 105–106.

[32] J. R. Erola, op. cit., MS, 1952.

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Here another factor emerges: in the mountains of the Jbil Hmam, only a very small part of the water in the upper courses of the rivers needs to be used for irrigation, since in general water is overabundant and land is lacking. As Blanco very appropriately observes, this has been an excellent reason preventing the mountaineers of Waryagharland from ever thinking in terms of large-scale irrigation developments; as of 1967, however, the Moroccan government was planning to build a dam on the Nkur River at Imnudh in Aith Bu 'Ayyash and to turn the whole plain into a sugar-cane plantation. Blanco went on to observe (in 1939) that since the Rifians had been favored in no way by nature, it was up to the protecting power, Spain, to help them; but he then realistically recalled that in fact there had been "nothing but prejudice and injuries" involved, as in the case of the irrigation turn that the lowland Waryaghar had had to cede to the Granja Agrícola or experimental farm (in fact, a rather abortive experiment) at Imzuren. There the land appropriated by the farm looked like "minute green islets among the calcinated holdings of the natives, whose ill-will and caustic comments are just, logical, and in no way flattering: *nubth nj-makhzan,* 'the turn of the government,' as they say, which means in effect that a squad of *mkhaznis* have to be stationed on the spot to see to it that no poverty-stricken *akhammas* tries, in the middle of the night, to get water out of turn." Blanco was indeed keenly conscious of the fact that his fellow Spaniards derived the benefit from the farm's irrigation turn (which in 1953-55 lasted two days a week, from Tuesday afternoon to Thursday afternoon), a turn that "did not cost them the least effort, except for sitting down and waiting for the Makhzan to appropriate it for them. In such a case, neither the Makhzan nor the Europeans (i.e., Spaniards) stand to gain anything; on the contrary, they have much to lose."[31]

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[27] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 104.

[28] Taken from an unsigned Spanish administrative report dated 1944.

[29] A. Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., 1952, however, says that this guard was mounted simultaneously with the Spanish occupation of the island.

[30] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 109.

[31] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 105-106.

[32] J. R. Erola, op. cit., MS, 1952.

Irrigation turns can be traded or swapped; but if anyone forgets his turn or fails to show up for it, he forfeits it. During the *Ripublik*, when irrigation ditches needed repair after heavy rains, for example, an announcement was made in the evening at the mosque, and any persons who failed to turn up the next day for the repair work were fined 2.50 duros Hasani apiece (in Spanish times, 1954–55, 16 pesetas, the standard daily wage). The proceeds were used to buy food for those who did show up. In Tazurakhth in the upper Aith Bu 'Ayyāsh anyone who refused to pay had to forfeit a rifle (which was returned to him upon payment). During the *Ripublik*, the members of the *jma'th* handled all irrigation matters themselves, but in Spanish times an *aquwwam* or irrigation chief was appointed in each subclan by the *qaid* in order to regulate, on the spot if possible, all disputes and quarrels over land, water, and animals; those over water generally arise as a result of individuals trying to appropriate water out of turn. The present independent Moroccan administration has continued to retain the *aquwwam* as a minor tribal functionary, and he is still nominated by the *qaid*. In Spanish times he received 10 ptas for every such case he handled, as of 1961, 250 frs., and as of 1965, 600 frs., generally from the owner of the ditch, whether this is an individual or the *jma'th*. He exacts fines according to the extent of damages caused, and he must turn in a statement of damage to the *qadi*, who forces the guilty party to pay up. However, in this same connection there are two points of custom that are known to all: if a river in flood bodily lifts up a portion of A's property for example, and places it on top of B's property, the land in question now belongs to B rather than to A because it is B's land that now gives it its *asr* or "roots."[33] However, should the river place the land in question beside but not on that of B, it still belongs to A.

In the plain the usage of irrigation water from both the lower Nkur and lower Ghis rivers has always been the subject of agreements, usually verbal for the Nkur and usually written for the Ghis. In this region the flow of water, even though highly variable, permits a regular distribution through permanent ditches, a distribution sanctioned by tradition and known to all. These ditches contain water all year round, and because their utilization has been regulated and stablized (even under the Spanish, against whom Blanco inveighs, and who all left, of course, after independence), incidents do not often occur here in the plain.[34]

As we have seen, the irrigation system in Waryagharland not only parallels the segmentary and the territorial systems very closely, but is also, wherever and whenever possible, based upon them and might even be considered as one particular mode of the latter. Where this is not the case, sales of individual property or of the property of minimal lineage branches have generally been the cause. Such sales have occurred most frequently in the plain, where the presence of the model farm at Imzuren further complicated the "aboriginal" irrigation picture, even though it was integrated into the lowland irrigational structure.

In the river beds there are certain points known to the Aith Waryaghar where water always rises up. Dams are made at these points for the source of the ditches as well as for partitions for the water on both sides. After a dam has been built, holding as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head in which the necessary outlets are made, and it serves as the point of origin of the primary ditches of permanent flow, usually two or three in number. The Aith Waryaghar say that the water going through these outlets is well distributed, by halves or thirds or whatever the case might be; and although this is what occurs in theory, in practice the system is far from perfect, as they do not take into account either the width or the depth of the outlets, which are improvised and variable. The primary ditches are divided up, when necessary, into secondary branches, and it is in these branches that the irrigation turns are initiated, each one taking up water for twenty-four hours. If there are four secondary branches, for example, each one will take up water every four days. The secondary branches are again divided up into tertiary branches, also of periodic flow, which take up water only during the day, or only at night, and these in turn give rise to the individual irrigation furrows that receive water only at certain hours, generally determined by those of the daily prayers.

Although Blanco does not couch it in exactly these terms, he nevertheless stresses, by implication, the fact that in the Rif one can virtually speak of a segmentary irrigation system,[35] and with very good reason. The primary ditches tend to serve local communities, while the secondary ditches with flows of 24-hour duration serve the *dharfiqin* or segmentary lineage groups resident within them, and the tertiary ones serve the *ijujga* (sing. *jajgu*) or lineage branches encapsulated within these *dharfiqin*. The distribution of water is sealed by instructions from the owners of the tertiary ditches so that if any of these ditches receives water during the day in its irrigation turn it will receive it at night in the following turn. A similar instruction initiated by the irrigators stipulates that the first man in one turn will be the last in the next. The two classes of turns making up this order of irrigation are usually set up for the full sequence of turns and are settled by lot drawing. At this level the transfer of irrigation turns may be effected at any time, and for the lower Ghis, as noted earlier, the sale of such turns is entirely independent of the sale of property. The reason for this is of course lack of water; river water is supplemented to some extent (notably in Ifasiyen of Imrabdhen) by the existence of wells, but not enough, in an overall sense, to make an appreciable difference. Blanco estimated in 1938-39 that one 12-hour irrigation turn per week cost 500-600 duros (2,500-3,000 ptas.).[36] Differences of opinion and disputes were and are resolved by the standard processes of arbitration, evaluation of damages, or indemnification.

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[33] This is in contrast to the Algerian Kabyle practice as described by Servier. Jean Servier, *Les Portes de l'Année*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1962.

[34] To what extent this traditional system will be changed as a result of the new government sponsored sugar-cane project in the plain is impossible to say, but it is very likely that the change will indeed be great.

[35] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, pp. 101 sq., esp. pp. 106–108; and D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 212.

9 0.25
43 11
OR 20 1 .05
ORS 19 7 .30
– 6 3 0.35

Any stranger who, in pre-Spanish times, came to that part of lowland Waryagharland irrigated by the Ghis River in order to buy property and build a house had no right to water from the irrigation ditch in his community until he bought and paid for his irrigation turn. To this end he had to have a document duly notarized by two *'adul* and signed by the *qadi*, proving the legitimacy of his purchase.[37] This was not the case for the upper Ghis, where none of the ditches are of any real importance and where there is in fact little irrigation; it is only on the lower Ghis that they were and are important. The Ghis may be the longest river in the Central Rif, but the only significant ditches lead off from its lower course, in the plain: Dharga nd-Bzimma on the west band and Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz and Dharga n-Tfadhna on the east bank. Dharga nd-Bzimma has a five-day turn,[38] distributed among the various sublineages of the large local community of Ajdir; in 1938 it provided the water to turn one gristmill, and there were several of these mills by 1953. Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz has a three-day turn, split up between the lineage groups included in Imhawren, r-Hujjaj and Tifirasin (the first and second each including three lineages of the clan of Aith 'Ari, and the third, two of the clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari). Each of these is then for purposes of irrigation split up into its component segments. In 1938 the water from the ditch moved three mills, and by 1953 several more mills had been built. The turn structure of the Bu r-Ma'iz ditch had also undergone certain alterations, if we compare my own description of it in 1953 as given in Appendix I, with Blanco's observations made in 1938, presented in detail below.[39] The most important principle emerging from Blanco's treatment of this material is the existence of what he neatly terms "intermittent irrigation rights." By 1953 the lineage that had been granted such rights was fully absorbed and integrated into the turn structure of the ditch. Yet these "intermittent" rights are of considerable structural interest and merit description for they are not in any sense randomly intermittent but have a very precise pattern of rotation, a point that Blanco did not make sufficiently clear.

In the Imhawren turn from Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz, the lineage of Aith Bu Dhimmus (of the clan of Aith Yusif w-'Ari) figured as an outside segment but only when water was scarce, for this lineage normally had its own turn in the Dharga n-Tfadhna (which had its own secondary ditch of Upper Tafadhna, or Tafadhna n-Dara). Its structural inclusion in the Imhawren turn thus assured its members of water that they might not otherwise have received in hard times.

The members of this lineage were given intermittent rights with the idea that their inclusion would not interrupt the general irrigation schedule. The pattern of their inclusion is regarded by both Blanco and myself as an excellent explanation of the fact that in the plain of al-Husaima there were very few incidents regarding irrigation turns other than those created by the unwanted presence of Spanish irrigators. It behooves us to look at this scheme in detail.

On the first day (24 hours), under normal circumstances, the Imhawren irrigated, and their turn was utilized by one of their three component lineages, Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid, and Aith Muhand u-Hmid (all descended from sons of a common ancestor, Hmid). The fourth and outside element, Aith Bu Dhimmus, we leave aside for the time being. The second day was the turn of one of the two Tifirasin lineages, Aith Mhand u-Yihya and Im'arwen (both of Aith Yusif w-'Ari clan). The third day (24 hours), the turn of r-Hujjaj (Aith 'Ari clan) was taken by one of its three constituent lineages, Aith r-'Arbi, Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru, and I'arhuthen.

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[36] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 136. One of the *qanuns* translated in the same work (p. 135) deals with the tale of an irrigation turn in the Lower Ghis.

[37] J. R. Erola, op. cit., *El Caidato del Alto Guis: Estudio Económico-Social*, MS. 1953, remarks that in the Lower Ghis one may as a result encounter individuals who own water but no land, whereas this is never the case in the Upper Ghis.

[38] Six days, according to Blanco, op. cit., 1939, pp. 112-113.

[39] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, pp. 113-118.

Thus, over a 9 day period, there was, under ordinary circumstances, the following arrangement:

TABLE 4.1

Original Irrigation Arrangement: Imhawren, Tifirasin, and r-Hujjaj

Day	Sequence	Turn
1	Imhawren	Aith 'Aru Hmid
2	Tifirasin	Aith Mhand u-Yihya
3	r-Hujjaj	Aith r-'Arbi
4	Imhawren	Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid
5	Tifirasin	Im'arwen
6	r-Hujjaj	Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
7	Imhawren	Aith Muhand u-Hmid
8	Tifirasin	Aith Mhand u-Yihya
9	r-Hujjaj	I'arhuthen

TABLE 4.2

Modifications to Table 4.1 through Intercalation of Extra Lineage (Aith Bu Dhimmus) into Imhawren Sequence

Day	Imhawren Turns
1	Aith Bu Dhimmus—took the turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid
4	Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid
7	Aith Muhand u-Hmid
10	Aith 'Aru Hmid—recuperated their own turn
13	Aith Bu Dhimmus—took the turn of Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid
16	Aith Muhand u-Hmid
19	Aith 'Aru Hmid
22	Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid—recuperated their own turn
25	Aith Bu Dhimmus—took the turn of Aith Muhand u-Hmid
28	Aith 'Aru Hmid

Then the sequence was repeated. In the ordinary normal sequence each lineage of Tifirasin irrigated every six days, while each lineage of Imhawren and r-Hujjaj irrigated only every nine days. Now, if we intercalate the Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that each Tifirasin lineage continued to irrigate every six days, and each r-Hujjaj lineage every nine, on the same day as before; but the Imhawren lineages, to which the new intercalated lineage was appended, underwent a shift. As a result, four out of every five turns of each Imhawren lineage fell as usual nine days apart, and the remaining turn involved a gap of eighteen days; the newcomers irrigated regularly every twelve days. Thus without altering the general sequence of the turns and without detriment to the other two neighboring lineage-groups, located slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus was quenched as this lineage rotated around the turns, as indicated schematically in Table 4.2. Since the turns of the Tifirasin and r-Hujjaj lineages remain exactly as shown in Table 4.1, only the Imhawren turns are shown.

As of 1953, the Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage had been fully integrated into the irrigation turn structure of Tafadhna n-Dara secondary ditch of the Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz while still retaining their original rights in the Tafadhna primary ditch. There is no question that this integration had occurred through outright purchase of an irrigation turn.

The Tafadhna ditch, to take another and less complicated example, has a three-day turn; in 1938 it moved four mills and again there were more mills by 1953. The distribution of its water was as follows: on the first day the (Imrabdhen) lineage of Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit; on the second day, the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Ajdir, 12 hours; Andrusen lineage, 2 hours 40 minutes; and Aith Bu Dhimmus, 9 hours 20 minutes); and on the third day, the Imhawren (Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid and Aith Muhand u-Hmid). Some of these lineage names we have already encountered among the users of Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz. Here the situation as I found it in 1953 was substantially the same as Blanco had described it.

We now turn to some general remarks on the ditches emanating from the lower Nkur. The Nkur contains many more ditch outflows of importance than does the Ghis, but, as Blanco pointed out, its irrigation regimen is less exact (precisely because it has more water, and because there is no need for compensating wells). Irrigation agreements that have been written up regarding distribution of Nkur River water are few and relatively recent. It will be recalled that the Nkur acts as the somewhat *ad hoc* boundary between the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the east and the Aith Waryaghar on the west, and that in its fast-moving upper course there is always more than enough water, and irrigation turns are a simple matter. Even in the middle Nkur there is still plenty of water to irrigate meanders such as those of Dhaghzwith n-Dasa and Tazurakhth. But in the lower Nkur, north of the Thanda Hawa lagoon, the complexity of irrigation turns approaches that of the lower Ghis. Again, greater population density and water filtration and subsequent loss are the reasons. The attempt has been made to reconcile various accounts with each other in Appendix I since there are several points at which they do not correspond—a fact that is itself significant. One document on the distribution of irrigation water from the Tufrasht ditch on the west bank of the Nkur between the communities of Izakiren and Ighmiren, of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, states that those of Ighmiren will receive 3 parts and those of Izakiren 5 parts, but in the enumeration, six parts are in fact listed.[40] Perhaps this is an indication of how clerical errors in the drawing up of documents can lead to structural ambiguities. Another example is Dharga n-Dahar, again on the west bank. According to Blanco's reckoning it moved two mills in 1938 and had two turns of 24 hours each, one for the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash and the second for the Aith ‘Ari; the latter turn was split up into two-thirds for Aith Musa w-‘Amar and one-third for Imzuren.[41] Blanco's representation for this distribution was as follows:

1st Day: Aith Bu ‘Ayyash
2nd Day: Aith ‘Ari (Aith Musa w-‘Amar)
3rd Day: Aith Bu ‘Ayyash
4th Day: Aith ‘Ari (Aith Musa w-‘Amar)
5th Day: Aith Bu ‘Ayyash
6th Day: Aith ‘Ari (Imzuren)

My own information, from one source, accords with this in that it gives half to the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash and half to the Aith ‘Ari, although it does not break the latter down into constituent user elements; but another interpretation gives primacy to the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, who receive 5 out of 8 turns while the Aith ‘Ari only receive the other three.[42] Anyone wishing to consult Appendix I will find further variants and ambiguities in the distribution of water from the lower Nkur ditches. The distribution of lower Ghis water is indeed complex, because land and water were considered as two discrete entities, but because it was properly codified it is not ambiguous; distribution of the lower Nkur water, however, tends to be ambiguous in practice if not in theory.

The distribution of irrigation water from the upper courses of both rivers is a far simpler matter than in the plain of al-Husaima, where lineage discontinuity has created a veritable territorial jumble. The progression of the Aith Waryaghar from their original home in the Jbil Hmam down to the plain was a very gradual one, but in terms of clan and lineage discontinuity and reduplication, it can hardly be considered an orderly one. The selling of both land and irrigation rights created something of a patchwork quilt of clans, which were infiltrated by numerous strangers and stranger lineages as well. Prior to 1889-90, when the first house was built in the plain itself, the plain had been used only for cultivation by irrigation, with the cultivators living in their communities in the surrounding low hills; but owing to the agricultural stake that several Waryaghar clans already had in the plain, and owing to the patchwork nature of clan and lineage distribution, irrigation ditches were at that time already cutting across community and even across clan and tribal holdings, as the above evidence makes clear (viz. the ditches on the east bank of the lower-middle Nkur which irrigate not only for the Aith Waryaghar but for the Axt Tuzin and Thimsaman as well). The plain has long been a maze of irrigation ditches, ranging from concrete-reinforced primary ditches to mere furrows, and since the establishment of the *Pax Hispanica* it has gradually become a virtual maze of local communities as well. There is not enough land or enough water for all, because of the proliferation of autochthonous lineages and the accretion and growth of others from outside.

The Aith Waryaghar would hardly seem to qualify as a "hydraulic society" in Wittfogel's sense—and they are disqualified entirely on political grounds (for Wittfogel's thesis is that centralized despotism arose in precisely those parts of the Near and Far East where major irrigation works could be and were undertaken). Nonetheless, irrigation is of extreme importance to them, such that at least in part, they may be considered "irrigation-based," to use Gray's terminology.[43]

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[40] This document is undated but was probably drawn up in 1954 or 1955 at the instigation of the *aquwwam* of Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, ‘Amar n-Muh n-Muh of Imnudh.

[41] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 124.

[42] J. R. Erola (op. cit. MS 1953) states that the water of this ditch, that of Hadhidha and that of Tigarth and Swani in Aith ‘Ari as well as several ditches along the Middle and Upper Ghis, are divided up on the "hoe" principle discussed above. In other parts of the plain (e.g. Aith Mhand U-Yihya and the rest of Aith ‘Ari) however, water rights are divided up on the "yoke" basis and indeed on the "half-yoke" basis: in this case those who have two cows receive a full turn, while those who have only one cow receive half a turn. Division of irrigation water may also be made elsewhere in terms of "days" of plowing and sowing or in terms of hours of irrigation. Cf. a 1945 document regarding the distribution of water from the l-Udha ditch at Thamasind: 7 out of 8 days worth of water to be used equally by the I‘azzuzen and Aith Mhand u-Hmid lineages, and the eighth was to be divided up into two periods of sunset to dawn and from dawn to halfway between the mid-afternoon prayer and sunset, for use by each of them individually.

[43] Karl A. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957; Robert F. Gray, *The Sonjo of Tanganyika*, Oxford University Press: International African Institute, 1960.

5. PERIODIC RITUALS: THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth and name bestowal, circumcision, marriage, and death are, for the Aith Waryaghar, as elsewhere, the most significant of what Beattie has called "transition rituals," in a free translation of van Gennep's famous concept of *rites de passage.*[1] These crises that occur in the life cycle of the individual, and the rituals of transition from one status to another, from the swaddling cloth to the grave, have a strong religious and Islamic undercurrent as well.

The rituals themselves all possess certain elements in common, and most important and obvious to the recording anthropologist is the fact that each involves invitations (always by word of mouth), hospitality, and commensality: in the event of a name-giving for a baby, the circumcision of a small boy, or the marriage of a young man, the father of the principal actor gives a feast which always involves music and dancing; for a funeral, the son of the deceased prepares a mortuary feast. To these feasts come all the members of the local community, as well as a good many from other communities nearby. Such ritual occasions, in which ties of kinship and friendship are reaffirmed, are characterized by their periodicity, not so much for the principal actors or participants as for all those invited to attend. At any such feast the host is virtually guaranteed that a hundred or so guests will show up; often there are so many that there is not enough room for them to sit and watch the dancing in the courtyard, and they must get up on the roof of the house. Many of the guests may have seen each other at the market only two or three days previously, or may have been invited to eat and sleep the night at the house of some other guest if their own houses are further away; but such is the interconnectedness of the Aith Waryaghar world that face-to-face relations between kinsmen of all categories, and between friends and neighbors, are constantly in the process of reaffirmation or renewal.

BIRTH AND NAME BESTOWAL

A woman's pregnancy is known, Aith Waryaghar say, at two months, and the nine-month gestation period is recognized as a biological fact. A husband may have intercourse with his pregnant wife after the first forty days right up until the time she bears the child; but from this point there is a taboo enjoined by the Shari'a, prohibiting sexual relations until forty days after the baby is born.[2]

A pregnant woman does her normal work until her sixth month of pregnancy, after which her work load is partially lightened. She still fetches brushwood and water, "but less often than before," informants say; toward the end of the pregnancy, she works only in the house.

When labor pains begin, she sends for the woman who is to act as midwife, almost always one of her own family. (In the Jbil Hmam, at least, there are no professional midwives). At this point, she is not given any food, because it is considered bad if she defecates close to the time the child is born. When the actual delivery begins, the woman acting as midwife and at least one other woman must help the mother, one of them to hold her from behind and the other to take hold of the baby as it emerges. The mother is seated on the floor with legs spread and knees drawn up, gripping with all her strength on a rope that is used for carrying milk or water jugs and is suspended from the ceiling. The woman behind grasps her around the waist and clasps her hands over the mother's knees. Any women and small children of either sex who are in the house at the moment of delivery also come running in order to be of whatever assistance they can; but men are, of course, rigorously excluded.

When the child is born, the midwife picks it up and, without washing it, wraps it in a swaddling rag; another woman then takes the umbilical cord and the placenta far away from the house to be buried, so that dogs will not eat them and thus cause the mother to be barren in the future. In the meantime, a third woman has generally put a boar's tusk on a string around the baby's neck in order to ward off the evil eye and has invariably placed some salt on a knife beside the mother so that neither she nor her baby will be attacked by *jnun;* for during the first seven days after delivery, and until the child is named, both baby and mother are particularly vulnerable to these malevolent beings. During this period they must remain in the room where the birth occurred.

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[1] John Beattie, *Other Cultures*, London: Cohen & West, 1964, p. 211. The rituals of transition are all described for the Igzinnayen in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 122-145, while Aith Waryaghar marriage ritual is discussed in considerable detail in Edward Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London: Macmillan, 1941, *passim.* In detail Westermarck's account, in particular, is very close to my own, although this is by no means necessarily the case either in orientation or in emphasis.

[2] Furthermore, in Waryagharland, at least, two women in the same house who have given birth may not see each other for forty days thereafter; should they do so, one of them, or her child, would die. The same avoidance taboo applies to brides who have married brothers or agnates resident in the same house on the same day.

There are no special provisions made for difficult or unusual births[3] and no difference in the treatment of a first birth as compared to that of a second or later birth; miscarriages and stillbirths are buried in the community cemetery in just the same way as anyone else, with the normal arrangements for head- and footstones according to the sex of the corpse. The birth of twins (*ixniwen*) or triplets (*dhratha ixniwen*, "three twins") is considered highly felicitous and is an occasion for heartfelt congratulations by all and sundry: in 1964 I was told that no less than eight sets of twins had been born in the Aith Turirth alone—a record year. Twins cannot be taken out of the room in which they were born for sixty days, and for the first thirty days they may not be given any new clothes. The idea behind this is to avoid the evil eye and *jnun.*

After she has given birth, the mother is fed flour mixed with butter and olive oil, plenty of coffee, and generally chicken as well, so that she will get well quickly. For the first seven days after the birth, she may eat almost anything but may drink no milk. The baby's diet begins, of course, with its mother's milk and with water; more often than not the child is also started out on mint tea, although the mother puts it back at the breast if it starts to cry.

So far we have not considered the sex of the child. Aith Waryaghar believe that girls younger than 18 years of age who eat squash seeds will bear only girl children; given the cultural premium placed upon boys, this practice is of course discouraged. At birth, the father is waiting impatiently for the news of the child's sex. If it is a boy he sacrifices a hen, and if a girl, a rooster; thus, the sacrifice of poultry makes the neighbors aware both of the birth and of the sex of the child.[4] In the lowlands, if the child is a girl, the midwife cuts the umbilical cord with a sickle, a symbolic act to ensure that the next baby will be a boy.

The ritual act of name bestowal is called *saba'*, "seventh," because it occurs on the seventh day after the child is born, the father having decided on the name to give his child during the intervening week.[5] For a boy, it is never the father's own name, but it is very often that of the child's paternal grandfather. If a girl, she is never named for her mother, but any other name may be chosen.

On the name bestowal day, all the kinsmen, patrilateral, matrilateral, and affinal, of the child appear. The father ritually slaughters a goat or sheep, the head and skin of which are given to the midwife as a present for her services. Afterward, everyone says "*Mbraka!*" ("Blessings!"), and the feast begins, usually lasting for two days. If the child's father is relatively well off, he always has the unmarried girls of his own and his wife's lineages on hand to sing the *ay-aralla-buya* refrain and the accompanying *izran* couplets, but this usually occurs in any case, almost any excuse being sufficient for *ay-aralla-buya*.[6]

If the child is a boy, there is great general rejoicing, and a red flag, called *bandu*,[7] is put up on the roof of the house, where it stays until the next morning. All the men present toss firecrackers (during the *Ripublik* they shot off their rifles), and everyone is happy and eats well (reenter the principle of commensality). If a girl has been born, there is invariably less feasting and fewer firecrackers.

CIRCUMCISION

Circumcision (*antahar* or *ansrim*) is not enjoined in the Qur'an, but all Muslims perform it as *qa'ida* or *'urf*, Custom, and it is regarded as obligatory. It is part and parcel of the notion of bodily hygiene, as are the ablutions prior to prayer; and under the same rubric falls the shaving of body hair, especially pubic and underarm hair, enjoined upon both sexes. Circumcision, however, is performed only on boys, no female circumcision or clitoridectomy being practiced. The operation takes place when the boy is anywhere from three months to four years old,[8] and is generally performed on a Friday. If the boy's father wishes to put on a feast, the circumcision is usually performed in summer; if not, it is done at any time of the year. If no feast is to be given (and this is rare), the job is done by the *m'adjdjim r-hajjam*, the master barber from the market, with a pair of scissors. During the *Ripublik*, olive oil was rubbed on the child's penis after the operation to prevent infection, and it is said that he was cured within fifteen or twenty days; but by the 1950s the proper medicine or ointment was brought from the Spaniards' dispensary at the tribal bureau. During the 1950s the master barber was paid 10 duros (50 ptas.) for the operation by the boy's father. He usually made the rounds every year and might circumcise as many as a hundred boys on a trip; but whenever people needed him, they sent for him. At that time there was also an *amdhyaz* from Thara Mghashth in the Axt Tuzin who made rounds as well, both as a barber-bleeder and as a circumcisor.

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[3] In 1954, a Spanish doctor friend of mine rather sarcastically commented on the fact that the mother or sister of the parturient woman always presses on her anus so that the child will not appear from there and that the mother's suffering, after two or three days of this is intense. The midwife, he said, merely looks on and does nothing, as do the wives of neighbors and their young children, not helping at all; and commenting for example, that Fadhma n-Muh Akkuh recently died in childbirth. A professional midwife is paid two duros, and on the day the child is given its name, she also receives the head of the sacrificial goat, to make kuskus.

[4] This act was described to me as being *qa'ida* or Custom rather than Qur'anically enjoined.

[5] The notion current in the West to the effect that every first-born son is called Muhammad and every first-born daughter Fatima, is totally erroneous. Before its name is bestowed, a male child is known as *a'azri*, and a female one as *dha'azrith;* and from then on until adolescence a boy is called either *aharmush* or *afrukh* and a girl *dhaharmush* or *dhafrukhth.* Between adolescence and marriage it is interesting to note that the terms *a'azri* and *dha'azrith*, above, are resorted to. After marriage, a boy becomes a man, *argaz*, and a girl becomes a woman, *dhamgarth;* and about the age of 50 a man becomes—like a member of a religious order—an *afqir*, and a woman of over forty, a *dhafquirth.* Finally any old woman of eighty or more is a *shwatan*, a "little devil."

[6] The *ay-aralla buya* chants are of considerable ritual importance in Rifian life, and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[7] Also the name of a lineage in the subclan of Timarzga, Dharwa n-Bandu. Cf. also the community of Aghir Bandu in the Aith 'Abbu clan of the Aith 'Ammarth.

If the father can afford a feast with all included—meaning the young girls who sing *ay-aralla-buya*—he seldom has a master-barber in to perform the operation, but rather a *fqih* from the mosque. In the Jbil Hmam there are two *fqihs*, both from Ikhuwanen in the Igzinnayen but resident, respectively, in Aith Juhra of the Aith 'Arus and in Tazurakhth of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash; they regularly earn extra money by performing circumcisions in addition to their normal duties. On October 7, 1962, I was privileged to witness the latter *fqih* (an old man of 80) at work, circumcising the two-year-old son of one of my informants. The operation was performed with scissors; alcohol, which I produced, was, at my insistence, put both on the scissors and on the child's penis. The only other person present beside the *fqih* and myself was the informant's sister's husband, who passed the instruments, tweezers, and cotton to the *fqih*.

My friend carried his little son into his guestroom. The father put his foot up on a bowl of mixed ashes and manure, holding his child on his thigh, with a cloth wrapped around him to wipe up the blood. Si

Imdhyazen from the Axt Tuzin playing at a circumcision feast, Aith Turith (1965). The young man in the center without a musical instrument is an Aith Waryaghar highlander

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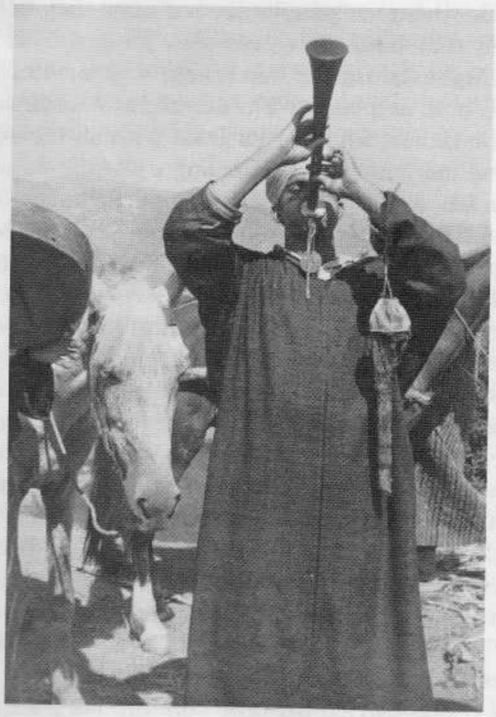
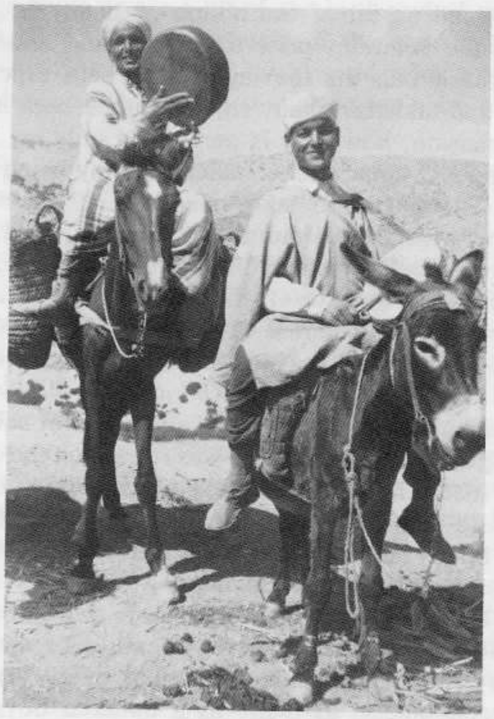
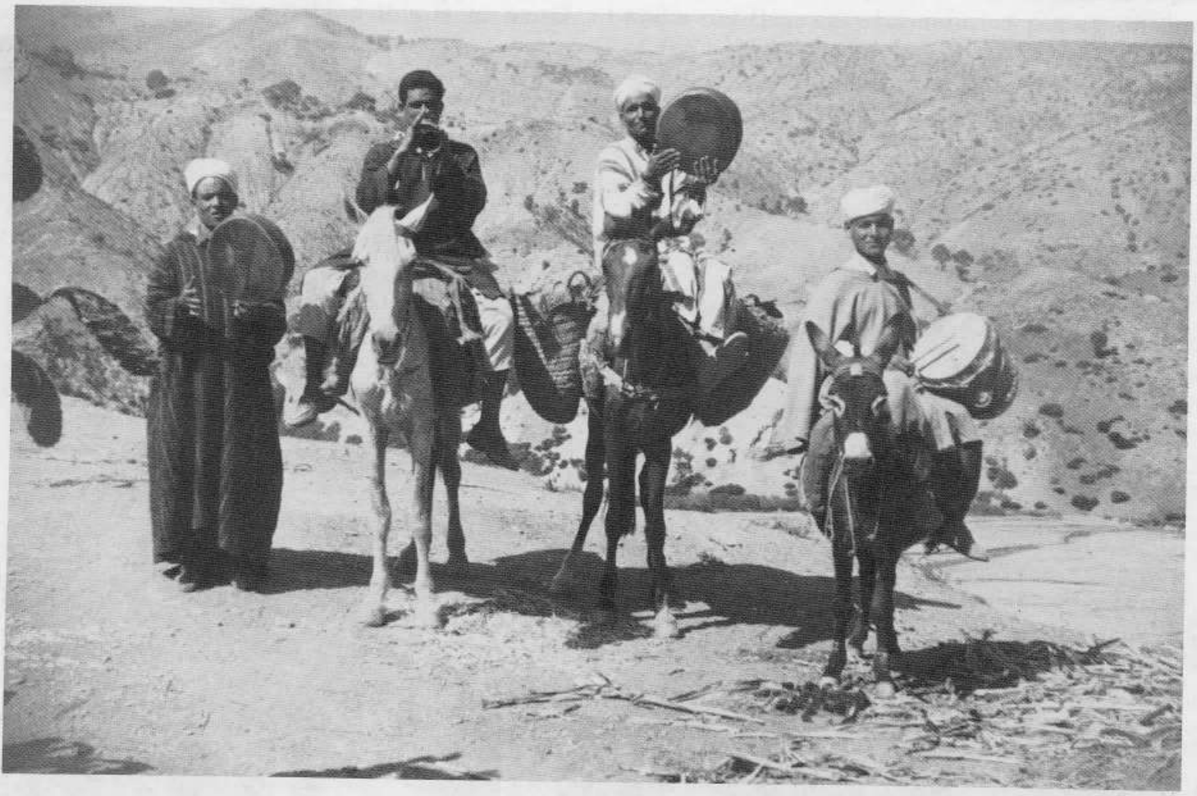
[8] In the Igzinnayen, the upper age limit may be as high as seven years.



Amdhyaz from the Axt Tuzin playing *ghaita* at circumcision feast. Aith Turirth (1965)



Imdhyazen drumming while on their mounts preparatory to leaving circumcision feast, Aith Turirth (1965)



Imdhyazen musicians on their mounts preparing to leave circumcision feast, Aith Turirth (1965)

Mhand, the aged *fqih*, took the child's penis, put some powder on it, milked it back and forth twice in order to be able to get a good grip on the foreskin with his scissors, muttered the invocation "*Bismillah baddina!*" ("In the name of God, we will separate!"), and then snipped off the foreskin in one very neat little stroke. The severed foreskin was then put into a bowl of ashes and thrown away, while mercurochrome from my informant's small medicine chest was applied to the cut to stop the bleeding.

The little boy whimpered during the operation but did not once burst into tears—my informant volunteered that in this respect his third son was as much a "man" as his two elder sons had been. Afterward, the *fqih* merely slipped the scissors back into their leather case without using any disinfectant whatsoever. But long practice on his part enabled him to complete the whole operation, and very deftly, in a matter of seconds.

No women were in the room—they are never present at a circumcision—but they ululate (*jwaru*) when the father triumphantly brings his son out into the courtyard where they are waiting. Each woman brings the child a small present of money (in Spanish times, one duro; in 1962, one Moroccan dirham), with which his father buys him clothes on the next market day.

The circumcision feast generally is held on a Friday, with unmarried girl kinswomen and *imdhyazen* both invited to come and dance the night before; and it is generally over after the operation is carried out on Friday morning. In any case, more attention and comfort can be given to the little boy after at least some of the guests have left. In the case discussed above, my informant was brought some 24 cones of sugar as presents, and he paid 15 Moroccan dirhams (1,500 frs.) and 2 sugar cones to the *fqih* for doing the operation.

WEANING AND CHILD CARE

Suckling is called *'adh ikimmir aghi*, "the milk is not finished." It is perfectly permissible for co-wives to suckle each other's babies, who are then "milk-siblings" as well as half-siblings. A baby is cradled in the crook of its mother's arm while suckling, and a sister, an aunt, or a grandmother will look after it whenever its mother is otherwise occupied.

When the baby is three months old, the mother spoon-feeds it a little sugar, butter, and olive oil. A child continues to breast-feed until it is two years old, although at one year it has started to partake of all foodstuffs eaten by adults. A woman keeps a child at the breast for the full two-year period even if she has been divorced, and her ex-husband cannot reclaim it until it is weaned.

If a woman becomes pregnant again before her child has been weaned, however, weaning must begin at once, because the milk of a pregnant woman is supposed to be very bad for the child, who might easily sicken or die; the child's face would turn yellow, its stomach would swell up, and it would get acute attacks of diarrhea. It is believed that even if the child should not die, it will never be really healthy in adult life.

If the child should prove recalcitrant about weaning, its mother makes a disc of bread, hard-boils an egg, and sends both to the *fqih* in the mosque. The *fqih* writes a charm and puts it inside the bread disc, writes another one on the eggshell, and sends both back to the mother, who pays him one duro for this service. She then makes her child eat the bread and the egg, and it is believed that from this moment on it will no longer have any desire to breast-feed.

The Central Rif seems to be one of the few parts of Morocco in which the cutting out of a child's uvula (*hraq*) is regularly practiced. The operation is performed on all babies less than a month old who show signs of sickness. It is done either by the *fqih*, who uses scissors, or by a woman specialist, who employs a pair of reeds the length of a finger and sharpened with a knife. After the mother has opened the child's mouth, the woman presses the reeds together on the uvula and yanks it out. She is paid one to three duros for this service, as is the *fqih*.

There is no special ritual for a boy's first haircut when he is a year old. The haircutting is generally performed by the boy's mother's brother (*khari*) (although I have had informants who cut their own sons' hair). The reason given by the Aith Waryaghar for the election of the mother's brother to do the job is that the mother says the child is hers and therefore the first male to touch him must be her brother. The mother's brother also gives the child a small present on this occasion, a duro or a young goat, but this does not cement any special relationship between mother's brother and sister's son in later life: the relationship is characterized by familiarity and indulgence, but it is always tempered with respect. The actual style of the haircut varies from the Jbil Hmam to the plain: mountaineers generally shave the boy's head clean, while lowlanders tend to leave a fringe around the crown of the head. During the *Ripublik*, a boy did not start to grow his scalplock until later on.

A child's hair is never combed until its upper and lower incisor teeth have grown; if the hair is combed before then, it is thought that the child will have teeth as pointed as the tines of the comb.

The mother carries her child wrapped in a cloth on her back or gives it to an older daughter to carry in the same fashion, until it is about a year old; at this point it generally begins to toddle more and to breast-feed less. A very common sight is a little girl carrying her baby brother or sister piggyback, wrapped in a sheet. In playing with her baby, a mother puts the infant's arms under her own armpits and dandles him on her knee.

A child is given its first clothing, boy's or girl's, at three months of age. The clothing is washed two or three times per week, but the child itself is not washed at all until it is a year old. At this time, too, its fingernails and toenails are given their first cutting. After this, the child is washed two or three times a year: Aith Waryaghar infants may sometimes be handsome, but they are invariably scruffy.

As to toilet training, it is noteworthy that after the age of about eighteen months, an Aith Waryaghar child never wets its bed or makes a mess on the floor; this might possibly be because formal toilet training as known in the West is conspicuous by its absence, and a very natural view is taken of such bodily functions.[9]

Most young children have the same eating and sleeping hours as their elders, though they sleep anywhere they can or want to at any hour of the day, little boys very often falling asleep on the floor of the guestroom. Boys and girls below ten years of age sleep on the same mats as their mothers and fathers, but above ten years they sleep apart, and apart from each other. They take off all their clothes to sleep, but pull blankets up over their heads.

Little children are constantly in the company of their elders, and they are very quiet and respectful in their presence; there is none of the whining and clamoring for attention so often characteristic of children in the West. There is, however, a corresponding lack of inquisitiveness about the world around them, and a small Waryaghar child is capable of sitting motionless for hours at a time. Children grow up knowing all the "bad" words of the Rifian vocabulary from the time they learn to talk, for a father constantly admonishes his young son by calling him names like *mmi-s nj-haram*, "bastard"; but woe

Game of *hi*, Upper Nkur Valley, Aith Turirth (1960) betide the child who attempts to answer his or her father in kind!

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[9] I am indebted to my wife, Ursula D. K. Hart, for this observation and interpretation. I do not know what measures are taken to stop thumbsucking, but one psychologically oriented informant equated the thumb with the nipple of the mother's breast, and said in 1962, that in the case of his wife's younger sister, who was married with two children, the habit was never corrected and she continued to suck her thumb as a grown woman.

CHILDREN'S GAMES

Until they are about six or seven years old and are sent out individually to herd goats, boys and girls play with each other; but even before this age, sex segregation has already been inculcated to some extent, and it is common to see boys and girls playing separately. After goatherding begins, boys play exclusively with other boys, and girls exclusively with other girls. A little boy's first trip to the market (by now he has learned to ride a mule or donkey) is made at about the same time; and with the gradual sex segregation, his initiation into the world of men begins. During the *Ripublik* a father would start to teach his son to shoot at the age of ten, at the latest, and by the time he was eighteen, the boy would not only buy or be given his own gun, but would be thoroughly proficient in its use. After their goatherding period is over, boys aged about twelve start to help their fathers in agricultural tasks in the fields, while girls at the same age start to help their mothers in the house. The segregation of the sexes is at this point very much a *fait accompli*.

Children's games, generically termed *'ayarth*, have received considerable attention from Spanish writers.[10] My own data on children's games come almost entirely from the Aith Turirth. The boys play while they are herding goats, and in their games, at least, there is no notion of sportsmanship as known in the West: the competition is cutthroat, and the winner emerges by hook or by crook, any way he can, while the losers are ridiculed as "donkeys" or "dogs." Almost any subterfuge may be employed to win the game, so long as it is undetected. Boys' games are also far more a reflection of how they envisage their sociopolitical roles as adults than are those of girls (who as women will have no political role anyway).

Dhahjurth. Two teams of four or five boys each are organized and stand facing each other at a distance of about 20 meters. The members of each team, by turns, throw stones at a larger stone placed halfway between them. When one of them hits this larger stone, making it fall over, his team wins. The losers must now come to the winners and each must carry a winner piggyback and at a run to the large fallen stone and then back to the starting place. The victors, perched on the shoulders of their opponents, urge them on with cries of "*Girrdhik, aghyur!*" ("Giddyap, donkey!"). The game then begins again. It is worth noting that the loser of any game is invariably termed "donkey."

Hi. This game, which is found elsewhere in Berber Morocco, is played by boys and also by young men on feast days. A wooden mortar is placed upside down on the ground. One boy acts as guard, with both his hands on the mortar, while the others numbering up to twenty, run around him calling out "*Hi! Hi! Hi!*" until one of them succeeds in actually touching the mortar. The boy who is "it" wards the others off by attempting to kick their backsides as they run. When one of them manages to touch the mortar without being kicked, the running continues but the cry changes to "*Khums! Khums! Khums!*" Again, when one of them touches the mortar, the cry changes to "*Hirsa! Hirsa! Hirsa!*" This final time they do not try to touch the mortar, but to hit the "it" boy hard on the back with their fists or with the palms of their hands. The "it" boy continues to try to kick the others in the posterior. When he is successful, he turns the mortar right side up, the boy who has been kicked becomes "it," and the game continues. If a boy who is "it" kicks one of the others before the *khums* or the *hirsa* stages have been reached, the game stops dead, the mortar is turned right side up or upside down, as the case may be, and the whole procedure starts over again. *Hi* is a strenuous game, involving, if it is well done, a maximum of physical exertion; I have played it myself on several occasions and almost invariably have found myself in the "it" position.

slaan
schoppen

Dhanufra. Again, a mortar is turned upside down, as in *hi;* but in this case the boy who is "it" must close his eyes while all the others run and hide. The object is for one of them to sneak back and touch the mortar before being touched by the boy who is "it." If this happens, the "it" boy is "it" again. If, however, the "it" boy touches one of the others before he can touch the mortar, that boy is "it." Here again the anthropologist engaging in active cultural participation generally became the "donkey" in this version of "hide and seek."

verstoppertje

Bismillah niqshar. (lit. "In the name of God, I leap"), or leapfrog. Several can play, and to start off, one boy cries out "*Bismillah niqshar!*" while leapfrogging over the backs of the others, who are squatting, stationary, in a circle. When he is through, the next boy in line takes his turn, and thus it goes on until all have finished. Then they all start again with a second cry of "*Bismillah qashqash!*" ("In the name of God, going through!"), and the routine here is exactly the same. The third cry, however, is "*Bismillah darba!*" ("In the name of God, a beating!"), again with the same routine, but with the addition that each leapfrogging boy kicks all his fellows with one foot as he goes over their shoulders.

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[10] Notably José Borrallo Vadillo, "Como Juegan en la Kabila de Beni Uriaguel (Region del Rif)," in *Como Juegan los Ninos Marroquies*, Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos: Delegación de Asuntos Indigenas, Ceuta 1939, pp. 65-82, which is entirely concerned with boys' games in the lowlands, around Ajdir. For boy's games in the Axt Tuzin cf. F. Valderrama Martinez, op. cit.; 1952, pp. 52-56. Both are very good descriptions, although I am dubious about Borrallo Vadillo's classification of winter-spring games as opposed to games played in the autumn. Any outdoor game can be played at any time, weather permitting.

Awzir. ("minister"). Each boy throws a pair of sandals or babouches into the air. If they both fall face down, the boy who threw them is the "king" (*malik* or *ajiddjidh*). If they both fall face up, the boy who threw them is the "minister" (*awzir*). If one sandal falls face down and the other face up, however, the boy who threw them is a "dog" (*aqzin*), and the "minister" then asks the "king" how many times the "dog" should be beaten across the soles of his feet. The "king" may state any number, and his will is carried out by the "minister." Should one sandal fall across the other, or against it, they are either thrown again or judged as they have fallen, in order to see whether the thrower qualifies as a "dog."

Yazid Adharghar (lit. "blind chicken," similarly called *gallina ciega* in Spanish) "blindman's buff," played by children exactly as in England or America.

Tumubil. Properly a small boys' plaything, not a game, it goes back only to the 1930s. It is a tin can rolled along the ground on a stick, to resemble a car, and as such it does not antedate the appearance of the first automobiles in the region.

Representative games played by little girls, almost all of them emphasizing manual dexterity, are the following:

l-awladi (played in the plain). A girl who is "it" is chased by a line of girls (each one grabbing hold of the dress of the one in front), running around in a circle. When the first girl in the line catches the girl who is "it," the latter goes to the rear of the line, and the girl who touched her is now "it."

Imzraqfen. Like jacks, this game is played to pass the time, but there is only one player. A girl collects six very small stones and one slightly larger one. She holds the small stones in the palm of one hand and the large one between thumb and index finger. She throws the large stone up into the air, and before catching it again, she must put all the small stones on the ground. She continues to throw the large stone up, each time picking up one of the small stones; on the next round, she picks up two of the small stones at a time, then three at a time, and so on. When she has picked up all six at a time, she has won the game—which, as may be surmised, requires considerably manual dexterity.

Dhummsth. Played with small stones, but exactly like the Western "pick-up-sticks."

The principal game played by adult men is *dama*, a form of checkers. The board is a shaved cactus leaf, with a square cut into it containing alternately raised and sunken squares to resemble a checkerboard. One player uses small stones as his "men," and the other uses either matches, bits of wood, or dried beans. Moves may be either diagonal or straight, and the object is to eliminate the opponent's men. The loser becomes, of course, a "donkey," as I was consistently. Also common, no doubt, since the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate, are any number of Spanish card games, which are known all over Morocco and the Sahara. These are played with Spanish cards, which have suits called *copas* (cups), *espadas* (swords), *oros* (golds), and *bastos* (clubs), corresponding to our hearts, spades, diamonds, and clubs. The Aith Waryaghar are very rough on playing cards, and all I have seen were dog-eared and bent double. Dominoes is also a popular game in teahouses, and, as in Spain, it is played with a great deal of noise, since a domino is slammed down on a marble-topped table. Some informants were also fond of number-guessing games and card tricks, and it was not long after my wife and I showed one informant how to play canasta that he was beating us regularly. There are, however, no games of any sort played by women, to my knowledge.

SEGREGATION OF THE SEXES AND ATTITUDES ABOUT SEX

The segregation of the sexes, one of the most dominant cultural themes in Waryagharland, can really be said to begin when children reach the age of six or seven and start to herd goats on the mountain slopes and in the *ghaba*. Boys and girls perform the same tasks, but by and large they perform them separately, not together. By the time they have reached the age of twelve or so, when the boys have started to help their fathers in the fields and the girls to help their mothers with fetching, carrying, and housework, the attitudes of sex segregation have become virtually fully ingrained. Puberty is socially recognized only in a tacit fashion, as in all Muslim society. Along with the change in work roles, both sexes gradually start to observe the fast of Ramadan. There is nothing resembling a formal initiation, and there are no social sanctions connected with menstruation. The jealousy of men of their women is the basic reason for the highly dispersed distribution of homesteads in any community. There is also the fact that women are respected and not molested: at the times of day that they regularly file down to the river or spring to get water, the paths are always clear of men; and the armed *mkhaznis* who, at a safe distance themselves, guard women's markets from the prying eyes of male passersby are another guarantee of this same respect, which in fact amounts to avoidance.

The generalized Mediterranean values of honor and shame are in Waryagharland almost a caricature of what they are elsewhere in the region. Of course, the principal focus of these values is on women. The notion of "What is mine, is mine" applies, from the male point of view, to his womenfolk in particular. The ideal woman has both honor and shame, in generous measure, and is hence to be respected; but behavior that might fall under the rubric of "chivalry" has no part in this complex of values. To make sure that a woman remains honorable (and virtuous) she must be kept locked up, because the natural inclination of a woman is not to be virtuous but, on the contrary, to have sexual relations with any Muh Bu Tahar, or Hammadi who attracts her—so runs the prevailing Waryaghar mode of thought.

Under these circumstances, and with early marriages the norm (usually 17-18 years for boys, 14-16 years for girls), premarital intercourse is almost non-existent. It is rare for a young man to have had sexual relations with a woman prior to his marriage, especially if he has never been away from home; if he has at any point been away, he may be an exception. Still, the usual jokes are made about *dhahshund imixsawen* (boys rubbing their legs together in solitary sex play) and about their having had previous "trial runs" with the goats herded on the mountain slopes. And for a girl, such is the cultural emphasis placed upon premarital chastity that, ideally, she enters into marriage a total virgin, in word, thought, and deed. In Spanish times, young unmarried soldiers in the militias of the five territories of the Spanish Zone, who had occasional or even frequent access to legalized prostitutes, were also exceptions; and no doubt the same is true of young recruits in the Royal Moroccan Army, even though prostitution was declared illegal after independence.[11]

Yet despite the emphasis on premarital chastity, young Aith Waryaghar men (and, no doubt, women) spend much time, once one has cracked their initial reserve, talking about sex. Moreover, adultery (*zina*) is an implicitly recognized cultural objective, despite its explicit condemnation in the Qur'an. It is, indeed, a central feature in the Great Game of "How To Be A Man": aside from killing one's adversary or adversaries in the feud, one beds his or their wives, while making sure that they do not do the same in return. Of course, if one's adversary's wife has the misfortune to be one-eyed, gap-toothed, too scrawny, or otherwise lacking in charm, one must perforce look elsewhere. But always there is the underlying idea that the game is worth the candle.

In Waryagharland, despite the very high percentage of blondism and light eyes, dark hair and dark eyes (the *'ainin al-Kuhhal* of Arab popular songs) and an ample and bosomy figure are culturally preferred. Perhaps this is an instance of like attracting like, although it is probably more one of bowing to a cultural norm. Any dhu-Waryaghar who evinces a preference for "blondes," whether or not he is blond and blue-eyed himself, immediately shows himself as something of a sophisticate: he wishes to "try" a European woman.[12] From my own observation in Waryagharland, blondism in all its manifestations seems rather commoner among men than among women, in any event.

A subject that is frequently associated with North Africa and the Arab world in general in the minds of Westerners is homosexuality. This is an extremely delicate problem, as many observers have already noted; but at least some of these observers have implied that what is in fact involved, rather than exclusive homosexuality, is a kind of sexual ambivalence, in which one or both actors realize the transitory character (premarital, perhaps?) of their behavior, and in which it is assumed that normal married life with a woman will eventually ensue.

In Waryagharland, however (and in contrast to some other parts of Morocco), the attitude toward homosexuality is unequivocal: homosexuals (*itishen*) are regarded with scathing contempt as having the most unnatural possible vice, and it is said that God will punish them for their sins. It may be, as Coon states, that 'Abd al-Krim had two Jbalan homosexuals burned alive during the Rifian War, and it is certainly true that the occasional and itinerant members of the Haddawa order who wandered into the Rif before and during the early 1950s (they were forcibly disbanded by the Moroccan Army of Liberation in 1956) were looked upon with great scorn because of their known homosexuality; but to say, as Coon does, that most Rifians were ignorant of the phenomenon of homosexuality is to belittle their sophistication about the facts of life.[13] They have always derided the tribes to the west, those of the Sinhaja Srir, the Ghmara, and the Jbala, not only for their male homosexuality, but for lesbianism as well. The same blanket charge is also leveled at all city dwellers. All deviant sexual behavior of this sort is very much against the ethic of the Aith Waryaghar: if one is a man, one has sexual intercourse with a woman, not with goats or sheep,[14] and particularly not with other men.

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[11] There was, of course, a corresponding rise in the rate of venereal disease, from which the Aith Waryaghar have always remained remarkably free. One can only deplore these consequences of the outlawing of what is, probably mistakenly, considered to be the "oldest profession"; for, at least in the first half-decade of the 1950's, the girls or ladies in question, in the *Barrio Chino* or "Chinese Quarter," the euphemistic Spanish term for the "redlight districts" of the North Zone towns, were given government-sponsored medical inspection twice a week free of charge. In this respect, an enlightened medical corps took the long view. Even so, the Aith Waryaghar seem to be as free today of venereal disease as ever, so that it may not have made much difference.)

[12] In this connection, it is said that if a Muslim sleeps with a Jewess, he must perform his post-coital ablutions with olive-oil rather than with water, in order to rid himself of the *janaza*, or prayer for the dead. If a Muslim sleeps with a Christian woman, one school of thought has it that it is *halal* or "permissible" in the sense of being in *binyat al-jihad*, in "the structure of holy war," whereas another holds that it is completely *haram*, or forbidden. One informant, who had, he said, slept with many Christian women, compared it to the optional use of tobacco: either one smokes, or one does not. Of course, neither of these categories, above, exist (theoretically) for Muslim women in the same situation: the double standard invariably operates.

To turn to the subject of adultery, the first point of interest is that the word for a man who chases after the wives of others is *zamir,* the cognate of which in Moroccan Arabic, *zamil,* means "homosexual." The term is thus essentially pejorative, although in its Rifian sense some of the most famous warriors of the Aith Waryaghar have earned it. On the other hand, any man who lets his wife be chased after is termed "pimp" (*aquwwadh*), and in the Rif, as in Europe, a cuckold is described as "having horns" (*argaz-a ghars ashshawen*), although this may be a Spanish semantic importation.

The object of the game is to commit adultery without being caught, because the injured husband has always had the right to kill both his wife and her lover on the spot if he catches them in *flagrante delicto.* There is no question of any payment of bloodwealth either to his wife's lineage or to her lover's agnates if he kills both parties, but if he only kills one of them, he must then pay bloodwealth to the agnates of that one. However, if a lover from the Igzinnayen, for example, was caught in the act with a married woman of the Aith Waryaghar, and was killed by her husband, witnesses were needed to swear that the man had been killed in the act of adultery so that those concerned in the Igzinnayen would not take vengeance.

Of interest is the case of a man of the Aith 'Aru Musa in the Aith Turirth who, in Spanish times, killed his wife's lover with an axe. He divorced his wife, received a token jail sentence of three months, and then remarried her when he was released and when her *'idda,* or waiting period (for determination of pregnancy) was over. During the *Ripublik,* death was almost invariably the price of being caught in adultery, but immediate divorce started taking precedence over murder during the protectorate, because, much as a man might have liked to murder his wife and her lover, he never knew what penalty might be exacted by the Spanish authorities.

Today, a deceived and outraged husband has more to fear from the Moroccan administration than he did from the Spanish, if he takes the law into his own hands to the extent of murder, since a sentence of life imprisonment is usually the consequence. This is an excellent illustration of enforced change resulting from the imposition, from above, of an alien political system. Nevertheless, cases of homicide resulting from adultery have been cited, even since independence, from the Aith 'Arus, the most conservative of the Waryaghar sub-clans.

"Neither love (i.e. desire) nor rabies can be cured," an informant once said; and thus the game continues. If an unmarried girl finds that she is pregnant, or if a married woman has become pregnant by a man other than her husband, sorcery (*suhur*) is resorted to. She eats a special concotion that a sorceress (*dhazuhrith*) has prepared, and it often kills the child. Only a sorceress knows how to make this concoction (which often involves the abortifacient colcynth), and she will certainly not divulge its secret to any man. In any case, illegitimacy is rare because of the tremendous stigma against it, and illegitimate children are almost always strangled by their own mothers and buried hurriedly in a ravine. If an unmarried mother is found out by any of her agnates, she gets the same treatment as her unwanted child, as does (ideally) a divorcee or widow who produces a child of questionable paternity. However, in the latter case, there is an "out": a divorced or widowed woman who gives birth unseasonably late may have recourse to the notion of the "sleeping child"—the result of an extended-term pregnancy.

In 1955, one informant believed that most of the younger widows and divorcees in the Jbil Hmam had lovers—and doubtless the incidence of such liaisons has increased since then. The question of time and place for assignations is extremely important: if, for example, a widow or a divorcee lives in the same house as her brother, the problem of where to meet

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[13] Coon, op. cit., pp. 110-111 and note 1, p. 111.

[14] In 1953 I was once strolling along around the market of Imzuren with the local Spanish doctor and a lowland Waryaghar friend. We passed a donkey which at the moment had a full erection, and the doctor slyly asked my friend if this pleased him. He replied, with tongue in cheek, that it would indeed have done, when he was a youth, but that now he was married, with eight children . . . A clan *shaikh* put in by the Moroccan administration not long after independence was nicknamed *Bu Tfunasth,* lit. "possessor of a cow"; but my informants made it very clear to me that this man, in his youth, had possessed the cow in question in more ways than one, and thus every time his name came up, people roared with laughter.

Blacksmith at work in the Saturday Market of Imzuren (1953)

The blacksmith of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt (1960)

presents grave difficulties. Another informant, who saw himself as something of a sophisticate, said that he had once secretly entertained a *dhamzitsh* (daughter of a blacksmith) for three or four days, and that if he had not been there to defend her, his wife would have beaten her to death! It is no secret that *dhimzirin* and *dhimdhyazin*, the women of the despised minority occupational groups of blacksmiths and musicians, have the reputation of being both good-looking and free with their favors. Their endogamous and propertyless husbands and fathers, very low on the social scale, have correspondingly the reputation of being "pimps" who merely look the other way when their women take lovers.

Given the origins of *imziren* and *imdhyazen* from the Axt Tuzin, the women of this tribe are considered the loosest in the Central Rif; but they are not considered as good-looking as the more straitlaced Waryaghar women. In Waryagharland, Ajdir in the lowlands ranks highest in looseness, while in the Jbil Hmam, the women of Asrafil (Timarzga) and of Maru (Aith 'Arus) are considered the prettiest and the freest with their favors; those of Maru, again, and of Aith 'Ara Musa (Aith Turirth) are considered the best dancers. The marriage season of August through mid-October is the time, it is said, to work out assignations with such married women, because everyone is interested in marriage ceremonies and in the accompanying festivities, and with many goings and comings, it is easy to transmit messages by word of mouth. Intermediaries are usually older women who are not only somewhat loose themselves, but generally specialists in sorcery as well. Such a message, safely delivered, usually means a little money in the pocket of the deliverer; thus everyone is happy.

These final remarks are more a reflection, however, of the protectorate and post-independence periods than they are of the *Ripublik*, when any man worthy of the name of dhu-Waryaghar ruled his womenfolk with an iron hand, and did so untrammeled. The fact that more recently some women—the poorest, ugliest, and socially most insignificant—have been going to the Waryaghar men's markets (where, of course, they band together and do not mix with men) may show that the winds of social change are beginning to blow, even in the Jbil Hmam. Whether or not women fear their husbands is a moot point; one suspects that many do not (despite the beatings they may receive for the slightest provocation), and that each sex regards the other as a highly necessary evil, this last despite the fact that there are probably many more couples who genuinely love each other than might be believed.

It is not merely a question of the cultural absolutism of male supremacy, although this is its most apparent aspect; there is also the fact that men see women as representing a potential danger and as an eternal source of conflict, and that they must therefore be kept under lock and key.

BRIDEWEALTH

BRUIDSPRIJS

Since no marriage can take place before the bridewealth (*sdhaq*) has been paid, theoretically in full, it is suitable to discuss the bridewealth itself before we move on to the complexities of the marriage ritual. For any marriage of any sort, bridewealth must be paid by the father or other agnates of the prospective groom to the father or other agnates of the prospective bride.

Ordinarily the fathers of the bride and groom go together to the *qadi* and the two notaries for the drawing up of the marriage document. In front of them, as witnesses, the groom's father then pays the whole of the bridewealth in money. In Spanish times, however, most people were still paying it in installments. On the *zujiya*, a cow might have been marked down at 250-500 ptas., or ten goats at 1,000-1,5000 ptas. (i.e., 100-150 ptas. apiece). It was also common for the groom's father to bring a number of articles (jewelry, a chest for the bride's clothing, etc., and each of these was then evaluated and its value credited toward the total value of the bridewealth. The actual payment would often fall about 500 ptas. short of the stipulated total, and this outstanding sum could be called into play at a later date as a "way out" for the bride if the marriage failed. During the *Ripublik*, land was even written down on the *zujiya* as a part-payment of bridewealth (in which case it or its agricultural potential was measured and assessed in money), although by Spanish times this was no longer the case. During the *Ripublik*, the actual amount of the bridewealth was also, of course, far less than it is today—as little as 30 to 50 duros.

It should be added that bridewealth is a question of religion (*din*) and of religious law (the Shari'a), not of custom (*'urf* or *qa'ida*), as are both widow inheritance and the sororate. In a sororate case full bridewealth must be paid, as the bride is still an unmarried girl, but in widow inheritance it is always very sharply reduced, more so than under any other circumstances. (The rule of thumb is that for a widow or a divorcee it is only about half the amount paid for a virgin bride). Generally, if a man marries a widow or a divorcee, it is at least the second marriage for him as well; it is also possible that the woman is the widow of his elder brother or of another older agnate, and that he has taken her in widow inheritance. In the famous case of the Imjjat woman who was the subject of successive widow inheritance, the woman's first husband paid 100 duros bridewealth for her as a virgin; on his death, a younger brother then paid 20 duros for her; and on his death, a still younger brother paid 35 duros for her, of which 20 duros went toward clothing and 15 duros were the equivalent of a plot of irrigable land in l-'Ass. Why the last brother paid more was not entirely explained; perhaps he simply wanted to. But even if the bridewealth is only one peseta or one franc, it must be paid for the marriage to be legitimate.

The amount of bridewealth depends, of course, on the means of both parties concerned. In the mid 1960's in Waryagharland, it seldom exceeded 100,000 frs. and was often slightly less, whereas in the Igzinnayen it was never less than 100,000 frs. and was usually considerably more.[15] This discrepancy has always obtained, and in consequence, there are far more men from the Igzinnayen who take Waryaghar wives than the other way around. However, in the Igzinnayen, bridewealth payments are still made in installments, whereas in Waryagharland, payment is always in a lump sum. Another reason few Waryaghar men take Igzinnayen wives, informants said, is that in case she is divorced, an Igzinnayen woman can take back with her absolutely everything that is written on the marriage document, thus possibly reducing her ex-husband to penury.

An important point is that marriage by exchange of sisters is not just a simple matter of swapping. To illustrate: In May, 1954, two young men, one from the Aith Turirth and the other from the Timarzga, whose fathers had both died several years previously, married each other's sisters (as a third wife in each case) within the space of a single week. The Timarzga man was the first of the two to marry, and he paid the Aith Turirth man 9,000 ptas. as bridewealth. The Aith Turirth man then married the Timarzga man's younger sister and paid him 8,500 ptas. The slight difference here in the two amounts is important. If a brother and a sister marry a sister and a brother during the same period, equal bridewealth is expressly forbidden by the Shari'a, and whichever man marries first must pay 500 ptas. extra, or its equivalent. In this particular case, since neither man had a father living, each paid the other directly.

In the Aith Turirth, the bridewealth proper is usually all that is paid in connection with marriage, but in the Timarzga there is an additional gift called *nifaqi*, consisting of jewelry, Arab slippers ("babouches"), etc., made to the bride's sister. In the Igzinnayen, a money gift of 10,000 to 25,000 frs.—appropriately called *dhaqqarsth* or "sacrifice"—is made by the boy's father to the girl's father when he first approaches him to broach the subject of a marriage.

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[15] One informant gave the Aith Waryaghar range as 50,000 frs., minimum to 150,000 frs., maximum, but said that in the Igzinnayen it may run as high as 300,000 frs.

The bridewealth belongs *entirely* to the girl, who can usually take it all back with her to her father's house if her husband divorces her. The money is used to buy a "trousseau" (*ajhaj*) for the bride; however, she may not wear any of her new clothes until after consummation of the marriage, when her new sister-in-law helps her to dress. In Waryagharland, it is the bride's father who buys the necessary clothing articles with the bridewealth money. In the Igzinnayen, it is the groom and his father who make the purchases.

Members of the Imjjat lineage in the Aith Turirth told me that it is considered extremely shameful for a father to "eat" any of his daughter's bridewealth money, and that this act is indeed proscribed by the Shari'a. However, they also hinted darkly that many fathers among both the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen do precisely this: they take, for example, 20,000 frs. out of a total of 70,000 or 80,000 frs. and spend it on themselves rather than on clothing and finery for the girl. On the other hand, when the father or brother of the bride spends his own money on her, it is considered meritorious: in connection with the sister-exchange marriage mentioned above, the young man from the Aith Turith spent 3,000 ptas. extra on his sister in 1954; he also spent 56,000 frs. extra on another younger sister, who was married in 1959.

No reductions in the amount of bridewealth to be paid are made in the event of marriages between parallel or cross-cousins. There is only one very rare exception to the rule that bridewealth must always be paid; in this case, a father literally gives his daughter in marriage to a man as *sadaqa* as a gift. I was told that the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in the Igzinnayen received two or three women from the Aith 'Ammarth in this fashion; but to my informants' knowledge it has never been practiced in the Jbil Hmam, or indeed anywhere in Waryagharland. When Aith Waryaghar say, as they often do, that Lineage A "gives" a woman in marriage to Lineage B, they do not mean that bridewealth is not paid. It is indeed paid, but it is generally less than the usual amount, possibly even half of it, and it is paid in private.

In Waryagharland, bridewealth may be reclaimed under only a very few specific conditions. Most notable is the case where the bride proves not to have been a virgin at marriage. In order to regain the full amount, the husband must divorce her and demand the return of his bridewealth immediately, for delay diminishes his claim. Compromise short of divorce is possible, however, depending on the feelings of the husband. In 1965, for example, a girl of Aith Uswir of the Aith Turirth was married to a young man of Hibir in the Igzinnayen, and she proved not to be a virgin. In this case the groom privately reclaimed one-half of the bridewealth from the bride's father and kept the girl, a solution that indicates a growing leniency in attitude, for formerly under such circumstances, a young husband might easily have led his wife back to her father like a donkey, with a packsaddle on her back. Such private arrangement might also be worked out today if a young man has intercourse with an unmarried girl: provided the father of the girl does not kill either his daughter or her lover, the latter pays half the bridewealth immediately and the rest after marriage. But the irate father generally still feels that only the death of either or both parties can wipe out the stain on his honor, and "shotgun weddings" are therefore rare.

A man who initiates a divorce may also reclaim the bridewealth if it is proved that his wife has been instrumental in getting him to divorce her; if the divorce is entirely his idea, he can reclaim nothing. If a marriage is arranged when the prospective groom is, say, eighteen years old, and the prospective bride is still very young, (perhaps twelve), and if the girl later prefers to marry someone else, it is of course the prospective groom who always has the final say. If he agrees, he is paid back all the bridewealth by the bride's father in front of the two necessary notaries. Usually, of course, he does not agree, for this kind of "backing down" is considered shameful.

MARRIAGE AND ITS ACCOMPANYING RITUAL

The first point to be noted about the very complex subject of marriage is that, at least theoretically, a young man even of marriageable age (about sixteen to eighteen years) has absolutely no choice in the selection of a marriage partner, and a girl (who at marriage is generally, though not always, a year or two younger than her husband) has—if possible—even less. The fathers of both parties are entirely responsible for the selection of spouses for their offspring. In the event that the father of either party is no longer living, the decision rests with the mother, or with the prospective groom himself (as in the case of the sister-exchange marriage discussed above in connection with bridewealth). If the young man is an only son, with a widowed mother, he may be married off earlier than is usual, in order to help support his mother. But if the father is alive, his word is law, and when his son is sixteen or seventeen years old, he must start to look for a wife for him. It makes no difference if the boy does not want to marry the girl of his father's choice, or even if he does not yet want to marry at all (although this is extremely rare); it is what his father dictates that counts, and the two guiding principles in the selection of a wife are, as elsewhere, good family and money. Siblings almost always marry in order of age, with the older ones marrying first.

The young man's mother has usually talked the matter over with the girl's mother, generally at the latter's house or sometimes at the women's market. But this is only the very first of the preliminary stages; next the father of the prospective groom takes a cone of sugar and some tea to the girl's house, engages in the necessary small-talk, and puts the proposition to her father.

If the proposition is turned down, all that the boy's father has lost, financially, is the sugar and the tea he brought, and he returns home empty-handed. But if it is accepted, betrothal as such (*khdhubith*) becomes formalized. The boy's father returns to see the girl's father again after two weeks or so have elapsed, this time bringing much more sugar, a number of loaves of bread, generally some women's clothing, and the meat of a goat (or perhaps of a sheep) that he has sacrificed. Now the conversation leads around to the subject of the bridewealth.

Once the two fathers have agreed on the amount of the bridewealth, they have the marriage document (*r-kighadh n-z-zujiya*), with the names of both parties to the marriage and the full itemization of the bridewealth, drawn up and signed by two notaries and countersigned and sealed by the *qadi*. (During the *Ripublik*, the job of drawing up marriage documents fell to the *fqih* of the Friday mosque.) The existence of this document marks a formal end to the period of betrothal, and legalizes the marriage so far as the Shari'a is concerned. The ritual of the marriage ceremony may now begin, but first there is always much scurrying around on both sides: the bride's father, once he has received the bridewealth, spends a hectic day in the market to buy the clothes and jewelry the bride will need, and both families start general preparations for the wedding.

كغيت
مجوج

I have attended a great many marriage ceremonies in Waryagharland, and in l-'Ass of the Aith turirth in 1962, I was privileged to be a guest in a bride's house for the first two days, to take all the photographs I wished (the greatest privilege of all), and to accompany the bridal party on its way to the groom's house, amid all the firecrackers and *ay-aralla-buya*. Thus I have witnessed much of what is described in this account, which is of necessity a composite one.

I know of no Rifian term for "marriage" as an institution; one says *r-imrix*, lit. "he is married," or in the feminine form *dhimrix* (as opposed to *a'azri*, lit. "he is single" or *dha'azrith*, "she is single"). The marriage ritual itself is called *dhamghra*, which refers both to the entire three-day celebration of the ceremony and, more particularly, to the third day (only after the third day may consummation occur). The two preceding days of the ritual are also named; the first is called either *r-hanni amzzyan* ("little henna") or *dfu'* (Mor. Ar. "payment")[16] and the second is called *r-hanni amqqran* ("big henna"). The significance of the henna terms will soon become apparent.

The timing of marriages is dictated very largely by the season; almost all marriages occur in August and September, after the harvest is in and before the autumn rains and the plowing start again, although the marriage period may also begin as early as July and extend well into October. But September is the climax, a period of generally good weather and little agricultural activity. However, if Ramadan should fall in August or September of any given year, people generally wait until it is over before starting the marriage season, despite the weather. It is customary not to observe secular activities such as marriages during Ramadan. In the Jbil Hmam, the *dhamghra* or final day of any marriage must, according to custom, fall on a Monday, a Thursday, or a Saturday. In the case of a virgin marrying for the first time, the ceremony begins on the Monday or Tuesday, and finishes on the Thursday; in the case of a divorcee, it starts, say, on Wednesday, and she arrives at the groom's house on the Thursday. Sunday was prohibited during the *Ripublik* because it was market day, and Wednesday has of course long since supplanted Sunday as market day; Friday, the day of prayer at the mosque also was and is prohibited. These restrictions seem to be peculiar to the Jbil Hmam.

Marriages are the most important single events, both in terms of festivity and in terms of bringing people together, in the Central Rif. In August and September of any given year (barring the advent of Ramadan) hardly a week passes without a marriage either in one's own local community or in another one near by, to which one is generally invited. It is indeed rare on a late afternoon during these two months not to hear and see the explosion of firecrackers and the chanting of *ay-aralla-buya,* as the bridal party makes its way to the house of the groom. Weddings are a time of feasting and enjoyment for all, and there is often only a few days' respite between one wedding and the next.

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[16] In the Igzinnayen this first day is known as *barkuks*, and in the Axt Tuzin as *a'ban*.

During the *Ripublik,* some marriage festivities are reported to have lasted as long as fifteen days—which meant twelve days of purely private feasting, plus the three final, named days. Even in Spanish times and after independence, wealthier individuals made the festivities last a week or eight days. It was 'Abd al-Krim who was responsible for reducing the festivities to their essentials of the final three days, and these, of course, are the ones that are socially the most important.

On the first night of the final three days (that of the "little henna"), the groom's father goes with olive oil, bread, sugar, and meat to the bride's house. He is accompanied by his unmarried daughters, the groom's sisters, who at this time function as his "female ministers" (*dhiwzirin*)—for the groom himself is now a "Sultan" (*muray*).[17] The girls sing and dance while the groom's agnates throw firecrackers along the way. When they arrive, they are fed and they stay to watch the bride's unmarried sisters and girlfriends, her "female ministers" (again, *dhiwzirin*) sing and dance. The bride (*dhasrith*) who is a "Sultana" in the same sense that the groom is a "Sultan," does not appear on this occasion, nor does the groom, both of them staying in the confines of their respective houses; but the two groups of *dhiwzirin* compete with each other in singing and dancing, from this point on until the wedding is over.

On this first night of the marriage ritual, as well as on the second night and on the third day at noon, an unmarried girl of the groom's family puts henna on the palms of his hands, and an unmarried girl of the bride's family similarly anoints the bride's hands, and her feet as well—hence the reference to henna in the names of the first two days of the ritual. No girl may ever apply henna to her hands or feet before her marriage—for henna is one of the visible diagnostics of a married woman.

On the first day, too, the groom goes to the local mosque to see the *fqih* who writes out a charm for him copied from the Qur'an, so that he will be able to consummate the marriage and not be "closed up" on the very last morning after the guests have gone. In 1955 a charm of this kind cost the groom 25 ptas.

During the ritual application of the henna, the bride's *dhiwzirin* are standing around her and now one pair of them sings, in Rifian, the first verse of the "Henna Song":

Hanni gai dh-amimun—Henna brings good luck.

And a second pair answers with the second verse:

Rbbi gin dh-imiman—May God grant the pair good luck.

Each verse is repeated twice, and as they are sung, the bride traditionally starts to weep.

If it happens that the bride wants no children, or if she does not want any immediately—which is, of course, rare—she will take the plate of henna that has been prepared with her to the groom's house. Later she washes her hands in it and buries it to one side, and both mountaineers and lowlanders say that she will not have children if she does this.

Meanwhile, in the groom's house, while the groom's hands (though not his feet) are also being painted with henna by his own *dhiwzirin,* they sing the following verse (here the words are both Rifian and Arabic):

Bism-illah qaddim Rbbi—In the name of God, put Our Lord first.

Qaddim Muhammad n-Nbi—Put Muhammad the Prophet first.

On the morning of the second or "big henna" day of the ceremony, the groom's father and his party return home and both parties continue the feast in their respective houses, with their own family and friends.

On both the first and second nights, before the bride is brought to the groom's house, the groom is with his male friends, his "ministers" (*iwziren*), the masculine counterparts of the *dhiwzirin* of both parties.[18] At dawn, four of his *iwziren,* in two pairs, surround him in the courtyard after he has pulled the hood of his jillaba up over his head. If there are more than four *iwziren,* the next lot reenacts the same scene after the first has finished. One pair of *iwziren* chants slowly, solemnly, and in a very loud voice the following verse in Arabic:

Sabhain r-raziq[19]—Praise to be the Provider
Sabhain l-khaliq—Praise be to the Creator

Then the other pair chants:

Sabhain l-baqi—Praise be to the Everlasting
Ba'd l-khala'iq—Who will outlast all creatures.

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[17] The groom is called *asri* in the Igzinnayen and Axt Tuzin.

[18] Aith Waryaghar distinguish between *dhiqzirin n-srith* and *dhiqzirin n-muray,* "female minister" of the bride and of the groom, as well as between *iwziren n-srith* and *iwziren n-muray,* "male ministers" of the bride and of the groom. It should be noted that the *dhiwzirin* even of a divorcee or widow who is remarrying must always be single; *iwziren,* however, may be either single or married. Both in the plain and in the Jbil Hmam, the bride's *dhiwzirin* have also always been veiled (although by the early 1960's this custom was just beginning to break down in the plain); in 1953–55 they were wearing dark glasses as well but this vogue did not reach from the plain to the Jbil Hmam until about 1957.

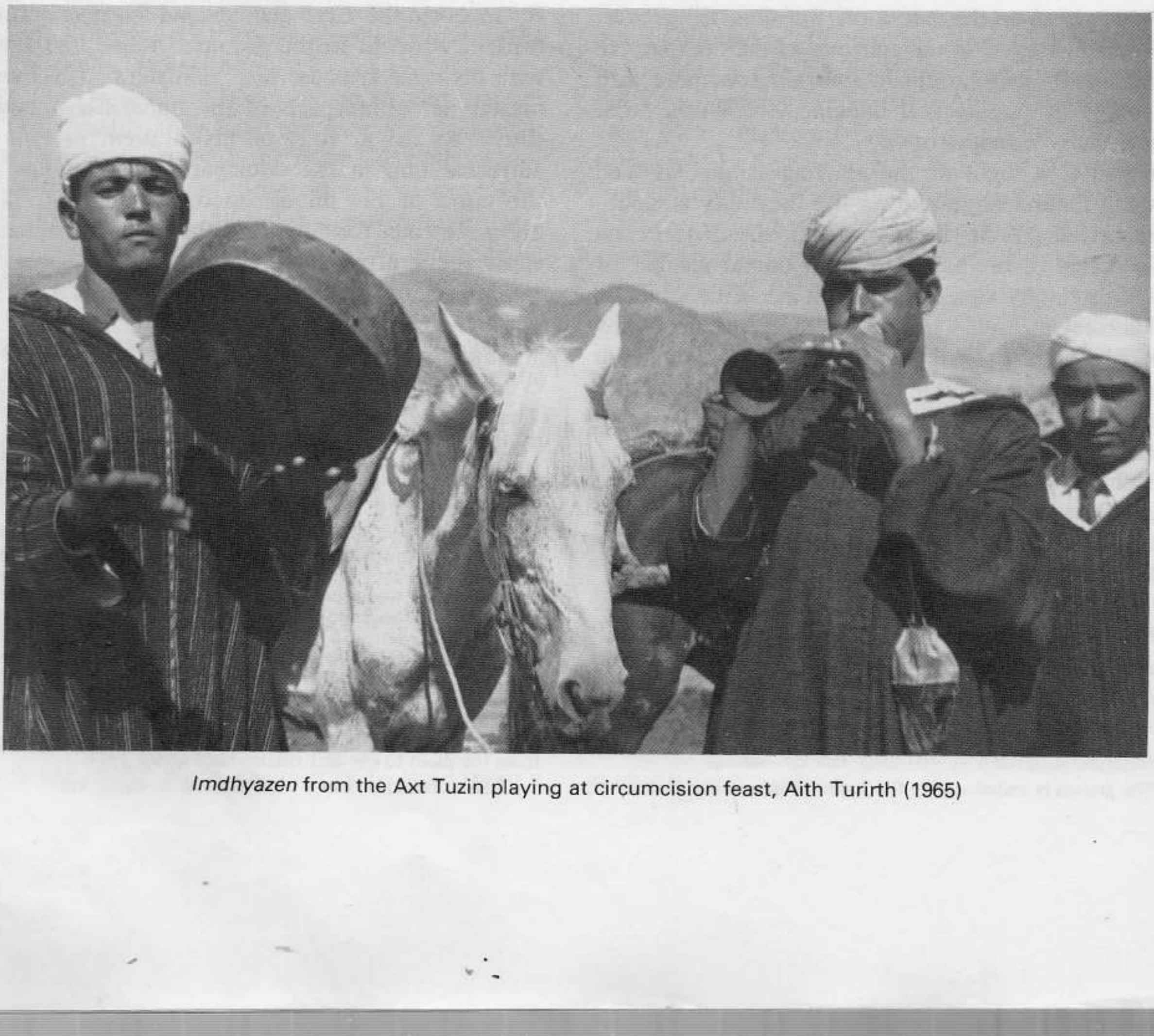
[19] This should properly read *Subhan ar-raziq,* etc.

Sinhaja Srir drummers at wedding, Aith Hadhifa (1953)

As soon as they finish, the *iwziren*, in a body, run seven times back and forth between the door of the groom's room and the main door of the house, chanting, again in Arabic, the following:

Arhamna ya-llah—Have mercy on us, Oh God
Arham wuldina—Have mercy upon our parents
Huma rabbawna—They brought us up
Wardaw 'alaina—They took care of us
Huma libsuna—They clothed us
Bi-jdid u bali—With new and old clothing
Huma ukluna—They fed us
Bi-rkhis u ghali—With cheap and expensive food[20]

All of these verses are not only highly traditional, but highly stylized; each has its own context in terms of a specific ritual act, and each of these acts forms a part of a whole ritual sequence. The last verse, in which the young *iwziren* of the groom call for God's intercession and blessing on their parents, appears to me to be a more substantive version of one of the most common of polite expressions in Moroccan Arabic, *Allah yirham wuldik*, "May God bless your parents" (the reverse, *Allah yin'al wuldik*, "May God



Imdhyazen from the Axt Tuzin playing at circumcision feast, Aith Turirth (1965) curse your parents,'' is an equally common insult). Furthermore, the verses chanted by the girls are in Rifian, while those chanted by the young men are in Arabic, a fact that symbolizes, in its own way, the greater familiarity of men with the outside world and hence with the Arabic language. Viewed another way, it is one more reflection of the segregation of the sexes in Waryagharland.

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[20] The allusion here to "new and old" regarding clothing, and to "cheap and expensive" regarding food, seem to me to imply that: our parents clothed and fed us both when times were easy and when times were hard.

On the third and final morning of the marriage ceremony, the day of the *dhamghra* proper, two notaries go the groom's house to sign and legalize the marriage document, if for any reason this has not already been effected by the fathers of the bride and groom at the *qadi's* tribunal in the market.

Late that same afternoon, the musicians who have been hired for the occasion arrive at the groom's house. They may be either of two kinds: (1) *ighiyyaten*, or *ghaita* players plus *itabbalen* or drummers, usually Sinhajans from the Aith Mazdui or other nearby tribes, who play Arab tribal music from the Jbala and who are considered more or less the social equals of those who have requested their services; or (2) *imdhyazen* from the Thimsaman or, more often, from the Axt Tuzin, who play their characteristic instrument, the *zammar*, and who are, in terms of status, very much the social inferiors of those who have commissioned their appearance. Whether the first or second category of musician is hired depends largely upon where the wedding is taking place, and hence on geographical propinquity: for weddings in the western part of Waryagharland, in the Aith Hadhifa and Aith 'Abdallah, for example, *ighiyyaten* from the Sinhaja Srir are generally summoned, whereas elsewhere, *imdhyazen* from the Axt Tuzin are hired.

During the afternoon, guests are filing in—agnates, uterine kinsmen, affines, and friends of the groom and his father. Often the guests or *inibjiwen* invite other guests in turn, and they all make contributions in money or in kind to their host in order to help defray the wedding expenses. The term *dhiwxsi* refers both to this defrayment and to the people who provide it. During the *Ripublik* the procession of *dhiwxsi* was preceded by a bull that had a red belt tied around its horns; in the Axt Tuzin, the Igzinnayen, and the Thimsaman this custom still continues, although in Waryagharland it was discontinued after the Spanish occupation. The bull was ''a mark of honor,'' and on arrival it was given to the groom directly, to do with as he liked. The gifts of loaves of bread and cones of sugar were loaded into panniers on the backs of mules.

By the time the musicians are present and playing, the groom's father has sent a mule to the bride's house, where the bride, heavily veiled, is now dressed and waiting. Her finery includes first and foremost, the *qubbth*,[21] an arc made of two intertwined pieces of grapevine, tied together with red threads from her mother's woolen belt. She wears it over her bound hair under a scarlet cloth, and it has, as we shall see, considerable ritual significance. Prior to this time and while dancing with her *dhiwzirin*, she has worn her hair loose. She also wears a special ''lipstick'' from the Jbala or Sinhaja, and has had antimony applied around her eyes.

When the mule arrives, and the bridal party is ready to leave, it is the bride's brother (or, in default of a brother, any other agnate save her father) who carries her out of the house, mounts her on the mule, and puts a white flag in her hand. At this point her father and mother bid her goodbye, as custom forbids them to accompany her to the groom's house (although there were reports that by 1963-64 a few fathers in the plain had started doing so). Behind the mule, a donkey or possibly a second mule has been loaded up with the wooden chest (*asunduq*) carrying all the bride's clothing and any other articles purchased by her father with the bridewealth. When the bridal procession actually gets under way, the bride's brother walks beside the mule with a hand resting firmly on his sister's back in order to steady her, for her face is totally veiled and she can see nothing. A virgin bride must always be mounted on a mule and must never be allowed to walk; walking is permitted only for divorcees and widows who are remarrying. (In the Igzinnayen, as Coon has noted, the bride's brother mounts the mule behind her, whereas throughout Waryagharland he is always on foot.)[22]

All the members of the bride's family, save her father and mother and married sisters, are in the procession—the girls dancing, beating their tambourines, and singing the *ay-aralla-buya* and *izran* couplets, and the young men tossing firecrackers in the air (instead of shooting off rifles, forbidden to them since the protectorate). As it may easily be imagined, one can hear the noise and rejoicing of a bridal party long before they come into view, rounding the bend of a mountain path.

When the bridal procession arrives at the groom's house, a woman of the groom's family, generally his mother, comes out with a basket of wheat mixed with sugar. In the plain, she hands the bride a part of this mixture, and the bride, after kissing it, raises it up to the level of her head and throws it forward at the door of the house of her husband-to-be. Then she gets another fistful of the mixture, which she curse your parents," is an equally common insult). Furthermore, the verses chanted by the girls are in Rifian, while those chanted by the young men are in Arabic, a fact that symbolizes, in its own way, the greater familiarity of men with the outside world and hence with the Arabic language. Viewed another way, it is one more reflection of the segregation of the sexes in Waryagharland.

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[21] The same word refers also to the cupola on a saint's tomb.

[22] Op cit., 1931, p. 140.

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By the time the musicians are present and playing, the groom's father has sent a mule to the bride's house, where the bride, heavily veiled, is now dressed and waiting. Her finery includes first and foremost, the *qubbth*,[21] an arc made of two intertwined pieces of grapevine, tied together with red threads from her mother's woolen belt. She wears it over her bound hair under a scarlet cloth, and it has, as we shall see, considerable ritual significance. Prior to this time and while dancing with her *dhiwzirin*, she has worn her hair loose. She also wears a special "lipstick" from the Jbala or Sinhaja, and has had antimony applied around her eyes.

When the mule arrives, and the bridal party is ready to leave, it is the bride's brother (or, in default of a brother, any other agnate save her father) who carries her out of the house, mounts her on the mule, and puts a white flag in her hand. At this point her father and mother bid her goodbye, as custom forbids them to accompany her to the groom's house (although there were reports that by 1963–64 a few fathers in the plain had started doing so). Behind the mule, a donkey or possibly a second mule has been loaded up with the wooden chest (*asunduq*) carrying all the bride's clothing and any other articles purchased by her father with the bridewealth. When the bridal procession actually gets under way, the bride's brother walks beside the mule with a hand resting firmly on his sister's back in order to steady her, for her face is totally veiled and she can see nothing. A virgin bride must always be mounted on a mule and must never be allowed to walk; walking is permitted only for divorcees and widows who are remarrying. (In the Igzinnayen, as Coon has noted, the bride's brother mounts the mule behind her, whereas throughout Waryagharland he is always on foot.)[22]

All the members of the bride's family, save her father and mother and married sisters, are in the procession—the girls dancing, beating their tambourines, and singing the *ay-aralla-buya* and *izran* couplets, and the young men tossing firecrackers in the air (instead of shooting off rifles, forbidden to them since the protectorate). As it may easily be imagined, one can hear the noise and rejoicing of a bridal party long before they come into view, rounding the bend of a mountain path.

When the bridal procession arrives at the groom's house, a woman of the groom's family, generally his mother, comes out with a basket of wheat mixed with sugar. In the plain, she hands the bride a part of this mixture, and the bride, after kissing it, raises it up to the level of her head and throws it forward at the door of the house of her husband-to-be. Then she gets another fistful of the mixture, which she

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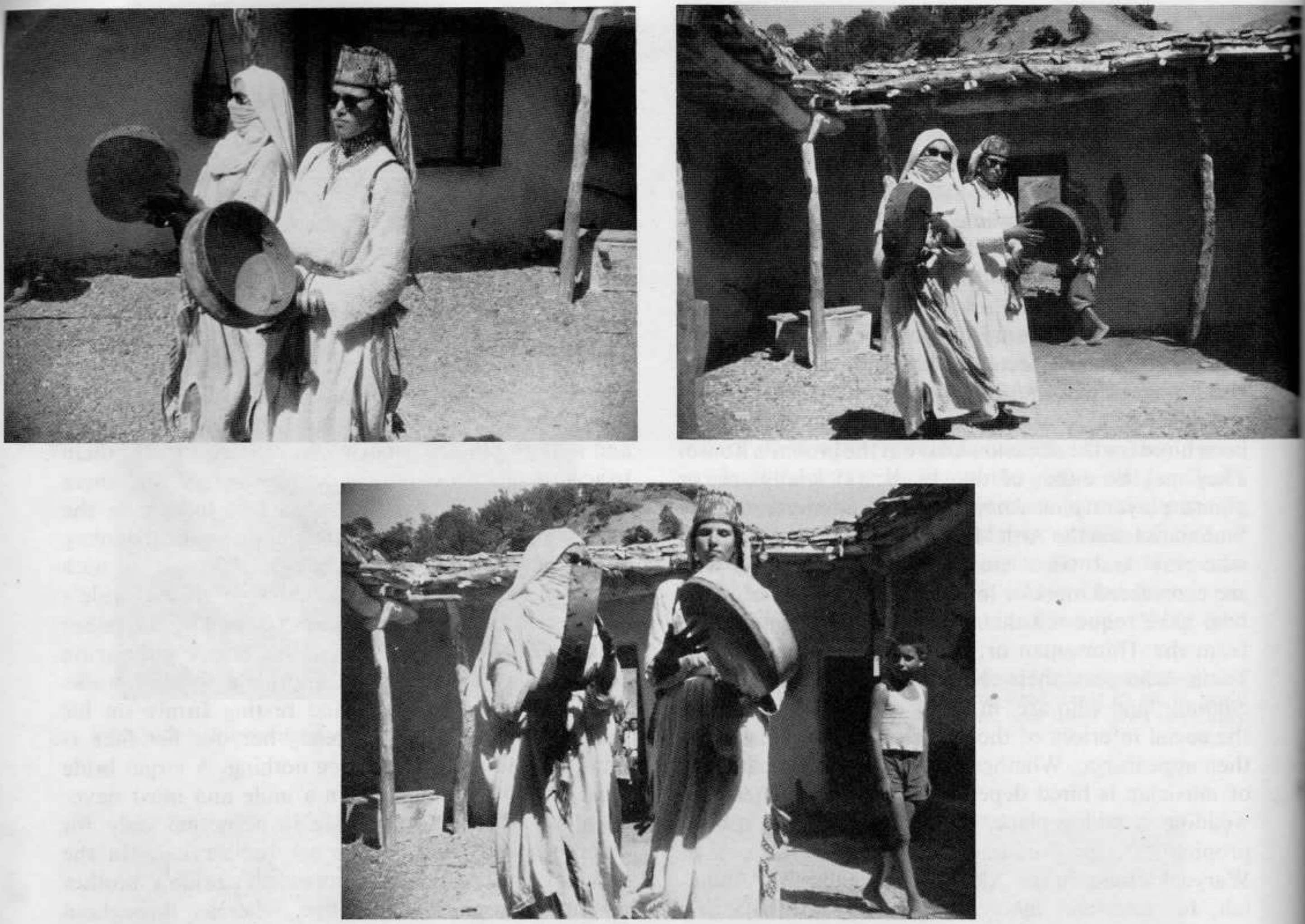
[21] The same word refers also to the cupola on a saint's tomb.

[22] Op cit., 1931, p. 140.



a, b, c. Bride (at left) and a *dhawzirth* singing and dancing the *ay-aralla-buya* in courtyard of house, Aith Turirth (1962). In (c) a small boy can be seen walking across the courtyard

throws over her shoulder, and finally a third fistful, which she throws up in the air in front of her. The bride's *dhiwzirin* eat some of the wheat and sugar in the hope that they themselves will soon be married. In the Jbil Hmam they do not do this; instead, the bride throws the three fistfuls on the heads of the assembled members of the groom's family. The bride's brother then lifts her off the mule and carries her in his arms into the room where she is to await the groom.[23] After he leaves, any single girl who wants to get married may come in and sit down immediately in any spot that the bride has just vacated (this may also happen in her own house before her brother escorts her to the groom's house). Both mountaineers and lowlanders believe that any girl who does this will soon marry.

Now the groom enters the room where the bride, finally alone again, has been installed. He unveils her, and during the unveiling, she must try to rub her face with his jillaba, while he tries to prevent her from doing so. If she succeeds, she will control him in the home; if not, he will control her. Then both the bride and groom remove their slippers, and they tap each other gently on the shoulder with a slipper. The groom now kisses the bride's head; in the plain, she reciprocates by kissing his hand, but this is not necessarily done in the in the Jbil Hmam.

Now comes the most important feature of this part of the ritual. The groom takes the *qubbth,* the grapevine arc, from the bride's head, and breaks it into seven pieces. In the Jbil Hmam these are left in the same room while in the plain they are put on the roof of

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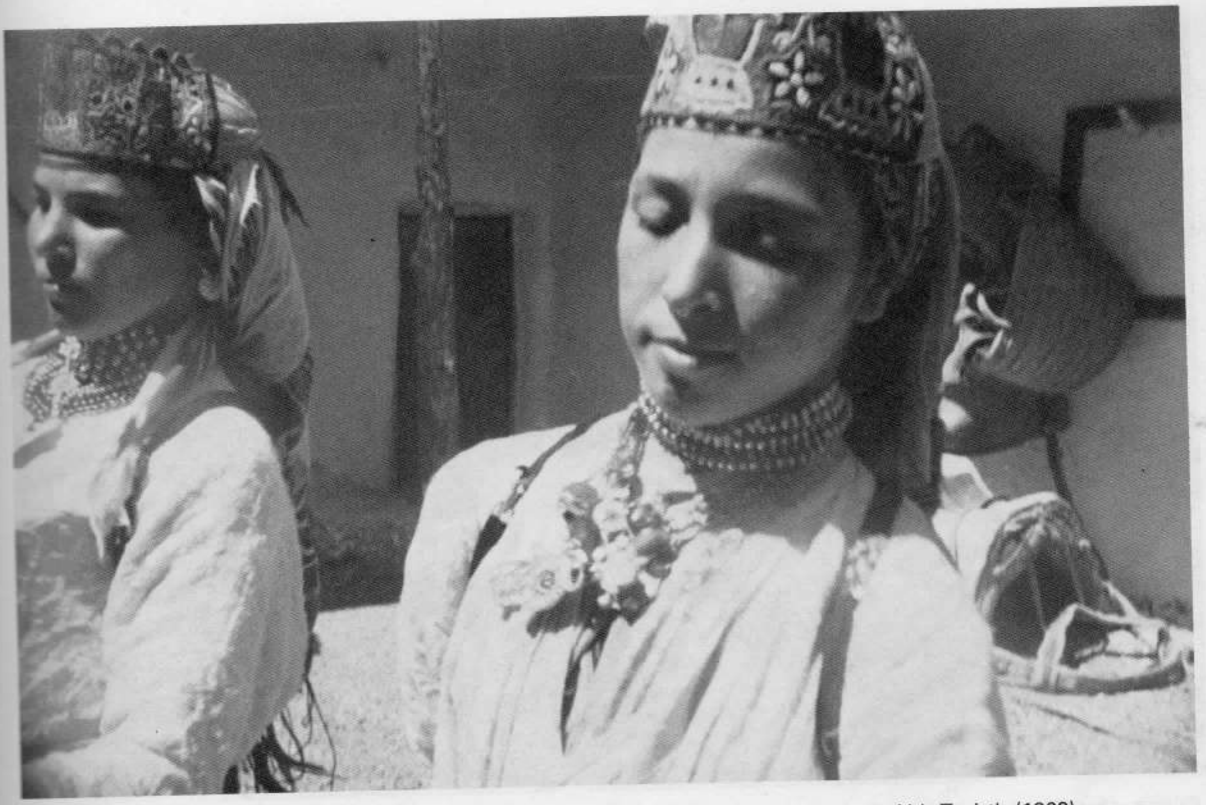
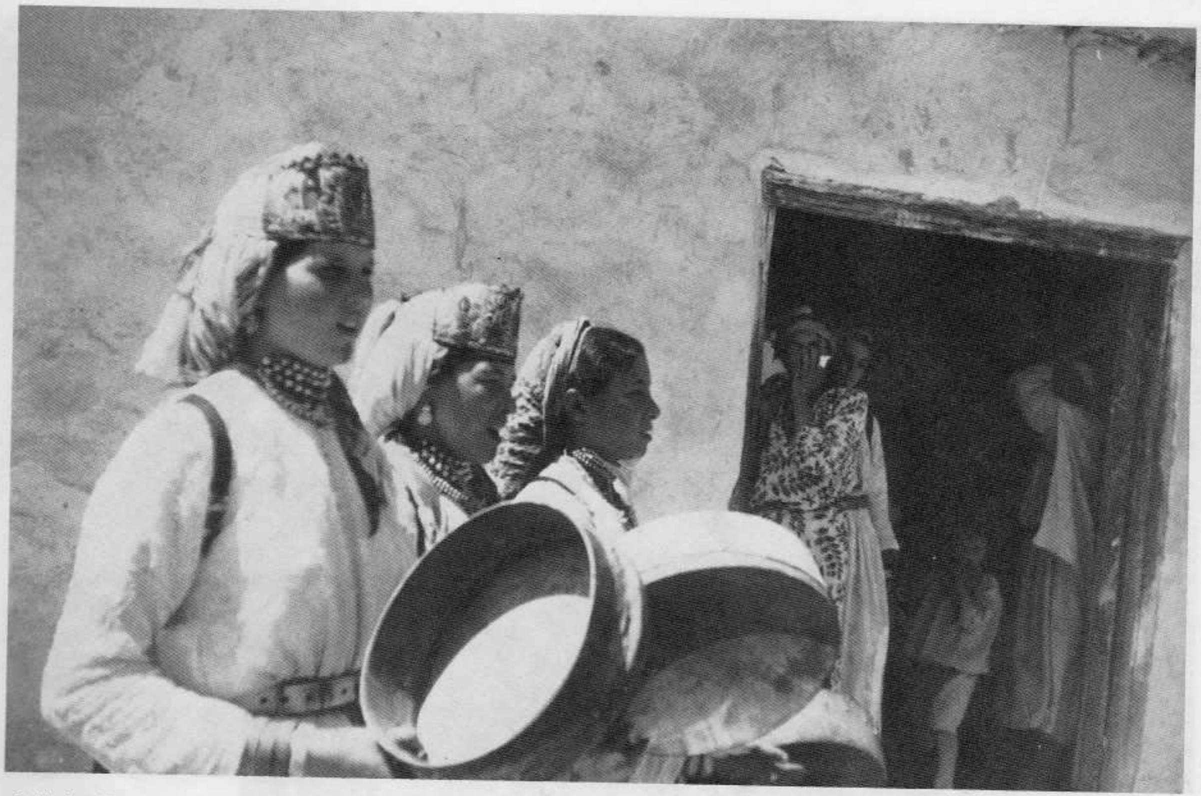
[23] During the *Ripublik* it was customary for the bride's brother, on depositing his sister in the room where she was to meet her husband, to fire a shot in this room in order to get rid of any possible sorcery.

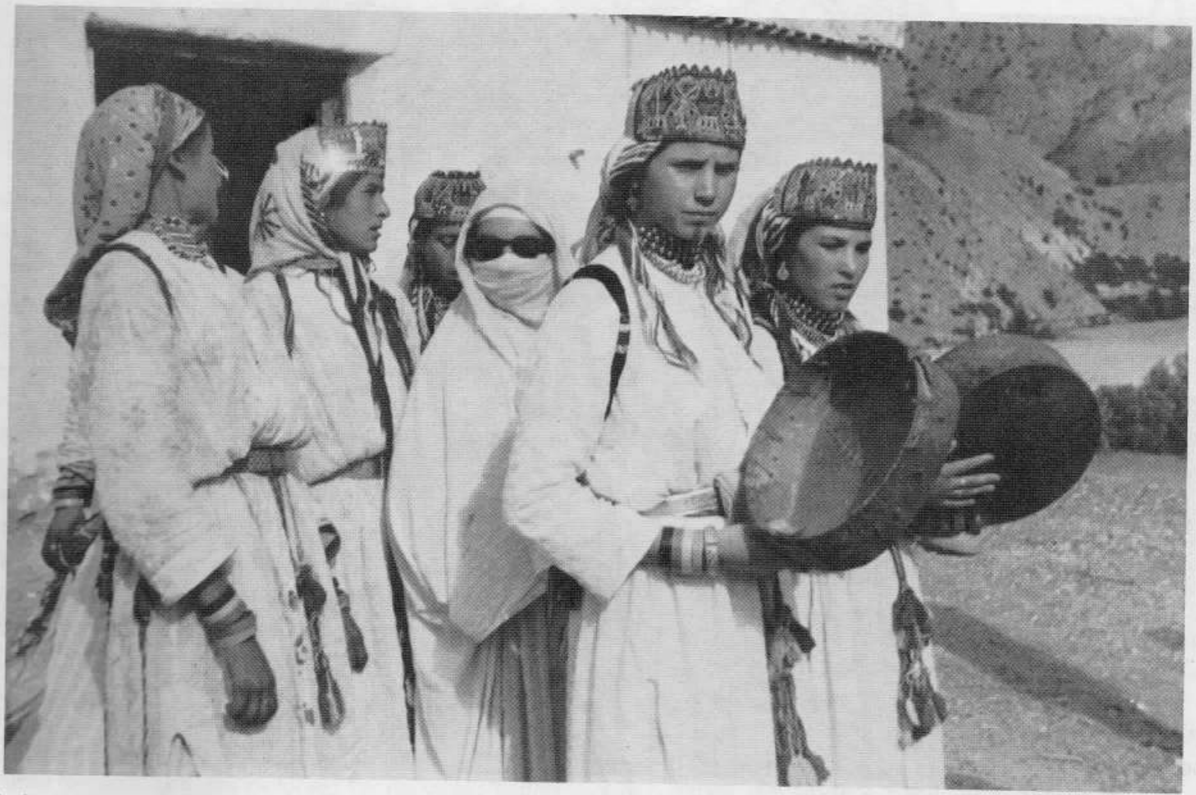


Bride's *dhiwzirin* dancing in courtyard before leaving for groom's house, Aith Turirth (1962)

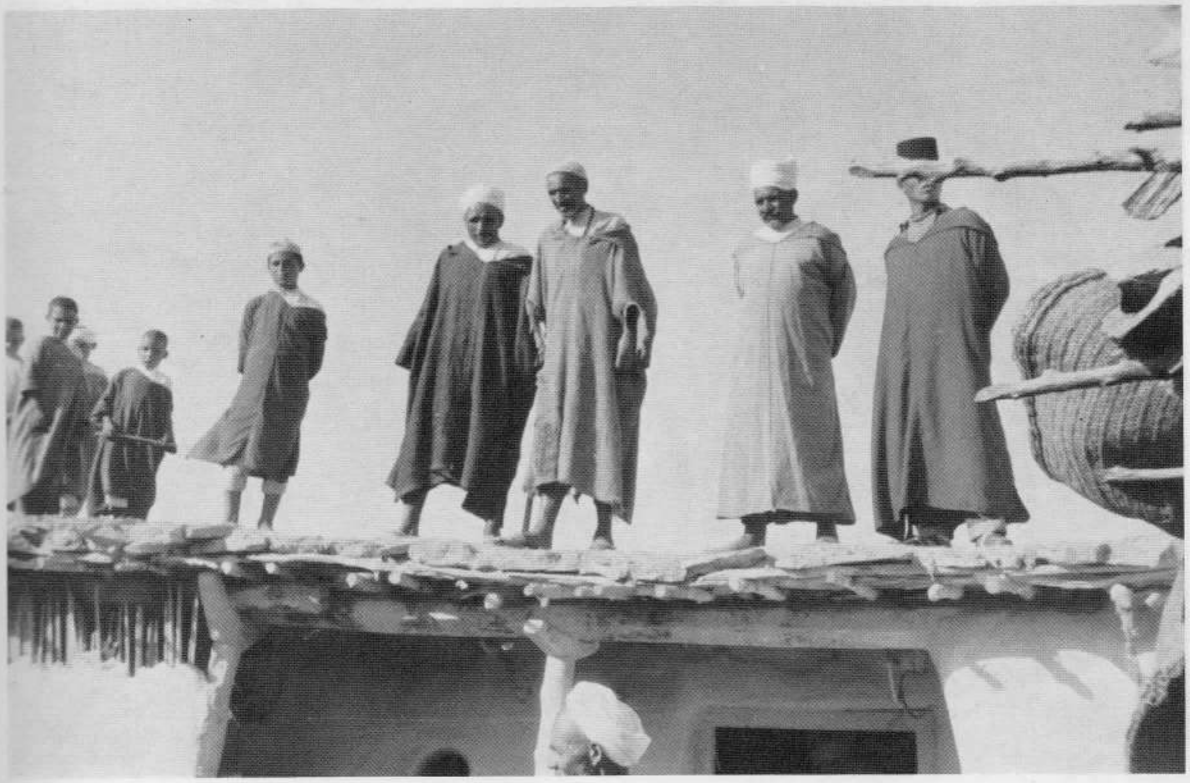
Rear view of bride's *dhiwzirin* dancing *shdhih*, Aith Turirth (1962)



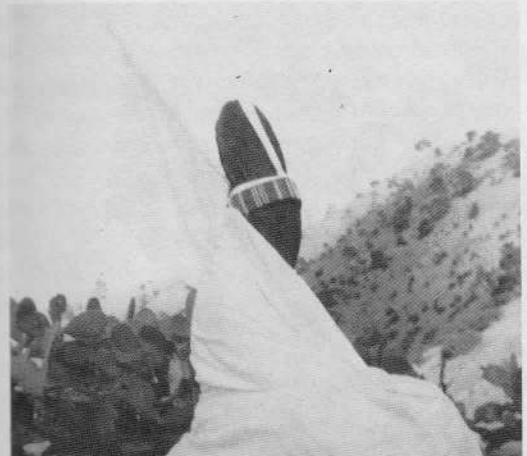
Bride's *dhiwzirin* singing *ay-aralla-buya* outside house courtyard before going to groom's house, Aith Turirth (1962)



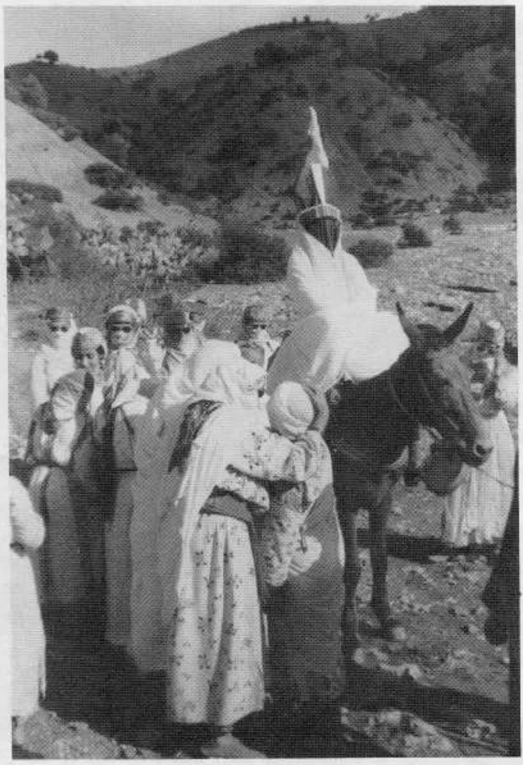
Bride (center, with dark glasses) and her *dhiwzirin* dancing *ay-aralla-buya* before going to groom's house, Aith Turirth (1962)



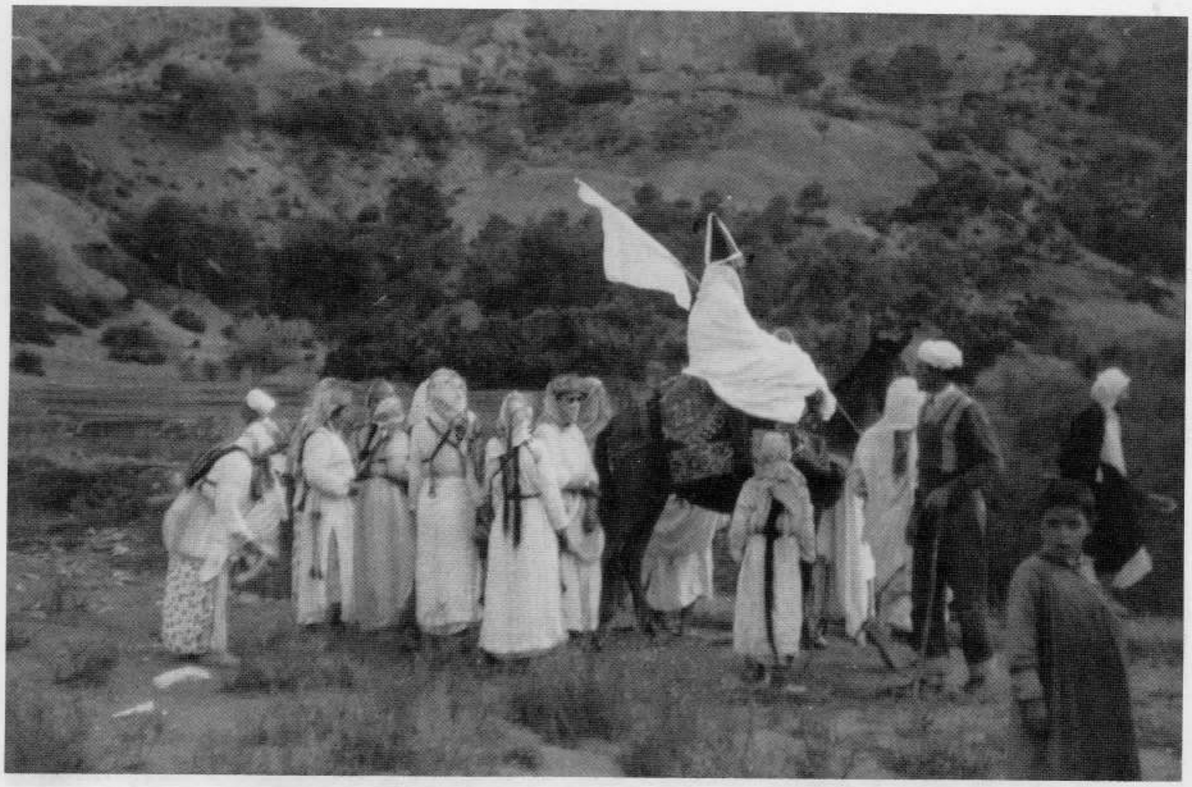
Guests on roof of house at wedding, Aith Hadhifa (1953)



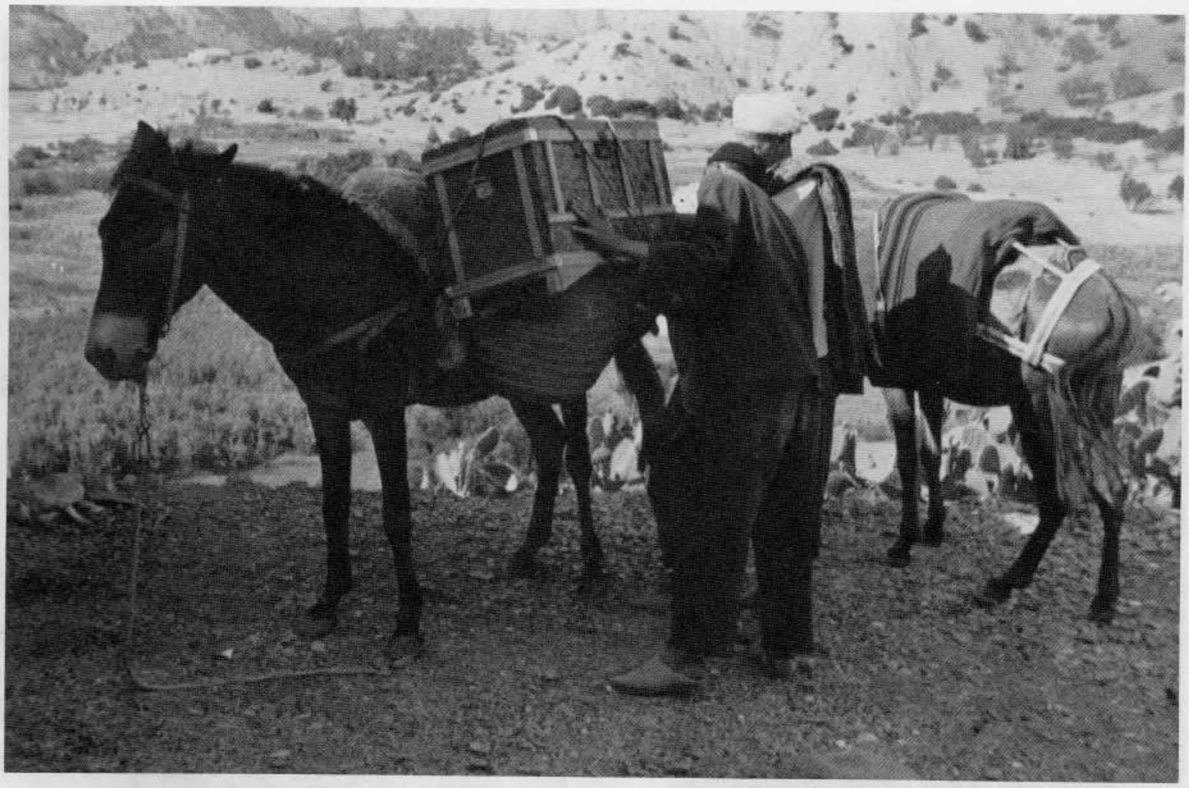
Bride, with *qubbth* arc and white flag, mounted on mule, Aith Turirth (1959)



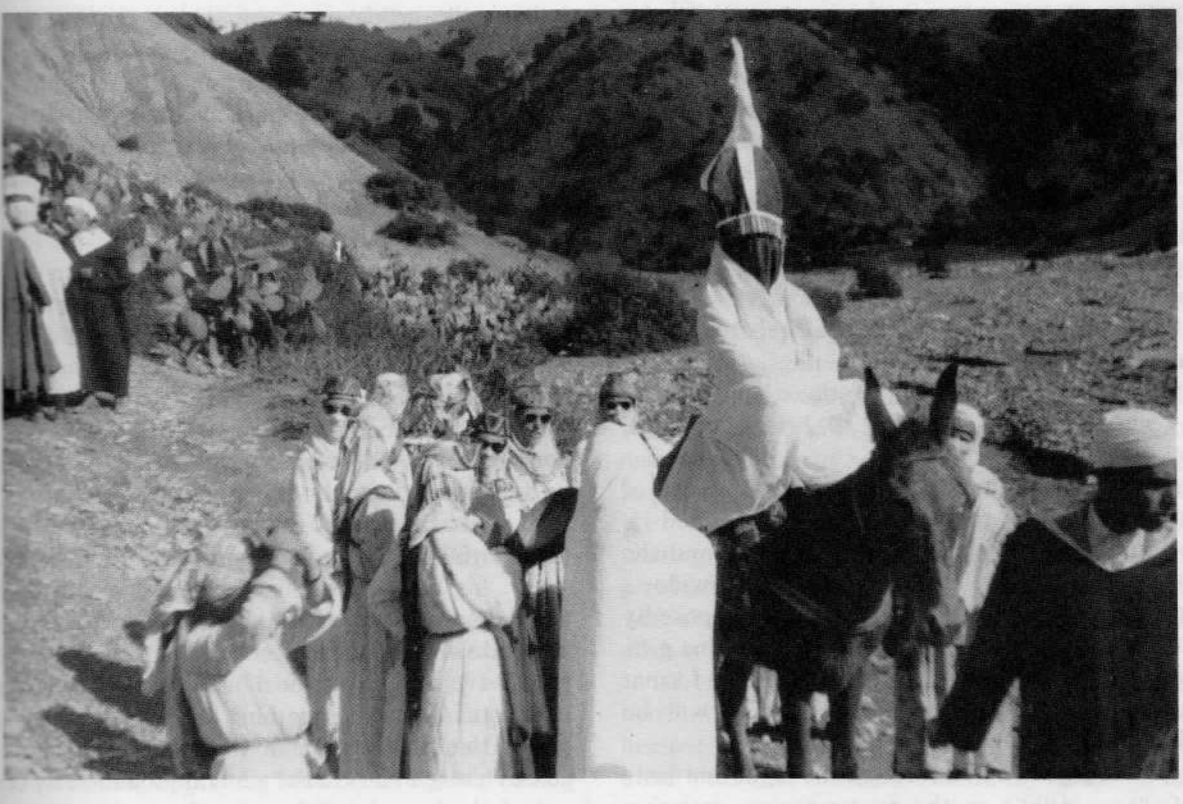
Bride on muleback, followed by her *dhiwzirin,* Aith Turirth (1959)



Bridal party setting off for groom's house, Aith Turirth (1959)



Loading bride's coffer on second mule before departure for groom's house, Aith Turirth (1962)



Bride on mule followed by her *dhiwzirin* in procession to groom's house, Aith Turirth (1959)

the house (they have the property to cure fever; they are burned over a fire and the smoke is inhaled by a sick person). The groom leaves the room, and the bride is left alone again, but not for long; her *dhiwzirin* and other women come in and take charge of her veil and the pieces of her *qubbth*, a major sign of virginity. The bride may now also put on the clothing and black wool braids of a married woman. If the groom should prove impotent, his bride can obtain an immediate divorce and marry again as a virgin, with all the normal ritual—except the wearing of the *qubbth*.

After the groom leaves the room, his *iwziren*, who have been waiting for him at the main door of the house, start to beat him hard with their slippers, with sticks, or merely with their hands. He may become rather bruised during this horseplay, but he must take it good naturedly—although if he can slip out by a side door and avoid them, he does so (in the plain).

After this, the *iwziren* surround the groom, and, going back and forth (three times in the plain, seven in the Jbil Hmam) from the door of his room to the main door of the house, they chant the *sabhain r-raziq* refrain, during which the groom's head and face must be completely covered by the hood of his jillaba, and he must remain absolutely silent and motionless. One of the groom's *dhiwzirin* then goes out into the courtyard carrying a teatray covered with a girl's headscarf, with a silver bracelet on top to weight it down. She leaves and the groom, the hood of his jillaba still pulled over his face, goes and sits down beside the tray. It is now about midnight on the third night, all the guests have eaten their fill and have had tea in their host's guestroom, and they have moved out into the courtyard of the house which is usually moonlit. Now all the guests present proceed to drop gifts of money (marriage ceremonial offerings), *ghramth*, upon the tray. The very first person to do so is either the groom's brother or his paternal uncle. At the same time, in the plain only, two of his *dhiwzirin* (a sister and a father's brother's daughter) wave another scarf in front of him to cool him off. Some of the groom's special friends throw their contributions directly into the groom's lap rather than tossing them on the tray; these gifts are intended for the groom personally, while the money on the tray is for his father, in order to help defray the wedding expenses—which are usually heavy.

When everyone has made his contribution (in the 1950s, at least 5 ptas per person), a paternal uncle of the groom picks up the money-laden tray and takes it to the room of the groom's father. The groom continues to sit motionless in the courtyard with his *iwziren* around him—and the dancing may now begin.

The bride has remained in the room, veiled once again. An old woman watches over her, because during this time, if another girl should come and cut off a piece of one of her garments without her knowledge, it would mean very bad luck for her and the groom would no longer desire her (this applies both in the plain and in the Jbil Hmam). During the whole of this night, and once she is in the groom's room, the bride may not move; and indeed, beforehand, at her own house, she may hardly move either. During the seven days preceding the day of the *dhamghra* her sister comes in every morning to bring her eggs, flapjacks and tea.

The dancing and singing of *ay-aralla-buya* and of the *izran* couplets, in the courtyard, is performed by all the unmarried girls present, the groom's and the bride's *dhiwzirin* in turn. No married women, widows or divorcees may dance ('Abd al-Krim was supposedly responsible for this prohibition). In the plain, the girls are veiled; in the Jbil, they usually are not. The format and technique of the singing and dancing will be described in the following chapter.

The dancing goes on all through the night and lasts until 10:00 or 11:00 a.m. the next morning, stopping only when the last guests have left. Then, and only then, can the groom go into the room where the bride is. His first act is to get all the bride's *dhiwzirin* together and to give them each a little money (5 ptas. in 1955). Then they all leave, and there is nobody left in the room but his bride and himself. However, his mother then comes in and prepares unsweetened flapjacks, fried eggs and possibly some meat, a plate of almonds and another of walnuts, bread, a bowl of honey, and tea—and the bride and groom have their first meal together.[24]

In the plain (and in the Axt Tuzin) but not in the Jbil Hmam, after this first meal, the groom takes the red *bandu* (flag) that was put on the roof of his house at the beginning of the ceremony and turns around three times with it in front of a water jug. This jug is placed on the floor, with a silver bracelet underneath it and an egg on top of it. The groom, in a test of skill, must now kick the jug with his foot and break it in one kick; if he does not succeed in doing so, it is considered bad luck—he will be sexually weak; if he succeeds, his potency is assured. A little boy of the groom's family then hides the bracelet; to get it back the groom must give him the egg that was on top of the jug and some flapjacks.

The bride and groom sit around the room all that day, picking at the food and making small talk. They may not have intercourse until that night (i.e., the fourth night of the ceremony), after everyone else has gone to sleep. Since both of them are usually virgins, their embarrassment may well be extreme. (In the plain, the groom even gives the bride 100 ptas. for permission to have intercourse with her).

However, the most important factor of all is that the bride must be a virgin and, almost always a white cloth with her hymenal blood is awaiting the eager eyes of all concerned the next morning outside their door. (This is an ordinary cloth, and not, as might be imagined, the white flag that the bride brought with her to the groom's house). This proof of defloration is triumphantly taken out, either by the groom's sister, his mother, or his paternal aunt, and shown to all and sundry; the ululations (*djwaru*) that the married women, hidden on the sidelines of the courtyard, have made over the dancing in which they could not participate are as nothing compared to the *yu-yu-yu*-ing that all the women start to cry out now. The groom himself adds to the general jubilation by coming out of the room and throwing firecrackers, amid all the congratulations. Then the bride's sister takes the white defloration rag to show to her mother and female friends. The rag is then returned to the groom's house and kept as it is, with the hymenal blood still on it, for seven days, after which the bride ritually washes it.

After defloration, the bride and groom sleep together for the following two nights, but they may not have intercourse again until all the blood has dried on the rag.

If the bride is not a virgin, however, one of several things may happen: (1) the groom, if he loves her, may keep her, and the hymenal blood on the rag is faked—but this is exceptionally rare; (2) he may consult her father and tell him the shameful news in private, and her father must (or should) return him half the bridewealth that was paid; or (3) —the commonest reaction—the groom, furious at being deceived, may send his bride packing right back to her father's house, and her father must return the entire bridewealth to him, in money.

In the plain, if a divorcee or widow should remarry, she is neither veiled nor painted with henna. She goes to the groom's house on a mule, accompanied only be a few people; on her arrival, the groom's mother empties a mortar of grain in front of her so that she will not bring bad luck. She has no *qubbth* and no *dhiwzirin*.

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[24] On the first day of the ceremony, when the bride's henna painting is effected, there are generally two hard-boiled eggs placed in the henna bowl, and known as *dhimddjarin nj-hanni*. These are saved by the bride to eat, with bread and meat, when she is alone with the groom for the first time.

In the Jbil Hmam, the practice differs. A widow or a divorced woman marrying for a second time is painted with henna and has unmarried *dhiwzirin* to accompany her, although she wears no *qubbth*. The amount of henna and the number of *dhiwzirin* are always less than for a virgin, however, and the singing of the *dhiwzirin* is less spirited. Here a widow or a divorcee always walks to the house of her second husband—riding a mule is only for the first time around. It is, altogether, a poor and smudged carbon copy of the ritual adhered to in the marriage of a virgin, since many or even most of the ritual elements crucial in the marriage of a virgin are absent: the virginity of the bride is not only the central theme of marriage, but a central theme of the whole culture.

A man marrying for a second time, whether he is divorced or a widower, is not finger-painted with henna, and since he has no *iwziren*, the *sabhain r-raziq* refrain is not chanted either.

If a divorced woman or a widow marries a bachelor (*a'azri*) who has never been married, this is so much the better for her, since all the ingredients of his part of the ritual are present. He has *iwziren* and *dhiwzirin*. She is brought to his house on a mule, with her brother by her side, but with only four or five girls, rather than ten to fifteen. In the plain, they do not sing along the paths; In the Jbil Hmam they do, but not to the same extent as for a virgin. A bachelor groom under such circumstances will have a three-day wedding, but his widow or divorcee bride will only have one day of ceremony, the final one. If the marriage is the second one for both parties, the ceremony is again reduced to one day.

Seven days after the end of the marriage ritual and the defloration of the bride (or three days after the ceremony is over, in the case of a widow or a divorcee), comes the *awardhi*, the official visit made by the bride's mother to the new couple in the bride's new residence. Once the marriage ceremony has begun, with the bride leaving her home and parents behind, the groom must not see the bride's parents until the *awardhi* visit. In this we have another difference between the Aith Waryaghar and their southern neighbors, the Igzinnayen: among the latter the newly married couple visit the bride's parents in their house. It is understood that a mother may come and visit her newly married daughter if the girl's husband is away or in the fields, but the mother and the husband must not see each other.

In the *awardhi*, several women from the bride's family accompany her mother to the groom's house on the stipulated seventh day after consummation (for a widow or a divorcee it is only three days). The bride's father and some of her agnates may come as well, but apart from the women. The women, who are all veiled, enter the room where the bride is. After they are all sitting down in a circle with the bride's mother in the center, the groom's brother comes in to greet them, his brother's mother-in-law last, by kissing their foreheads. Then the groom, with the hood of his jillaba pulled over his face, comes in to do the same, and his *dhadhuggwatsh* or wife's mother is again the last one whom he so greets. He then silently puts a dress or some money (in 1955, 100 ptas.), in her lap.

Only now may the groom remove the hood of his jillaba and the women unveil themselves, and ordinary salutations and talk, coupled with the serving of tea, may begin. Finally, when the visiting women get up to go home, the groom gives each of them a headscarf. He now goes to greet his wife's father, who has been waiting in another room, but he does not generally give him a present. All is highly formalized, and marked with the respect and avoidance that go hand in hand with sex segregation.

After the *awardhi* visit, which is the capstone to her newly married status, a young wife does not see her parents again, nor may she visit their house, for a full year (the same informant, however, on another occasion, stated the period as forty days). She is accompanied by her husband on this next visit, called *dharzifth* (which refers to the food they bring with them). They take a mule loaded with wheat bread, a sheep or goat, olive oil, sugar cones, and tea—for food and commensality pave the way for good relations.

The young wife stays with her parents for a month, but her husband returns home after only three or four days. When the young woman comes back to her husband's house, however, she is segregated by him once again. She may only return to see her parents when he says she may, or unless he sends her there, which he may well do if things are not going well between them. A wife has the right to flee if her husband continually beats her and mistreats her, although it is considered "good form" for her to come back to his house on Muslim feast days. And, of course, if he divorces her, she must go back to her father's house immediately. She may have the right to reclaim her bridewealth, but any children born of the marriage are his.

There is no single ritual or series of rituals in the annual round of Waryaghar life that is as important and that has as many social functions as marriage, with its heavy emphases on the virginity of the bride, the *ay-aralla-buya* dance by the veiled *dhiwzirin*, and the bringing together of most of the people of two or more local communities in a reinforcement of an intense and inward-directed community life, and of course, in the sharing of common ritual values.

These features, however, should not obscure the fact that the basic dimension to marriage is legalistic rather than ritualistic: without a marriage document stipulating the names of both the contracting parties and the amount of bridewealth paid, no marriage can take place. The Aith Waryaghar are very conscious of this fact, and in a kind of negative support of it, I can cite the beginnings of the disappearance of certain crucially traditional elements of the ritual. In the plain by the mid-1960s, the bride's *qubbth* (grapevine arc), the notion of the groom as a *muray* or "Sultan" and of the attendant *iwziren* and *dhiwzirin* as the "ministers" of bride and groom, and the veiling of the *dhiwziren* were all on the way out. It was also said that some brides—who were still veiled, of course, but were wearing modern women's jillabas, as in the cities—were being driven in cars by their brothers to the grooms' houses instead of riding there on muleback (or even, indeed, that grooms themselves were driving to the brides' houses to fetch them, in a direct contravention of custom). But as of 1967, none of this had yet happened in the more conservative mountain subclans of the Aith 'Arus, Aith Turirth, and Timarzga, the bastions of Waryaghar ideology—where the bride's *qubbth*, for example, is still indispensable.

DIVORCE, WIDOWHOOD, AND REMARRIAGE[25]

Divorce, in Rifian as in Arabic, is known as *talaq* (although there is also a Rifian verbal noun *uruf*, "divorce," it is less frequently used). The Western niceties of separation and annulment simply do not exist; one is either married or divorced and nothing in between has any legal validity.

Amongst the Aith Waryaghar, only a husband can ordinarily initiate divorce. One of the most widely recognized grounds for divorce is the discovery that a bride is not a virgin. Another equally common reason for divorce is barrenness, which is always considered to be the fault of the wife. (A wife's adultery is rarely reason for divorce, for the husband is permitted to, and generally does, kill both wife and lover outright if he catches them *in flagrante delicto*.) On the other hand, a wife can initiate divorce for one reason alone—her husband's impotence. Under these circumstances, the ratio of divorces initiated by husbands to those initiated by wives has been roughly 99 to 1. (I do not think this an exaggeration. I heard of exactly one case, about 1954, in Bulma of the Aith Turirth, in which a bride initiated divorce proceedings against her husband because he proved impotent on the wedding night. Surprisingly, it was the husband who remarried—though he produced no children, at least on my genealogical evidence; and as far as I know, the wife did not. One of my informants, in 1955, wanted to marry her as she was her father's sole heir and was thus entitled to half his inheritance; but it came to nothing).

Despite the fact that one often sees remarks in general works about Islam to the contrary, neither marriage nor divorce is explicitly thought of, by the Aith Waryaghar at least as being "contractual"—they are, rather, part of the *Sunna* or custom of the Prophet Muhammad. Nevertheless, the fundamental dimension to divorce is, and has always been, legalistic, and based in the Shari'a: just as there is no sale of property without the necessary documentation and no marriage without a *zujiya*, there is no divorce without a "divorce paper." The procedure for the documentation was and is the same for all three actions. During the *Ripublik*, the *fqih* of the Friday mosque used to draw up and sign the divorce document, but since 'Abd al-Krim, the document has been drawn up by the two necessary notaries, and signed and stamped by the *qadi* with his seal. A divorce becomes legalized only after this has been done.

Divorce is far more cut-and-dried than marriage; it is purely a legal action, and unless a single formula can be construed as ritual, it has no real ritual dimension. The emphasis is, again, upon the divorce document. However, for the decree to be granted, the divorce formula must be repeated three times by the husband—during the *Ripublik*, in front of the *fqih* of the Friday mosque, and since then, in front of the *qadi* and his two notaries. Since the final statement of the formula, known as the "third divorce" is the crucial one, it is possible for a husband to say the formula once, then take his wife back, repeat it again later, then take her back a second time, and still later, divorce her a third and final time. If the husband should change his mind again, he must wait until his ex-wife has been remarried to someone else and divorced by him before he can remarry her. Usually, however, the husband merely states that he wants a three-time divorce when the notaries draw up the document.

Since 1956 and Independence, both parties to a divorce have been required to appear in front of the *qadi* and notaries to obtain the necessary document, just as they must do for the marriage *zujiya*. To what extent this requirement is actually adhered to in Waryagharland may be another matter, however; prior to the Spanish protectorate and, indeed, until 1956, only the husband appeared. The same holds true today for the marriage document, and the woman must also appear in front of the notaries if her father is dead, but then a brother or paternal uncle will speak for her.

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[25] Much of the material in this section is taken from my responses to a questionnaire, in 1965, on divorce among the Aith Waryaghar, in connection with a cross-cultural survey on divorce which was carried out in that year by Professor Paul Bohannan of Northwestern University.

Under a Moroccan personal status ruling promulgated in 1962, ill-treated or abandoned wives can initiate divorce proceedings against their husbands. Even under the Spanish protectorate if a man absented himself, giving no sign of life and sending no word to his wife, she could legally remarry after a year had passed; in 1962, this period was shortened to three months. The provincial court gives the husband one month to make good to his wife and pay her whatever the *qadi* judges to be necessary in any individual case; if he does not do so, divorce is automatic.

According to an informant, one wife in Maru in the Aith ʿArus and another in Tfsast in the Timarzga took advantage of this provision for divorce. But traditional attitudes die hard, and there were many extremely adverse reactions to the ruling in Waryagharland. One woman went to the *qadi* in al-Husaima to initiate divorce proceedings against her soldier husband. The *qadi* granted the divorce. The soldier, enraged, stabbed his wife on the spot. He then attempted to stab the *qadi* but was grabbed by several *mkhaznis* before he could do so and was thrown into jail. The Waryaghar in him was furious at the *qadi* for his decision, and even more furious at his wife for having gone to the *qadi* in public. When this story was related to me, the consensus among the listeners was that the husband had done the right thing.

In order to emphasize the strictly legal aspect of divorce the bridewealth must, if the husband initiates divorce, be returned to the wife integrally. This means, in effect, that he gives her back her "trousseau"—but nothing more. There are no economic obligations of either spouse toward the other, after divorce.

Furthermore, there is no "fault" assigned or determined at divorce—other than, possibly, the "fault" that a husband finds with his wife because of her barrenness, or for any other reason.

It is recognized that there is an association between divorce and violence in Waryagharland, for divorce is invariably preceded by quarrels, and quarrels lead to wife-beating, which is not only permissible but extremely frequent, even though it may not always be condoned. If a man is considered good, the divorce is considered to be the wife's fault, but if he beats her regularly and then divorces her, public opinion may by a very slim margin be on her side (though of course it is also believed that he would not beat her without good reason). Social pressures against divorce are nil: there is nothing resembling the so-called "defenses against divorce" in our own system; and no steps at all are taken to reconcile the spouses and prevent divorce, since the decision to divorce is almost always purely unilateral.

Relations with former affines are severed at divorce, but there is no change in relationships with one's own kin. A divorced wife must return immediately to her father's household, and her ex-husband always retains custody of all their children. Nonetheless, since children are suckled until they have reached two years of age, a child is kept at the breast by its divorced mother until it is two, when she is required to return it to its father. During this period, the husband is expected to pay the child's expenses (in 1955, these amounted to about 200 ptas. per month).

As for the role and position of divorcees in the society, it is first of all certainly more to a woman's advantage to maintain a marriage than it is to a man's, since in Waryaghar eyes she stands considerably less chance of remarrying. Although there is no particular stereotype of divorced women, some widows (although not all, by any means) are inevitably suspected of being "loose." However, divorce is not considered to be bad or unfortunate, nor is it in any way a source of shame or embarrassment for a man. Since it is permitted by the Shariʿa, no stigma attaches to it, but this is not as true for a divorced woman as it is for a divorced man. Likewise, there is neither loss nor acquisition of status or property through divorce in the case of the man; but the ex-wife is certainly down-graded, in terms of status, and the chances are that her next marriage will not be with as "choice" a spouse as was her first. Finally, a divorced woman loses her children—a most painful loss.

Divorced men (as well as married men who wish to embark upon a second, third, or fourth marriage) and divorced women are considered less desirable mates, on the grounds of both age and of physical attraction. There is, however, no situation in which a divorced or widowed person is not free to remarry, and the proportion of such persons who actually do remarry is very high—at least 90% in the case of men and probably 70–80% in the case of women. Whether the percentage of divorcees who remarry is higher than that of widows is a moot point: it depends on age and physical attraction, and in any case it should not be forgotten that widow-inheritance is a recognized institution.

The Shariʿa stipulates that for a woman there must be a specified period of time between divorce or death of a husband and remarriage. This length of time is known as *'idda*. In the case of a divorcee it is three months and three days, and in that of a widow it is four months and ten days. In both cases the lapse of time is designed to determine pregnancy, but the greater period in the widow's case also functions as mourning. A widow who claims to be pregnant must pass three times under the bier of her deceased husband as it is being carried to the cemetery, so that her pregnancy will be made known to all.

The role and function of widow inheritance, which is extremely common, will be discussed fully in Chapter 9. A woman can refuse to be inherited as a widow if she wants to, but such cases are rare (I know of only one in the Aith Turirth). A woman who so refuses still counts as a widow, however, and as such her status is higher and more "honorable" than that of a divorcee; the same holds true for her position on remarriage.

If, for example, a woman does not wish to enter into a marriage of widow inheritance but prefers to remarry outside, she takes her one-eighth share of her late husband's property (to which she is of course entitled) and goes off to her new husband—at the usual half-price or less.

There is no limit on the number of times a person can legally marry after divorce, and there is equally no limit on the number of times a person can be divorced.

The legalization of a subsequent marriage of a widowed or divorced person is no different from that of a first marriage, i.e., another marriage document must be drawn up in exactly the same way as on the first occasion. But the three-day ritual is, as noted earlier, reduced to one day, and the bridewealth is approximately half that for a first marriage.

Given the intensity of community life, the new spouse of a divorced person is likely to know the old spouse. If they meet, there is outward politeness between them, but they try to avoid each other as much as possible. The divorced couple themselves are never likely to meet again because the woman will be secluded in her father's house and then in that of her next husband, and because they also practice avoidance.

The minimally optimal household[26] of remarriage is the same as that of a first marriage. Since the children of a divorced couple stay with their father, the role model of mother is taken over either by an existing co-wife or by a new wife (divorced men almost invariably remarry). Whether or not she actually fulfills this role—and generally she does not, for no love is lost between children and their stepparents—is really beside the point, because the father is the fountainhead of authority within any minimally optimal family, and the children are his, once and for all.

Ideally, a child should of course respect his stepparent, and the kin terms of address, which are different from those for natural parents,[27] are a reflection of such respect; in fact, however, there is a basic mistrust and dislike on both sides, which also characterizes relations between stepsiblings (and relations between halfsiblings as well). I know one man in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth who treats his stepson very well, but the latter still mistrusts him, for he knows that his stepfather wants his land. (This was the stepfather's third marriage; the other two ended in divorce, and he had no children of his own.)

DEATH AND BURIAL

The dead are known collectively as *imttinen*. When a person dies, all his family—especially the women, and most of all his widow—weep and show their grief. They send members of the *jma'th* to dig a grave in the plot of the lineage-group of the dead person in the local community cemetery (*imdhran*). Another person is sent to the market to buy white cloth for a shroud. [illegible]

Burial occurs as soon as possible. If a person dies in the morning, he is buried in the afternoon of the same day. If he dies in the afternoon, he is buried the same afternoon, if there is time before nightfall. But if he dies at night, he is buried the next morning.

When the members of the *jma'th* have dug the grave, they return to the house to eat. By this time, if the deceased is a male, the *fqih* of the local mosque has arrived to wash the body and sew it into its shroud; if it is a woman who has died, her body is washed and shrouded by another woman. The order of washing the parts of the body after death is the same as for the ablutions prior to prayer: (1) hands, (2) genitalia and anus, (3) hands again, (4) nose and mouth, (5) face, (6) arms, (7) head and (8) ears. Up to this point the washing is termed *r-udhu amzzyan*, the "small ablution," it is followed by (9) the washing of the whole body, called *r-udhu amqqran*, the "big ablution." Throughout the procedure the right side must be washed before the left.

The *fqih* (or the woman) then puts the body in the shroud, which must be sewn up with a special long needle. The holes in the shroud, through which the needles must be passed, can be made with a knife or even a sharp stick; but the thread used must not be ordinary thread. It must be cut from the same white cloth used for the shroud.

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[26] This term is taken from Bohannan's 1965 divorce questionnaire.

[27] Cf. Chapter 8, on Kinship.

Once the body is sewn into the shroud, all those present tell the family "*Allah yarziq sbar*" ("May God grant you patience"); then they put the body on a wooden stretcher or bier (*dhahhatsh*).[28] The bier is borne by four men, one at each corner, to the cemetery. Only men accompany the corpse to the grave; women do not attend funerals, but before the funeral procession sets out, if the dead man's widow wishes to indicate that she is pregnant by him, she passes under the stretcher three times. She may also put her headscarf on the body in order to indicate that the child will be legitimate.

The pallbearers are followed by the *jma'th*, who repeat the formula of the *shahada* or profession of faith over and over again. If it is a long walk to the cemetery, the pallbearers constantly change off so that each mourner will have his chance to carry the stretcher. When they arrive at the cemetery, they say "*Bism-illah aiwa bi-llah, qaddimna rasulu-l-llah!*" ("In the name of God, yea, with God, the Messenger of God stands before us!") Then the *fqih* of the local community mosque and any other *tulba* whom he has brought with him recite the Fatiha and the *sura* Yasin, and the dead man is buried.

The grave itself consists of two holes; an upper, outer one and an inner, lower one. The upper hole must be a leg-straddle in width, about 25–30 cm. deep, and the same length as the person to be buried (someone in the *jma'th* has previously measured the body from head to toe with string). The lower hole is the same length as the upper one, but 25 cm. deeper; the total depth of both holes is 50–60 cm. (about knee-height). What is most important, however, is the width of the inner hole, into which the corpse is placed: for a man it may not exceed a handspan plus half the length of the thumb, no matter how fat the deceased may have been. The width of a woman's grave is a full thumb-length beyond the handspan, in order to allow for her breasts.

I was told that the dead person is placed in the grave lying "almost, but not quite, flat on his back," with his arms folded on his chest; however, given the width of the inner hold, only the side of the body would fit. The grave is placed perpendicular to Mecca, and the face is turned toward Mecca. All burials are extended, and flexed burials are unknown.

After the members of the *jma'th* have put the corpse in the grave, they place flat stones, usually artificially shaped, at the bottom of the upper hole and fit these stones close together. Then they set up the head- and footstones as markers, and fill in the grave above the inner stones with the earth that was removed when they dug the grave. Finally, they cover the grave over with brushwood so that animals passing by will not eat or otherwise despoil the body: this brushwood is removed after forty days, when the period of mourning (*huzn*) is officially over.

During the *Ripublik*, wooden grave markers were carved from holly oak (and the carvers produced artistic work, although they were not specialists). These head and foot markers were placed parallel to each other on the graves of both sexes. By the 1950s, however, stones had replaced the wooden markers; the head- and footstones are placed parallel to each other on a man's grave, but perpendicularly on a woman's grave. Children are buried in the same way as adults, and there is no social distinction made in grave markings—only the sex distinction. Wives are always buried beside their husbands rather than beside their fathers or other agnatic kinsmen (thus, in a sense, a woman is subordinate to her husband even in death).[29]

After the burial all the mourners return to the dead man's house where his family gives a *sadaqa* offering, both in food and in money, to the *tulba*, who recite the Qur'an.[30]

Three days after her husband's death, a widow customarily goes to his grave laden with food, which she leaves there as a *sadaqa* offering for the poor. The husband's clothing is also given to the poor as *sadaqa*. If the widow is well off, she gives a feast forty days after her husband's death and invites the *fqih* and other *tulba*, who once again receive *sadaqa* in food and money and chant the Qur'an. This feast theoretically marks the end of the *huzn*, or period of mourning, although in fact the *huzn* for a widow should last as long as the *'idda*, the period between her husband's death and the time that she may remarry, i.e., four months and ten days.

A final feast for the *tulba* may be given either on the next 15 Muharran or 15 Sha'ban (in the Muslim lunar calendar) following the death of the person in question, if his family particularly wishes to honor his memory. This feast is merely a repeat performance of the one marking the end of the forty-day mourning

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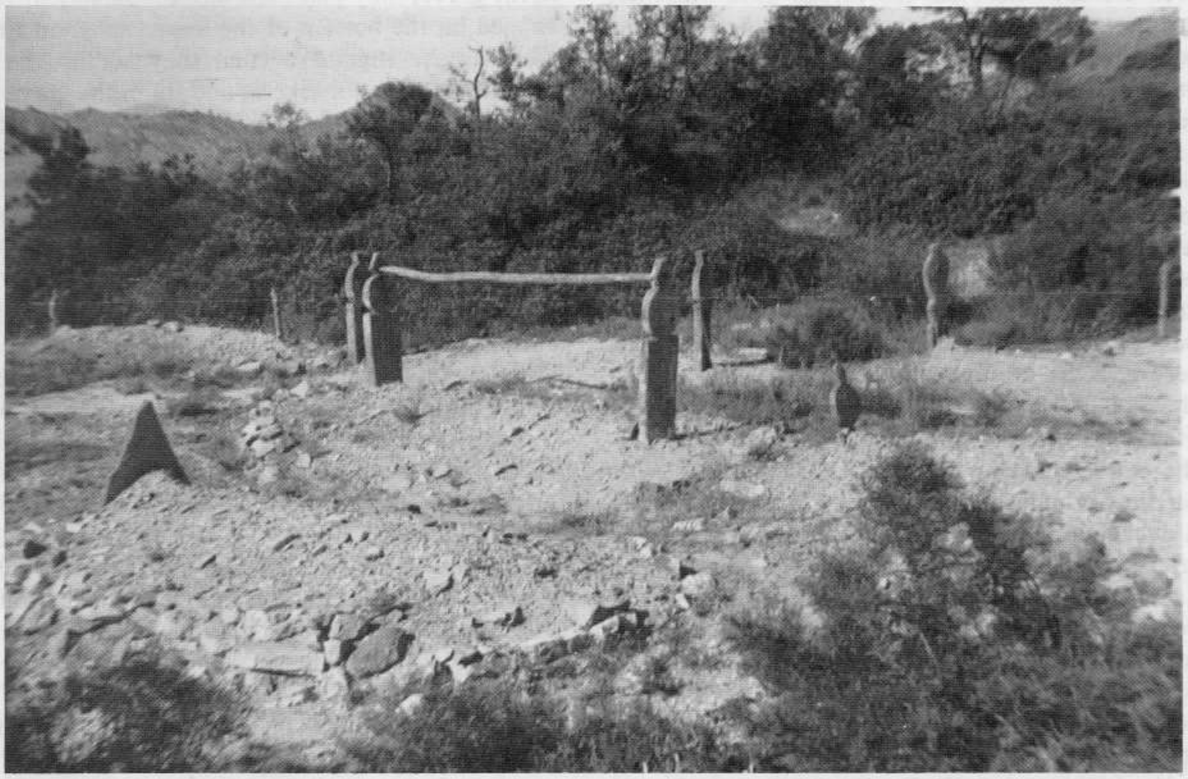
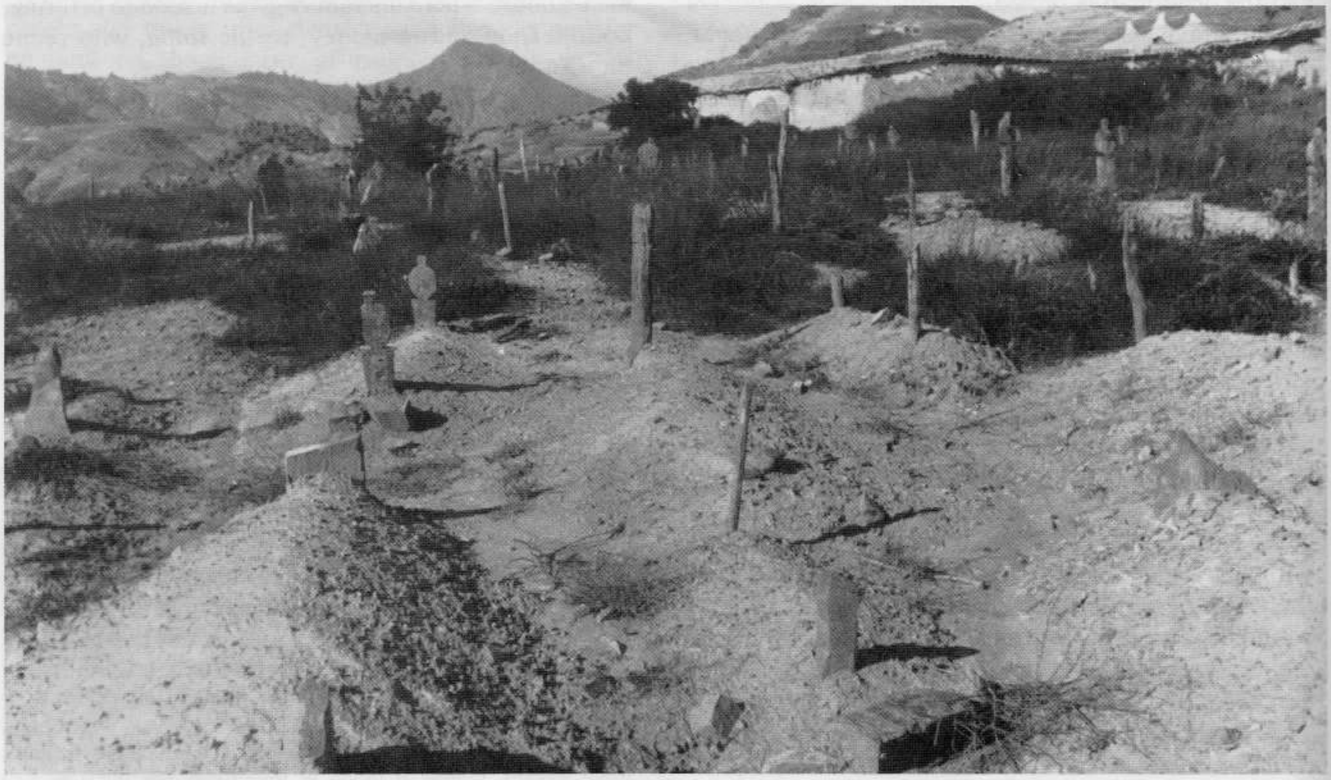
[28] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 206, reports that in the Igzinnayen the body was taken to the cemetery on the door of the local mosque. This has never been the case anywhere in Waryagharland.

[29] Possibly the phrase *s-r-imrax insha'llah*, which women utter when another woman is about to be buried, and implying that even though she is dead, someone ought to marry her, is an unconscious reflection of this.

[30] This act is described as: *aithma-s umttin tiggin s-sidqath gi t-turba*, "the agnates of the deceased make a *sadaqa* for the tulba."





a, b. Cemetery at Bulma, Aith Turirth (1955) period, with no changes in detail.

It is thought that if a person dies during the month of Ramadan, his soul will go straight to Paradise (*jinna*), much faster than at any other time of year. The most famous such case in recent times was that of King Muhammad V of Morocco, who died in February 1961, during Ramadan.

The members of each *jma'th* bury their own dead. In the Aith Turirth, the despised lineage of Ihawtshen only buried those men of fighting lineages who were killed in the long and often torturous bloodfeud. If people die not too far away from home, an effort is usually made to bring their bodies back to the cemeteries of their own local communities for burial.[31] Dead *imjahadhen*, men who were killed in battle against Christians, were buried where they fell, and in all their clothes—an exception to the rule of washing and shrouds, but a logical one, for they were martyrs for the faith of Islam (and in this case a man's own turban was his shroud).

If a stranger comes to any community and dies there, the *jma'th* must pay for his shroud and funeral, and must pay the *tulba* to chant the necessary *suras* from the Qur'an (usually the *Hizb at-Tabaraka* or the *Hizb al-Yasin*).

Each major lineage group—or, perhaps more accurately, each major territorial group or subcommunity—has its own burial plot in the local community cemetery beside the mosque. The cemetery of Bulma in the Aith Turirth, for instance, probably contains well over a thousand graves, and the territorial units (and corresponding lineage groups) of Bulma, Ignan, and l-'Ass each have their own plot. In Ignan, there are a few graves beside the tomb of Sidi Bu 'Azza, and in l-'Ass there are some twenty graves, almost all of women and children, located by the spring; but the great majority of the dead of both Ignan and l-'Ass are buried in their respective plots in the Bulma cemetery.

A cemetery may be full of *jnun* (although some informants say that cemeteries are *jinn*-free) but they can do no harm: the dead, as Le Tourneau has most convincingly pointed out,[32] have to reckon only with God. Nor do the living avoid cemeteries; on the contrary, a man afraid of being pursued by *jnun* may sleep in a cemetery with impunity, for nothing can happen to him there.

The ritual of funerals differs markedly from birth and marriage rituals in its purely religious, Islamic character. A newborn child and a couple who are about to be married have to reckon in this world not only with the power of God, but with invisible *jnun* that haunt the lives of men—hence the ritual complications surrounding both birth and marriage in order that the *jnun* may be effectively neutralized, if not conciliated. But a believer who dies has nothing more to fear from them; and in the final reaffirmation of his faith, a Muslim can face death with a serenity and a confidence which, as Le Tourneau rightly observes, is largely lacking in the Christian world, in which death is met essentially with fear and dread. The very fact that cemeteries are always open, never enclosed, may in itself suggest that the dead have less of a place, or at least less of a sad place in the thoughts of the living than they have in Christianity. One of the commonest statements one may hear Muslims make is that God has decreed exactly when, where, and how every man must die. The tears shed at funerals are no less genuine than they are in our own culture, and the same holds true for the consolation of the bereaved; but death is more willingly accepted as the ultimate fact of life on earth.

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[31] The Hajj Am'awsh, the head of the lineage which feuded with the Imjjat in the Aith Turirth (cf. Chapter 12), died on the boat coming back from Mecca to Morocco after he had made the pilgrimage. He was buried at sea, and at once, an informant said: his body was simply put into a coffin and eased into the water.

[32] Roger le Tourneau, *La Vie Quotidienne à Fès en 1900*, Paris: Hachette, 1965, pp. 240–41.

6. SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT; BELIEFS AND LEGENDS; SONGS AND MUSIC

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

Sorcery and witchcraft may be regarded as the other side of the coin of religion, in Islam as well as elsewhere. There is no sharp dividing line between the domain of religion and the domain of magic: the one, indeed, tends to fuse with the other. Before defining these terms, it should be made clear that religion (*din*) is regarded by Muslims as essentially the open, overt, and public domain of men, whereas magic and sorcery, which in Morocco tend to fall under the same rubric (*suhur* in Moroccan Arabic; *dhimgga*, lit. "actions," in Rifian), are basically a part of the hidden, covert, and secret domain of women. Nonetheless, Qur'anic students (*tulba*) may, and generally do, straddle both domains, although the ways in which they practice sorcery differ significantly from those employed by old women, even when the desired ends are the same.

The God-given power of the *baraka*, for example, is defined as including the ability to heal or destroy by touch; no man has ever possessed it in greater degree than the Prophet Muhammad, and in Morocco the greatest amount of *baraka* has always been attributed to the sultan. Thus, even though the *baraka* does contain this element of destruction, it is always conceived of not only as a beneficent but also as a miraculous, a wonder-working, power; hence it is anything but antisocial in character. Sorcery, however, is inherently antisocial, and its performance is an antisocial act.

Much of the terminological confusion which, in the Moroccan context, originated with Westermarck,[1] has now been cleared up by Leach,[2] who suggested, as did Middleton and Winter,[3] the usefulness of following Evans-Pritchard's analysis of witchcraft and sorcery in his famous work on the Azande. The relevant distinctions here are the following: *Magic* "denotes a complex of belief and action on the basis and by which means persons and groups may attempt to control their environment in such a way as to achieve their ends, the efficacy of such control being untested and in some cases untestable by the methods of empirical science. The case of the magical act is that it rests on empirically untested belief and that it is an effort at control. The first aspect distinguishes it from science, the second from religion."[4] *Sorcery* is "the conscious performance of a technically possible act which has imaginary consequence of bringing evil upon a victim. Sorcery is thus a craft of evil magic; it can be learnt by anyone."[5] *Witchcraft* "is a quality which is innate to the witch, and all manifestations of witchcraft are intrinsically supernatural. Thus the pricking of wax images of an intended victim is sorcery, but flying through the air on broomsticks is a natural capacity which European witches inherit from their mothers."[6]

Leach points out, furthermore, that these distinctions have not always been reflected in the ethnographic literature, and his remarks about Westermarck's treatment of the subject are of particular relevance to our discussion of the matter here. A major source of the confusion in Westermarck's analysis is his contrast of the evil eye with witchcraft, for by Evans-Pritchard's definition, Westermarck's evil eye would be witchcraft and his witchcraft would be sorcery.

In Moroccan usage, *suhur* of all kinds is essentially sorcery. Hence the distinction between magic and sorcery becomes blurred, for *suhur* can be employed for various purposes: to make an enemy sick or to kill him, to cause love or to make it wither away, and to obtain cures for diseases. The last-mentioned use of *suhur* is not antisocial, of course, but in most instances of the first two categories it is inherently antisocial and is also ,inherently evil rather than inherently good (at least in practice). It is thus subsumed under the rubric of sorcery in that it is generally, though not necessarily always, conceived in terms of doing evil to the intended victim. Magic, on the other hand, and as defined by Leach, seems to be too general a concept (barring, of course, the factor of control) to be of much operative value here, for *suhur* is always directed toward ends that are highly specific—as the corresponding Rifian word *dhimgga*, "actions," indeed suggests.

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[1] Op. cit., 1926, Vol. I, Chapters VIII-IX, pp. 414-517.

[2] E. R. Leach, "Magic" and "Sorcery (also Witchcraft)," in J. Gould and W. L. Kolb, Eds., *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1964, pp. 398-99, 684-86.

[3] John Middleton and E. H. Winter, Eds., *Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, introduction, pp. 2 sq.

[4] Leach, op. cit., p. 398.

[5] Leach, op. cit., p. 685.

[6] Leach, op. cit., p. 685.

The Moroccan distinctions, furthermore, are of quite another order than are our own of "good" and "evil." Many Moroccan Arabs (though not Rifians) distinguish, for example, between *tukal*, that kind of *suhur* involving the administration or ingestion of foreign substances in food and drink,[7] and *suhur* "proper," which functions primarily through the written word, incantations, and the placing of powerful objects in the way of the subject or intended victim.

The Aith Waryaghar do not make this terminological refinement: to them, all of the above constitutes *suhur/dhimgga*, and their own breakdown of it is along somewhat different lines, bearing upon the user and the technique used. That branch of *suhur* which is employed by a *fqih*, for example, always or almost always involves the use of writing (*dhayra*), generally along with the use of other substances as well. But the *suhur* employed by an old woman, always illiterate but a specialist in the field (and known as *dhazuhrith*),[8] never involves writing but only the use of herbal and other material substances. Such an old woman is a sorceress, in the same way that a *fqih* may double as a sorcerer, but neither he nor she is a witch.

On the other hand, following Evans-Pritchard and Leach again, a person who possesses the evil eye just as certainly is a witch. Indeed, in some cases a flying *wali*, even though he be a great saint, may in this sense be conceived of as a witch as well, since he may be one of those who have inherited, rather than acquired, the *baraka* that enables them to fly or to be in two places at once. But as these natural and inherited capacities may be removed or withheld by God at any time, the analogy between a flying Rifian *wali* and Leach's European witch on a broomstick should perhaps not be pushed too far. Both the Evans-Pritchard and the Leach definitions are very useful, but both, in the Rifian context, must be modified.

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We give herewith a number of cases of sorcery, and start with those that require the use of charms and amulets. The term *harz* is applied to them whether they involve Qur'anic writings by a *fqih* or the use of special ingredients by a *dhazuhrith*. These charms are generally sewn up in little leather cases and are most often worn by women at their belts or around their necks, although in the Aith 'Ammarth I have also seen them hung around the necks of mules, in order to ward off the evil eye. Of course, here we enter the domain of witchcraft, at least technically. Many women also wear the *khamsa* or "Fatima's Hand" charm, a copper-plated image of the palm of the hand with its five fingers (alleged also to represent the Five Companions of the Prophet), around their necks for the same purpose.

There is said to be a book about charms and amulets called *Ajidwil*,—but I was never able to see a copy—and much of the knowledge of *tulba* who are specialists in writing charms is said to be derived from it. Both a *fqih* and an old woman who specialize in sorcery are paid for their services; in 1955 they could command a fee of 20 duros (or 100 pesetas) and more, and since that time prices have certainly risen accordingly. In the case of a charm involving writing, there is certain minimal information that the *fqih* needs: the name and age of both the purchaser and the person on whom the charm is to be worked, as well as the names of their mothers. This last point seems to be particularly important, especially if the charm is in any way connected with love, potency, or impotence: the *fqih* makes his calculations from the vowel points, in Arabic, both above and below the written consonants in the names of the mothers. For a love charm, he generally also requires a lock of the girl's hair in order to make the charm really efficacious. For a sick person or a person suffering from *jnun*, the *fqih* needs only the name of the person and the name of his mother.

There are of course further refinements by which the purchaser of the charm is expected to do certain things. When a young man falls in love with a girl and she does not reciprocate, for example, he asks a girl who is a friend of hers to obtain a bit of her hair or clothing when she is not looking. She gives this to the *fqih*, who writes up a paper called *tahjij* to cause the girl to return the young man's affections. The young man ties the *tahjij* to the branch of a tree

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[7] This point was brought to my attention by Mr. Paul Bowles, personal communication, June 6, 1968, and I herewith acknowledge my indebtedness. His novel (in collaboration with Mohammed Mrabet) entitled *Love With A Few Hairs*, London: Peter Owen, 1967, affords us an excellent case study of how *suhur* works and is practiced. Cmdt. L. Justinard, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte Rifain*, Paris: Geuthner, 1926, p. 58, also suggests the Arabic *l-'azima*, "exorcism," as well as Rifian *timgga* or *dhimgga*.

[8] Henri Mercier, *Dictionnaire Arabe (Marocain)-Francais*, 2nd Ed., Rabat: Editions La Porte, 1951, p. 259. He cites *zahriya* here as a woman "who has hands, the lines on the palms of which enable her to discover buried treasure." The Rifian *dhazuhrith* is thus the spiritual successor of those famous old "women who blow on knots," in Sura 113 of the Qur'an.

Mule with amulet around its neck, Ija'unen, Aith Ammarth (1954)

Mule skull placed in garden to ward off evil eye from crops, Aith Turirth (1965)

and it is believed that when the wind blows the branch the girl will start to think about him.

When a young man loves a married woman (if, for example, they had been in love but her father has married her off to someone else), he gets the *fqih* to write a different kind of charm, called *daqqaf.* Its purpose is to make the woman become frigid whenever her husband approaches her, so that proper intercourse will never take place.

Tulba also write out charms for women, generally at their own request, in order to arrest pregnancies and to keep them in a state of suspended animation. One *fqih* from the Igzinnayen, but resident in the Timarzga, was considered a specialist in charms for this purpose. Such a charm produces the so-called sleeping child, *itsudhas* or *ittas dhags,* the long-term pregnancy that is a common phenomenon all over Berber Morocco. By Shari'a Law, the term may not exceed five years (although some say seven years) but in fact it often does. Although he knows that in Islamic legal terms it is wrong to do so, a *fqih* who is adept at writing charms to produce sleeping children can, it is thought, make them efficacious for as long as fifteen or twenty years.

I personally knew a widow from the Timarzga, locally considered to be morally loose, who remarried in 1956; as of 1960 she was still believed to have a sleeping child dating from about 1950 or 1951. At least four other women in the Jbil Hmam were cited to me by informants as having had sleeping children that remained in their wombs for at least two or three years.

Old women may also be specialists in bringing about sleeping children; they make the patient eat or inhale the smoke from certain plants, notably the colocynth, which is not found in the Rif but is brought up from the pre-Saharan region and sold at exorbitant prices for the purpose. Until the woman's husband has intercourse with her again, the pregnancy will stay arrested. In May 1959 I knew a man whose wife had several children and was again three to four months pregnant. He bought a colocynth from an old *dhamzitsh* or blacksmith's wife in the Axt Tuzin and gave it to his wife to eat. Only in July 1960 did he have intercourse with her again; the child was born on November 19 of that same year, but died within a month of birth. This colocynth technique not only delays the arrival of children but may also produce abortions; it is not considered as efficacious as the charms written by *tulba*.

Aside from any questions of physiological possibility, a word should be said about the social functions of possessing a sleeping child. These are basically three in number: (1) as an excuse for a woman with too many children to avoid having any more; (2) as a way for a barren woman to avoid having her husband divorce her, and coincidentally to be "one up" on women who have children; and (3) as a way for a woman to explain away the birth of a child several years after a divorce or a husband's death.

anwuchlbras

However, any sort of charm is immediately rendered inefficacious if the person who bears it goes into or over water. A bath will render it ineffective, as will a sea voyage or even a mere river crossing. This stricture applies both to protective charms that a person may have with him and to injurious ones that someone else may be using against him. Under such circumstances, a charm must be put inside a loaf of bread to retain its potency. By the same line of reasoning, women who have been "blocked" internally, usually by means of a charm written by a *fqih*, may then bathe in the sea and afterwards have intercourse with their husbands without danger.

A *fqih* must be paid for charm-writing, and when, for example, a young man about to be married does not give a present to the *tulba* at the Friday mosque, they take their revenge upon him in the following way. They write a formula on the blade of a jackknife and sit by a path along which the young man is expected to pass. One of them holds the knife open, but hidden from view. When the young man comes by, the *talib* (sing. of *tulba*) who is holding the knife calls out to him by name, and at the instant the groom replies, he snaps the knife shut. The symbolism in this action is obvious, and it is said to render the young man impotent until the knife has been opened up again. On the third and last night of the marriage ritual, if a groom should find himself in this unenviable position and suspect the reason for it, he may plead with the *tulba* to open the knife and give them whatever presents they require.[9]

All the above are more or less legitimate means by which a *fqih* can exercise his specialized knowledge in the writing or fabrication of charms and thus supplement his income. A classic case of a somewhat more dubious method of income supplementation was that employed by a *fqih* from Ikhuwanen in the Igzinnayen. During the protectorate, he came across the French-Spanish border to the Wednesday market of Tawrirt with a piece of paper cut into the shape of a 1,000-peseta note. Somehow he managed to transform it into a real note of the same denomination that would remain real for twenty-four hours and would then turn into ordinary paper once again. He changed the note immediately by buying soap at a local shop in the market, but the next day the irate shopkeeper, on discovering what had happened, told the Spanish authorities, who got in touch with the French *Affaires Indigènes* officer at Buridh in the Igzinnayen. The *fqih* in question was caught and awarded a stiff jail sentence. There were several other similar cases, and thus, during the protectorate, the markets on the borders of the French and Spanish zones were centers not only of contraband (*trabandu*) but of counterfeiting as well!

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Old *dhizuhriyin*, sorceresses, are found here and there throughout the region. In the Monday women's market at Azghar in the plain, there was one in 1955 who could retell the past and foretell the future on a duro coin, after a girl looked at it, thought about her past life, then placed it in the palm of her hand. Another one in Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash was a divineress who drew in the sand with a stick.[10] A third in Bu 'Airma of the Axt Tuzin was a lost-and-found specialist: a person who had lost any object would give her a copper peseta to scrutinize; she would do so and then tell where to find it, for which the person would pay her one or two duros.

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[9] This practice is also attested by Justinard, op. cit., 1926, pp. 57-58, and by Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 162, for the Igzinnayen.

[10] The scapula of a ram slaughtered at the 'Aid l-Kbir may also be employed in divination: if the bone has a black spot on it, it presages a good harvest, and if not, a poor one. If the horns of the same ram are burned, snakes will never enter the house.

Such a woman almost invariably teaches her daughter those techniques of *suhur* that she knows; other women, when they get to know of her reputation, also come to learn from her, often during Ramadan, when sorcery is said to be particularly prevalent. Sorcery generally stems originally from the *tulba,* who pass it on to interested women, at a price, and the women can then work it on anyone they want (most often their husbands). As mentioned above, it can be of a good or an evil kind, but it is usually thought of as evil. Although it can turn two previous enemies into friends, it can also work the other way around; and although it can cause a roving husband to love his wife again, it can also kill somebody, depending on the intentions, circumstances, and ingredients employed by the administering sorcerer or sorceress. A great many cases, both those handled by *tulba* and those handled by *dhizuhriyin* have to do with unrequited love. We provide some further examples, the first of which is a slightly more complex variant of the *tahjij* case discussed above:

A man who lusts after another's wife may give a copper coin to a sorceress, or to the wife's sister if he can persuade her to help him. The woman with the coin then arranges to sleep in the same room with the wife, and when the latter has fallen into slumber, the woman passes the coin into the wife's vagina and quickly removes it. Then she cuts off some of the woman's hair, and on the following day she gives the man who has commissioned her services both the hair and the coin, for which he pays her 10-20 duros. He now takes the coin to a *fqih,* who writes on it. The man then ties both the hair and the coin securely to the branch of a tree, and from now on, whenever the wind blows the woman will start to menstruate. Her husband will eventually become annoyed enough at this to divorce her, at which point the man removes the coin and hair from the tree, and the woman ceases to menstruate.[11] One informant told me that he had tried this method and had found it effective.

Similar practices are legion. If a man wants a girl to fall in love with him, he may masturbate and mix his sperm with some sugar or candy which he then sees to it that the girl eats (again through the offices of a *dhazuhrith*); or he may contrive to have a sorceress obtain some of the girl's head hairs, which he then burns one at a time. In either case, it is believed that the woman will go crazy for him.[12]

On the other hand, if a young couple are in love, and the young man should change his affection and marry another girl, the mother of the girl who has been slighted invites the young man to her house for tea. She holds two wool cards with unwashed wool between them, and then calls out the young man's name (just as the *talib* does with the open jackknife in the practice mentioned above). As he answers, she takes a stroke with the cards. She does so three times, and if he has answered each time, she then locks the cards together and hides them away. As long as the cards are together the young man will remain impotent. Coon remarks in this connection that the wool serves as a symbol of softness,[13] which is no doubt true, but of greater importance is the locking together of the cards, which "imprisons" the young man's penis as does the symbolic closing up of the knife by the *talib.*

If a girl is interested in a young man and he does not reciprocate, she may walk in front of or behind him in such a way that he will see her. She picks up some earth, which she arranges in such a way that his right foot will tread on it. She picks up the earth and goes with it to a sorceress, who says a few words over it. The girl puts the earth in her belt, and the young man will then come panting after her.

In Ajdir, if a married woman is internally blocked so that her husband cannot have satisfactory intercourse with her, she goes to the beach very badly dressed and wearing no Arab trousers under her smock. She takes with her a chameleon, the skull of a turtle, some incense, and the wings of a crow, all of which she burns. The chameleon must be burned alive, and when it explodes in the fire, her husband can then do anything he likes with her.

There is a particular kind of small insect that women put in a tiny glass jar and tie to their belts: nobody can harm then if they do this, it is thought. The insect, which costs five duros, is said to eat needles and henna, and to produce young after doing so.

For barrenness, in the plain, a woman puts several hot objects on her stomach and a sorceress sits on it.[14] In the Jbil Hmam, only hot bread is used, and the services of the sorceress are not solicited.

Women who are jealous of each other frequently have recourse to *suhur.* If at a marriage ceremony the women of one lineage are jealous of those of another and want to best them at singing and dancing, an old woman of one lineage takes a mouthful of salt and olive oil which she then spits out into the fire in the courtyard where the tambourines are warmed up. This act makes the women of the other lineage quarrel amongst themselves and leave the festivities.[15]

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[11] Coon, op., cit., 1931, p. 162, reports the identical practice in the Igzinnayen; but there the hair and the coin are tied to a stake driven into an irrigation ditch. Whenever the stream causes the coin to move, the women will menstruate.

[12] Similarly, it is widely believed that should a jackal urinate in a goat's ear, the goat will fall madly in love with it and will follow it anywhere.

[13] Ibid., p. 162.

[14] Also in the plain, either or both partners to a marriage, if it is one which has long been without issue, are said to have been born on the day of the moon of Tha'ashurth (10 Muharram).

A further feature of *suhur* is that the spell can be invoked in such a way as to last a definite length of time—e.g., a month, a year, five years. In 1956 the second wife of one of my informants put a year's *suhur* on him, but after the year was up he got tired of her and divorced her. He said that in this instance her sorcery was not particularly efficacious, as he was aware of her action as soon as she had performed it. Five years later, he believed that his first wife was using *suhur* on him, on his third wife, on the youngest son by the latter, and even on his mother as well—by putting ground-up snakes and frogs' heads in their food, which brought out scabs and rashes on their hands. It was, he opined, a matter of sexual jealousy, for he was then only visiting his first wife and her children four or five times a year. When his visits increased, he lost the rashes.

Among the Aith Waryaghar, the principal manifestation of witchcraft, as opposed to sorcery, is the evil eye, which in Rifian has at least three different designations: *it'aqqar; dhittawin n-yugdhan,* "eyes of the people"; and *dhittawin ta'affanin,* "evil eyes." (In Moroccan Arabic it is simple called *l-'ain,* "the eye," and in Classical Arabic there are some forty synonyms for it.[16]) It represents a natural capacity of the person who possesses it to harm or ruin objects or living organisms merely by glancing at them. Although a person who has it soon comes to realize that he has it when others point out to him the damage he has caused, the Aith Waryaghar of the Jbil Hmam do not believe that the eyes of a person with the evil eye exhibit any unusual characteristics in terms of size, color, shape, intensity of gaze, etc. (contrary to the belief in the Central Atlas, for example, where eyebrows joined together over the bridge of the nose are a sure sign). At one time I thought it might be significant that the man in the Aith Turirth with possibly the lightest shade of blue eyes in the region is also considered to possess the evil eye (the fact that he is also a member of the Darqawa order may not appear relevant, but it underscores the notion that only Muslims, and not Christians or Jews, are credited with having the Evil Eye[17]); but I rejected this idea after having reflected on the very high percentage of light eyes in Waryagharland. The man in question is said to have looked once at a pot, and the pot broke; he is also said to have gazed at a pet goat belonging to the then *mqaddim,* and the goat sickened and died. When he became uncomfortably aware of his baleful gaze, through the vociferous complaints of the *mqaddim,* who was his own sister's husband, his natural capacity, I was told, waned to some extent. Even so, those people who still felt uneasy took the necessary precautions when he was on the premises.

The precautions are of various sorts: the skull of a mule or a donkey put up on a pole outside the house or, more likely, in the vegetable or maize garden, protects the garden from the evil eye, while a blackened pot put on the roof of a newly constructed house, but before the post-construction sacrifice of a chicken or other animal, protects the house. Both of these are common preventive measures in the Jbil Hmam, and I have seen them often. Women wear a single boar's tusk around their necks and put one around the necks of their children as well. It is noteworthy that the tusk is the only part of the boar that is ever utilized for any purpose at all; like the mule and donkey skulls in the garden, it supports the Aith Waryaghar contention that most animals or birds that are tabooed as food have medicinal properties of one sort or another (a subject that will be explored further in a later section).

tusk

The *Jnun*

Jnun (the Moroccan Arabic plural of *jinn*) is a term of reference, never of address, for the invisible and supernatural beings that God created parallel to man, on earth. While men were made out of earth or clay, *jnun* were created out of fire or a smokeless flame (according to Sura LV, 15, of the Qur'an, and according to most general text books on Islam; the Moroccan accounts vary slightly, and one informant—not a very sophisticated one—denied the creation from fire entirely). God placed them on earth prior to mankind. From the *jnun* the devil, Shitan or Iblis, is said to have originated (Sura XVIII, 50);[18] thus the *jnun*, in the great majority, are conceived of as inherently harmful, malicious, and evil. It may be that owing to their prior occupancy of the earth, they resent the intrusion of mankind upon it, and that for this reason they go out of their way to harm men, from whom they are generally believed to be indistinguishable save in certain small but very important particulars.

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[15] Also cited by Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 162, with no differences in detail, for the Igzinnayen.

[16] Kenneth Brown, personal communication, April 29, 1967.

[17] A camera is recognized to be a machine and not a natural capacity inherent in the photographer, but as no Aith Waryaghar, to speak of, own cameras and have only seen them in the hands of Christians who may be rash enough to try to take pictures of their women, the men, given their jealousy, do their utmost to prevent this, and the women flee. In 1959 at a marriage ceremony in the house of a friend, I had a camera stolen which had a film in it. My host stopped the whole proceedings to curse roundly at everyone present, and a thorough search was initiated. The camera was found the next morning, undamaged, halfway down a hillside, but the film had gone. The guilty party was never found, but both I and my host suspected at the time that it must have been the jealous brother of one of the girls who had been dancing in the courtyard. In 1955, at another marriage ceremony in the Aith Turirth, at which both the Spanish tribal administrator and I were present, a middle-aged man present told the *interventor* that the latter could kill him if he wanted to, but that he would never let either of us photograph his daughter, and that indeed he would kill her if we tried to do so!

According to a Moroccan legend cited by Beneitez,[19] God began to create the world on a Sunday and finished on the following Friday, just before the sunset prayer. Time, however, ran short, and He was unable to complete the feet of the new creatures, the *jnun*. It seems that He also neglected to give them a supra-labial furrow, and that because He did not have time to finish their feet, they have donkey's or goat's hooves when they appear in their "real" form. However, as compensation, God told them: "You will be like men and will live with them on earth, but they will not see you, although you will see them."

The *jnun* have a Sultan, but it is not entirely clear whether he is Sidna Sulaiman (King Solomon, also the ruler of the animal kingdom) or Sultan Sanharush; however, most Moroccan accounts would favor the latter—at least one "race" of *jnun* is called, in Rifian, *Isanharushen*. There are Muslim, Jewish, Christian, and heathen *jnun*, urban *jnun* and tribal *jnun*, *jnun* of all classes, types, and colors, and of all professions. They may or may not be more numerous than mankind, but one point often hinted at in the literature but never, to my knowledge, made explicit is that each and every person on earth has his "opposite number" in the world of *jnun*. Both the existence of *jnun* and some reference to their functions are expressly stated in the Qur'an. Beneitez would have it that *jnun* are only visible from about 11.00 p.m. until 1.00 a.m., except on Fridays, when they travel all over the earth until dawn.[20]

Jnun take all possible forms, even adopting those of domestic animals in order to live with human beings and exert their malicious influences over them. Dogs, cats, and jackals make very harmful *jnun* indeed, and in the Igzinnayen jackals that are transformed *jnun* are said to guard buried treasures in the bottom of caves.[21]

Jnun may enter anywhere, even if all doors and windows are closed and locked. Their canine manifestations are said not to cause hydrophobia, but *jnun* in general are considered responsible for most other illnesses—fever, paralytic attacks on the nervous system, hemorrhages, etc. Beneitez reports that during their "time off" the *jnun* flee from men and frequent places that are dirty, humid, shaded, or deserted: walls, ovens, cemeteries, isolated tombs, drains, small bridges, corners of mosques or synagogues, ravines, river banks, rocks, thickets.[22]

Indeed, once when an Aith Waryaghar friend visited the Alhambra in Granada with me, far from commenting upon its beauty or its importance as an Islamic architectural monument, he opined that it was full of *jnun*. I would disagree with Beneitez about cemeteries, however, for my informants said that cemeteries (and, by extension, saints' tombs) are among the few places that *jnun* do not frequent. Any person who thinks he is being pursued by them may sleep in a cemetery with impunity, for nothing will happen to him while he is there. In Waryagharland, the Thanda Hawa lagoon and the Azru n-Srith rock by the Nkur River are both places where *jnun* are said to congregate, and many people who are afflicted by them often wander there in a state of trance. In 1955, by the Nkur River in the Aith Turirth, I was pointed out a place in a barley field where a light had been seen and where the *jnun* would eat and dance.

There may be "good" *jnun*, but if so, they are, in Waryagharland, very few and far between. Jewish and most Negro *jnun* are not considered dangerous to Muslims, but Christian and Muslim ones, in that order, are indeed so considered. (Blacks and Jews are traditionally, of course, on the bottom rung of the social ladder, without political importance or effectiveness.) Here again, we may discern the reflection or indeed mirror-image of the Moroccan Muslim social order in the *jnun* world; the *jnun* may be said to point an accusing finger at their human counterparts, while they continually "needle" them.

Like other Moroccans, the Aith Waryaghar immediately begin to employ circumlocutions when they think that *jnun* are near—*aithbab umxan*, "masters, owners of the place"; *aithbab w-ukhkham*, "owners of the house" (lit., "of the room," to distinguish them from the human *aithbab n-taddarth*, the Rifian

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[18] But Sura II, 34, implies that he is one of the angels, even though in Islam the doctrine of the devil exists in contraposition with the doctrine of *mala'ika* or angels.

[19] Valentin Beneitez Cantero, "Supersticiones Marroquies y Tatuajes en la Zona," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados por la Academia de Interventores durante el Curso 1949-50*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1950, pp. 101-135, esp. pp. 120-124.

[20] Beneitez, op. cit., 1950, p. 121.

[21] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 155.

[22] Beneitez, op. cit., 1950, p. 121.

"owners of the house"[23]); and *araddja w-ukhkham,* "the lady, mistress, of the house" (again, lit. "room"), a *dhajinnixth* who is otherwise referred to, when men think she is not present, as *dhamza,* "ogress," or *dhursra,* "hyena," both terms indicating her liking for human flesh. She is invisible, of course, and walks below the earth; she is believed to install herself in the house and become its real mistress as soon as the sacrificial chicken has been killed on the threshold. This *jinniya* appears to men as a beautiful woman—but if they look carefully, with cloven hooves—and entices them into her subterranean lair, where she devours them with gusto.[24]

The threat of *jnun* is constant, and one must be very very careful of them. In the Aith Turirth, in the late 1940's and early 1950's, one of my informants was possessed by a *dhajinnixth,* who would appear to him in his sleep as a beautiful woman and would start to choke him so hard that he could not cry out. The following day, he would sit for hours in silence as a result. One of this man's female relatives was also possessed once, by a male *jinn;* he would appear to her in the guise of a handsome man and (like a good Waryaghar husband) beat her, after which she would strike herself and start to howl like a dog. Some people may be struck dumb for as long as a month by *jnun,* while others simply go crazy.

In 1955 a young female informant from the Aith Bu Ayyash said that when she was ten years old, she came out of the local cinema in al-Husaima to find a *jinn* with lighted candles on its head. She did not look at it, for she said it would have killed her if she had done so. Her paternal uncle was once followed by two *jnun* transformed into little children, but walking on all fours—which shows that *jnun* may manifest themselves in any and every way to different people. He asked them where they were going, and they replied that they were on their way to the slaughterhouse. He knew then that they were not deformed children at all, but *jnun,* for they are particularly attracted to two things: blood and water.

It is generally believed that at any market day only one-third of those who are present are human beings; the other two-thirds are *jnun,* and they are very much "on duty" in the marketplace. Their love of blood is proverbial, and therefore, if a man wishes to see them, he must go to the slaughterhouse and dab the little finger of either hand into the blood of the very first animal (whether cow, goat, or sheep) that has been sacrificed that morning. He must put a dab of its blood on his forehead between the eyes, another on the tip of his nose, and yet another on each cheek. He may then see the *jnun* and everything that they are doing, but he must remain very calm and quiet and not utter a word. Should he ever look surprised or astonished, the *jnun* will vanish immediately and will either kill him on the spot or blind him permanently. A variant of this form from the plain: if anyone wishes to see the *jnun,* he gets a black cat and puts it in a frying pan. The *jnun* appear, and if the petitioner remains quiet, their *qaid* then arrives. If the petitioner can maintain his calm and fearless attitude, he may ask anything he wants of the *qaid* of the *jnun* and his wish will be granted. In this instance, he has, at least, more of a chance than in that of the Aith Turirth related above; but in the Aith Turirth it is also believed that, for example, anything a *jinn* may give a person will sooner or later be lost.

Jnun are considered to be more dangerous in the water than they are on land; perhaps this is a reason for their prevalence in the Thanda Hawa lagoon and hard by parts of the upper Nkur River. However, just as they love blood and water, they detest metal and salt. As stated earlier, any charm is rendered ineffective if its wearer crosses water without previously putting it inside a loaf of bread; if the charm is against *jnun,* however, it must be put inside a metal container. By the same token, a "Fatima's Hand" charm, being of copper, is also a protection against *jnun;* during the Ripublik, when a man left his house with his rifle in his hand, the *jnun* could not touch him because of the metal gun barrel.

Jnun are very likely to attack newborn babies. When a woman gives birth to a child, in the plain, a hideously ugly *dhajinnixth* called *amzaghar Tigharya,* who is dressed in filthy black rags, is said to leap forward to grab it. But before delivery, those who are wise take some salt and a knife (or salt on a knife) and place them beside the expectant mother in order to thwart the ogress. When the child is a little older, the mother herself puts some salt in the rags in which she swaddles it on her back, for the same purpose.

Another way to avoid the *jnun* and their evil effects is to recite the Qur'anic verses called *Ayat al-Kursi* (Sura II, 255, 256). It is necessary to materialize *jnun* in order to get rid of them; there are *tulba* who can do this, for a fee, by writing various *suras* from the Qur'an until the *jnun* appear. To make them disappear, the paper on which these *suras* are written is either burned or moistened in order to dissolve the ink.

During the month of Ramadan, at least, the *jnun* are locked up, and this is one time of the year when all humans are free from their depredations, even though sorcery of the *suhur* varieties may then run rampant. There are, however, two very limited categories of persons whom the *jnun* cannot harm at any time: saints who have the *baraka* (but only those saints, for the ordinary "lay holy" *imrabdhen* are by no means immune); and brides and grooms on their wedding day—"for a bride has even more respect due her than a saint." Nonetheless, lowlanders point out that there is a pitfall in the latter case: *jnun* marry just as humans do, but the difference is that the bride mounted on the mule looks backward, not forward. They say that in the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, in particular, there are many *jnun* weddings, and that if ordinary Rifians do not watch carefully in their own wedding processions, the *jnun* may substitute their own bride for the human one and nobody will be the wiser.

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[23] The Igzinnayen employ *aithbab n-taddarth* indiscriminately for human and *jnun* "owners of the house."

[24] In the Rif she is not personalized as 'Aisha Qandisha, as she is in Tangier and in the neighboring Jbala. In Tangier, 'Aisha Qandisha is a household word, although in recent years, with growing secularization, sophistication, and skepticism, she has become something of a local joke.

I conclude these remarks on *jnun* with a rather dramatic case history, one that was still in progress when I finally left the Rif and Morocco at the end of 1967. The object of this attack by *jnun* was the youngest sister of one of my best informants in the Aith Turirth. In 1959 she had married a young man and had gone to live with him in his own community in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of the Igzinnayen. All went well for a good six or seven years, but by the autumn of 1966 she began to have fits in which she was possessed by *jnun*, and which would last for two or three hours at a time. During these fits (possibly *ash'ardh*, a sort of epilepsy that Rifians equate with jnun-possession), she began to speak both Arabic and Spanish, of neither of which she had previously known a word, and she began to predict local events in the immediate future.

What had happened was that the young woman and her husband had knocked down and rebuilt their house earlier that year, but they had not reckoned with the fact that a *dhajinnixth* had owned part of this same house some ninety years earlier. The daughter of the *dhajinnixth* (or possibly her granddaughter) was still very much on the premises, and she was a *dhazuhrith* or sorceress of the first caliber. Since she wanted to give birth to her own child in the same house where her mother (and/or grandmother) had been born, she was furious when she found that the house had been torn down. She then had a terrible row with my friend's sister, told her many things, and said that she would haunt her. The young woman was already in a seizure, and she now picked up an axe and started swinging it around her head. She had to be shut in a room, where she began to demolish all the furniture in sight.

I was told that when she had these spells, five or six people needed to grab her and hold her down, for she might easily have killed someone. When the seizures were over, she remembered nothing of what she had done or any of the havoc she might have caused. She would yell at someone to go fetch nonexistent meat or sardines from such-and-such a room, and the person, knowing that there was nothing of the sort in the room, would go to get them anyway in order to humor her. Then, as my friend said, "When he brings them out, they vanish on other people's plates."

The *dhajinnixth* made the father of the young husband pay for the naming ceremony of her own baby and made him sacrifice two sheep. She also said that if her child remained healthy during the first seven days after its birth, the young woman would remain healthy, but that if it should die, the young woman would also die. The child lived, however, and the young woman (whom I had known as a teen-age girl, and who had always seemed remarkably fit) was still completely under the spell of the sorceress when I left the field. Her husband was working in a radio appliance factory in Holland when all of this began, but fell sick himself and was in the hospital for two weeks when he heard the news. He returned home to take his wife to the tomb of Sidi Malik in the Ibuqquyen, said to be very good for getting rid of *jnun* and *suhur* spells; finding no help there, he then took her to the tomb of Sidi 'Ali Bu Sarghin in Meknes. The last I heard of the matter was that she was "better," but not appreciably so.

The dangers, thus, are great; but as, in Islamic thought, the angels stand more or less in contraposition to Shaitan or Iblis, so do saints, if they are powerful and "accredited" ones—that is, with *baraka* to spare—stand in contraposition to *jnun*.[25] Moreover, the notion of virginity has a special *baraka*, so to speak, all its own.

The most detailed account of *jnun* in Morocco is that of Westermarck,[26] but nowhere in it does he offer a really relevant sociological theory about *jnun*. The *jnun* are, above all, a rather malicious mirror image of Moroccan (and Muslim) Man. Given the over-abundance of *jnun* "opposite numbers" to mankind, the Moroccan Muslim social order is reduplicated, in a somewhat vague, warped, and distorted manner, in the spirit world. One must "play ball" with the *jnun*, and one must, above all, observe the rules of the ball game, because, as, in a sense, "caricatures" of mankind, they are easily offended. For these reasons, the sociology of the *jnun* is, all told, a kind of sociology of the human condition and specifically of Moroccan Muslim man, albeit in reverse: a social order of the invisible and only faintly knowable, and a social categorization of Moroccan man's other self. The *jnun* thus provide a "Mirror for Man."

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[25] For a preliminary view of this question, see David M. Hart, "Morocco's Saints and Jinns," *Tomorrow*, Vol. 7, No. 1, Winter 1959, pp. 45-54.

[26] E. Westermarck, op. cit., 1926, Vol. 1, Chapters IV-VI, pp. 262-390. Westermarck's account ends up with the idea that *jnun* represent all that is uncanny in nature, which I find overly obvious and rather lame. The mere fact of their invisibility and that they are addressed by circumlocutions would indicate this.

Other Supernatural Beings

Aside from the *jnun* proper, there are a number of other supernatural beings in which the Aith Waryaghar believe. Most of them are also essentially evil, but they are all subsidiary to the *jnun* in importance.

One such being is the *khiyar*, in whom lowlanders, but not mountaineers, believe. He resembles a very tall man, is capable of speech, and comes out at night. One night a man was walking home and found a stranger seated on a rock. The latter asked for a match but the man was afraid and said he had none. He kept on walking, and the stranger started to throw stones at him. Then the man turned round and sat on the rock where the stone-thrower, who was in reality a *khiyar*, had been sitting. He asked the *khiyar* to let him alone, for he had no matches, and as he spoke the *khiyar* faded away and disappeared into nothing.

On another occasion, a man who had been attending a marriage went home and found a *khiyar* lying on the floor with a sheet over him. The man went after the *khiyar* with a knife, and the *khiyar* turned into a toad. The next morning the man found a toad beside his house with his knife in it.

A third instance: once a boy from Bu Jibar was

Aith Turirth, and the other in the Igzinnayen, between Ikhuwanen and Iharrushen in the Asht 'Asim clan, beside the Nkur (there called the Bayyu) River. At the former spot an ogress is said to have actually lived, and the latter is so called because it is shaped rather like a human head.

The *dhamza*, according to some, looked like a hyena; according to others, she had hair so long and matted that she could tie it around her waist like a belt, and breasts so long and pendulous that she could throw them over her shoulders. She was incredibly ugly and was capable of producing children with *amziw*, her husband, who was as ugly as she was but less dangerous: for her diet consisted entirely of human flesh and bones, a point on which all informants are agreed. It is also believed that she occasionally had intercourse with *bu sib'a iziddjifen*, a seven-headed monster, of whom more later. Recollections about *amziw*, the male ogre, are fewer, but he is said to have been able to turn himself into a cat or a dog.[27]

Once a man named Hammu was plowing in the Ibuqquyen. A woman, who was a *dhamza* in disguise, came up to him and announced that she was his paternal aunt. He replied that his father had no sister, but she kept the conversation going. Hammu's wife nudged him, saying *sotto voce* that the woman was an ogress and would eat him; but he did not pay attention, and his wife went off with their children. When he arrived home, followed by the ogress, he told her to tie up the cows. She did so but tied them up by their hooves, not by their horns, as Rifians do. Then he told her to prepare eggs for dinner. She did not know how to break eggs properly, and pieces of eggshell fell in the bowl. Then when night fell, and nobody was around, she announced that she was going to eat him, and she did. The next day, two of Hammu's brothers appeared and told the *dhamza* to open the door, asking loudly where Hammu was. She replied that he was gone from Waryagharland, and today people only talk about it as a joke.

Dhasardunth imdhran, the "she-mule of the cemetery," is said, in Ajdir and the plain, to appear when anyone dies who is destined to burn in Hell. She brays loudly (which no normal mule can do) so that the rest of the dead will neither want nor accept the person destined for the Fire. In the Aith Turirth, the same she-mule, it is said, will appear when the world comes to an end. A grass resembling the shoots of broad beans will grow from all the graves in the cemetery, and the mule will eat it, thus making it impossible for the dead to be resuscitated. But if a man has taken good care of his cat and his dog in this life, it is said that they will stand by his grave and chase the she-mule away.

Finally, there are *Dujjar* (Ar. ad-Dajjal, the "Anti-Christ"), and *Hajuj* and *Majuj* (Gog and Magog), who will appear as well when the world ends. *Dujjar* is said to pick things up with one hand and eat them with the other; all of this is related in a book called in Arabic *Sitta u-Sittin 'Aqida* (Sixty-six Religious Beliefs).

Dreams and Their Interpretations

Dreams (*dhi'arja*) and the interpretations thereof are the subject of a special book called *Tashrih al-Manam* or *Tafsir al-Manam* (Anatomy or Explanation of Dreams), copies of which are kept in most Friday mosques. Following are examples from it, or from the beliefs of the highland Aith Waryaghar:

1. If a person dreams that a bride has left his house, someone in his family will die. Contrarily, if he dreams that a bride has entered his house, he will have good luck.
2. If a person dreams of clear water in a river, he will become rich. If he dreams of muddy water, he will get sick, or have bad luck, or the forces of government will jail him.
3. If a person dreams that he is missing a tooth or having one extracted, one of his goats or one of his children will die.[28]
4. If a person dreams that he has fallen down a ravine, or that his house has fallen down, a member of his immediate family, usually his father or his mother, will get sick or die.[29] However, if a child dreams that he has fallen into a ravine, he will either grow big or grow up very fast. (These two kinds of dreams, about similar events, are thus inconsistent with each other in terms of interpretation).
5. To dream that one is writing a letter or a book means a long life.
6. To dream of someone with a long beard brings good luck to the dreamer.[30]
7. If a person dreams that he is trying to escape from a wild animal and that his feet are stuck in mud or some other substance, it means that another person is trying to keep him from doing what he wants to do.
8. If a person dreams that he is wearing a *silham* ("burnous") and/or riding a horse, he will have a good life and the government will give him a position of authority. Similarly, if a person dreams that he has bought a mule, he will either become rich or have a long life or both.
9. To dream of eating eggs means a good harvest that year.
10. If a person dreams that he is crying, he will always be happy and contented.
11. If a person dreams that he is taking a trip in a truck or a car, someone in his family will die. If he dreams of being in an airplane crash, there will be hunger that year.
12. If a person dreams of his deceased kinsmen, the latter are asking him for *sadaqa*. However, if he dreams that one of his deceased kinsmen is asking him for a jillaba or any other of his possessions, this means that someone in the family, usually his son or his brother, will soon die.[31]
13. If a person dreams that he sees someone else naked, that person will become poverty-stricken. However, should he dream that he himself is naked, nothing will happen.
14. If a person dreams that he sees a marriage ceremonial party enjoying themselves in his or in a kinsman's house, then one of the kinsmen, although not necessarily the same one, will soon die. It is in any case, considered extremely bad

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[28] From my notes: On November 24, 1960, in the field, my wife dreamed that some of her teeth were being removed, and on the following day one of my top informants lost 6 goats, out of a herd of 10 full-grown ones, 12 kids and 3 sheep. Removal of teeth is equated with the removal or loss of animals.

[29] Again, from my notes: my wife, one night in 1961, dreamed, while in the field, of an apartment building falling down, and several members of my host's family were nervous and sick for several days.

[30] On June 4, 1960, the night before the 'Aid l-Kbir of that year, an informant dreamed that I grew a beard; and in fact the following year, I did so.

[31] On November 18, 1960, one of my informants dreamed that his late father had asked him for a jillaba, and his baby son died the following afternoon.

luck to pass a wedding party on a road or path.[32]

15. If a person dreams that he or a kinsman falls into a stream or stream bed, he will either fall ill or the government will make trouble for him.[33]

Certain obvious correlations can, of course, be made here: brides leaving the house or wedding parties passed on the road are equated with death, as are tooth extraction, the act of falling, trips in cars or trucks, or the request for a person's possessions by a deceased kinsman, although again the act of falling, for example, may only be equated with sickness, as is muddy water, which may also mean trouble with the forces of government. Nakedness is equated with poverty, and escaping from wild animals with hindered wish-fulfillment. On the other hand, clear water, beards, writing, *silhams*, horses and mules symbolize either richness, a long life, good luck or a position of authority. However, any analysis in depth of these matters must await the attention of psychologically oriented anthropologists.

Diseases and Their Cures

The ethnomedicine of the Aith Waryaghar, and of Rifians in general, recognizes quite a wide range of diseases and attempted cures. The following are examples from the Aith Turirth.

Snakebites, when they occur, are treated either by the *imdhyazen* or by any of the very few members of the 'Aisawa order in the region. The most poisonous snakes are the Egyptian cobra and the viper (although in the Rif I have seen neither). The *imdhyazen* dig into the flesh around the bite with a knife until all the poisoned blood flows out, and they then put garlic on the wound. There is also, it is said, a poisonous lizard called *bu siba' n-tulba*, so called because one of them supposedly found its way into the slippers of seven *tulba* in succession, and bit each until he died.

For scorpion stings, salt or *shhiba* (a green grass-plant that is also used to flavor mint tea) is put on the wound. For another remedy the person who is bitten kills the scorpion, mashes it up, and rubs it on the afflicted part of the body; this supposedly effects a cure within an hour or two.

Favus or scabheadedness is supposedly cured by rubbing burned motor oil on the victim's head.

Typhus, since protectorate times, has been acknowledged to be curable only by a doctor.

For fever, the bristles of a hedgehog, the wings of a bat, or the grapevine arc (*qubbth*) of a recently married woman, is placed over a flame, and the smoke is inhaled by the patient. Sometimes hedgehogs themselves are eaten to cure fever.

Diarrhea (graphically referred as *abarud*, "gunpowder") is supposedly cured by eating much animal fat and olive oil.

For heartburn, very aged olive oil is rubbed on the victim's chest.

For tooth-rot or gumboils, a specialist puts salt in the mouth of the affected person and then blows three times into the patient's mouth. The patient pays a peseta or an egg so that the healer himself will not catch the disease, which is very contagious. The best specialist in this case is a man who has previously killed somebody with a billhook (Hajj Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugawgh was such a man).

A pain in the ribs or in the back is also best cured by a man who has killed a person with a billhook. He touches the affected area three times with a knife, and the patient is cured. When the specialist dies, this ability will pass on to his son. An orphan, or at least a fatherless child, can also effect a cure by biting the affected part.

Women sometimes take sick children to a *dhamzitsh*, the wife or daughter of a blacksmith who pricks the top of the child's head with a red-hot oleander twig.[34]

Anyone suffering from rickets ties a red thread through his right earlobe, and is supposedly cured.[35]

To cure a sty (in the eye), the patient closes his eye, straw is burned, and the smoke from it reaches the eye and supposedly cures the sty. (One informant said that he tried this remedy many times but that it never worked.)

The common cold here, as elsewhere, has no known cure.

For shock, the maternal grandmother of one of my Aith Turirth informants cured shock by putting seven stones and seven grains of barley into a milk jug. Then she put water in a larger pan and put the jug inside it. The water came to the boil by itself, there was a sound like shots being fired when it did so. Finally she put the larger pan on the affected person's head, heart, and knees, in that order, and this cured him.

For stomachache, the same old woman put a candle on the stomach of the affected person, lit it, and covered it over with a milk jug while the candle was still lit. The person's stomach was "sucked up" into the jug for five minutes; then the jug was removed, and so was the pain. The same remedy is also used to move the bellies of women around so that they may have children."

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[32] One of my informants and I did so, driving from Shawen to al-Husaima, on October 1, 1959. Half an hour later he turned my car over three times, to avoid hitting a boy on a bicycle, and we landed upright, but within one meter of a yawning precipice. He was unhurt, I had a cut hand, but the car was ruined. He attributed the accident to the fact that we had passed a wedding party, while I attributed it to his over-fast driving on a twisty mountain road!

[33] Nos. 12–15 are also cited by Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 164–65.

[34] Cf. Westermarck, op. cit., 1926, Vol. II, p. 404.

[35] Ibid., 1926, II, p. 22.

To treat a headache, this same woman filled a glass with water and wrapped a turban around it, then turned the glass and turban upside down and put her hand on the affected person's head for ten minutes, murmuring a charm that was apparently unintelligible. As she did this all the water left her glass—but the water neither wet the turban nor fell to the ground. Today all Aith Waryaghar are aware of the properties of aspirin, and use it.

Whooping cough or tonsilitis is said to be cured by fox's blood, hedgehog's blood, or crow's blood or by the blood of a ram sacrificed at the 'Aid l-Kbir.

Smallpox, or pimples: when pimples are removed, they are given to children to eat so that they will not be affected with them as adolescents.

Neither measles nor mumps had any cure that I was able to ascertain.

To get rid of a cough, one should drink seven spoonfuls of donkey's urine.

Jaundice is supposedly cured if the patient drinks his own urine.[36]

To cure warts, an afflicted person must go to an olive tree with his eyes closed, and pick a number of the leaves. He then opens his eyes, rubs his hands with the leaves and buries the leaves in the manure pile so that they will dry. The person's warts will dry up and be gone by the time the leaves are dry.

Athlete's foot will be contracted by children who eat the brains or the marrow of animals before they reach the age to fast during Ramadan.

Eye inflammation was cured by a specialist from the Timarzga by pressing a cold stone on the patient's face and then applying a burnt cloth on the temples, around the eyes, and on the forehead.

In 1964 two *shurfa* from Marrakesh came to the Rif and reportedly cured some 30 people of cataracts. They put wool over the patient's eyes and two little gold prongs at the outer corner of each eye. They then heated up two eggs, which they rubbed intact over each eye (first the right eye and then the left). From the outer corner of the eye, the viscous film of the cataract was said to dissolve into liquid and fall out of the eye in drops. Then the *shurfa* put a bandage over the patient's eyes, and told him to leave it there for three days and to remain lying on his back. The cost of the operation was 320 DH ($64), although my informant said he paid 550 DH ($110) because the *shurfa* in question stayed at his house for two weeks.

Tinith is a general condition of weakness all over the body that afflicts women who produce too many children too quickly; I was not told of a cure for it. It also refers to a Rifian theory of genetics, according to which the hair and eye color of a child may be determined. During the first forty days of pregnancy (when marital intercourse is prohibited, as it is during the first forty days after childbirth), if the woman sees a man who pleases her, it is thought that her child will have the same hair and eye color as the man in question; the sex of the child is not influenced, however.

I am in no position to comment upon the efficacy of any of these "home remedies." However, comparing my first stay in the region (1953–55) with my second (1959–67), there seemed to be some increase in the attention given at home to the sick members of the family. There was also a slightly greater awareness of the existence of doctors in the urban centers, as distinct from the traditional cognizance of local "healers" (*adhbib*, from Mor. Ar. *tbib*, "doctor") in the markets, who extract teeth with pliers (and without any anesthetic), and whose bags always contain the impacted molars of previous "patients." But behind it all, there was the basic, ever-present notion coloring all of the medical thought of the Aith Waryaghar: if God wills it, the patient will live; if not, he will die. Many were the times I offered to take sick informants and friends down river in my Land-Rover to the hospital in al-Husaima (where treatment for Moroccans was, at least in theory, free of charge). Sometimes my offers were eagerly accepted, but on many other occasions I came up against some manifestation or other of the bedrock attitude and ideology of *Insha'llah:* "If God Wills." These latter occasions, too, generally involved more serious illnesses: much ado was made about headaches or cut fingers, whereas a person who might be virtually on his deathbed would never so much as utter a groan. This is not fatalism, nor is it even resignation; it is, rather, the idea that man may propose but God disposes. The awareness of Muslims of this most basic fact of predestination is extremely acute, very conscious, and ever-present.

LEGENDS AND FOLKTALES

Aith Waryaghar legends and folktales can be divided into three categories: first, those dealing with Old Testament figures (which are also, of course, Qur'anic

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[36] A case of one yellow counteracting another?

2 as well); second, a large collection of animal fables—
which in this book will be greatly reduced; and third,
3 those dealing with people who are for the most part
hypothetical or imaginary.

Three other legends worthy of note were also collected, one about the origin of the Sbu and Mulwiya Rivers; another, a "just-so" origin tradition about the Igzinnayen; and a third, about a mythical king who once ruled over the area constituted by the Aith Waryaghar-Igzinnayen borders. These last three legends are given first, then the Old Testament legends, then the animal ones, and finally those dealing with people.

The Sbu-Mulwiya Legend: Once upon a time a boy and a girl were studying together in the same class in the mosque (improbable as this may seem, given the fact that in the Rif mosques are closed to women), and they fell in love. The *fqih* noticed this, and he put them in separate rooms. These rooms had a common wall, however, and the lovers bored a hole in the wall in order to be able to speak to each other. The *fqih* noticed this as well, and told the people about it. Furious, they came in and killed the boy. The girl died on the spot. The two were then buried in separate graves, but each grave began to sprout vines, and the vines began to grow toward each other and finally to intertwine. The *fqih* noticed this too, and angrily cut the two vines apart. At this point two separate springs gushed forth, and each became a river—that of the boy, the Wad Sbu (from Arabic *sabi*, "boy," it is said), and that of the girl, the Wad Mulwiya. (This makes a lovely piece of imagery, but there is a geographical difficulty: the sources of the Sbu and Mulwiya rivers are in fact very far apart from each other, and the rivers do not even flow together or parallel to each other. However, one would not expect the Aith Waryaghar to be aware of this, since neither river flows anywhere near Waryagharland.)

The Origin of the Igzinnayen (as seen from Waryagharland): Once a terrible disease called *ramma* (possibly Ar. "rotting" or "decay") was rampant in the territory that was to belong to the Igzinnayen. Everyone died of this disease except for one woman who escaped and ran up into the mountains. Here she met an itinerant vendor from the Sinhaja Srir who was selling cedar wood sap, which he carried in a bag over his shoulder. He inquired about her disarrayed and distraught state, and she told him of the calamity that had befallen her tribe. He took pity on her, consoled and comforted her, and soon one thing led to another and they had intercourse on the mountaintop, without benefit of a *zujiya* (marriage document) or anything of the kind. The child that resulted nine months later was born in sin, *zina*, and he became the ancestor of the I(g)zinnayen. (This etymology is of course a play on words.) The Igzinnayen are also nicknamed *Dharwa n-Sinhaja* for this reason, as well as *Dharwa n-Jallut*, "Sons of Goliath," a name that probably refers to a different legend. One informant thought that Jallut might have been the female survivor of the *ramma* disease who bore the illegitimate ancestor of the Igzinnayen, but this seems implausible. Yet it is a curious fact that the Igzinnayen rather shamefacedly own up, in one way or another, to the less than illustrious ancestry that tradition assigns them.

The Legend of King 'Azzi:[37] There was once a King named 'Azzi who ruled over the whole of the Aith Waryaghar-Igzinnayen borderland. His headquarters was the fabled Azru n-Damza, Rock of the Ogress, between Ikhuwanen and Iharrushen, and it is said that he spent much time feuding with the "Portuguese" in what is now the Aith Turirth, but what was then Igzinnayen territory. It is not known whether he was a Muslim, a Christian, or a heathen, but it appears that he was not a Rifian and that he was considered a bad and unjust man.

'Azzi one day ordered all the people in his realm to bring him tubs of kuskus that was just the right temperature. If it was either too hot or too cold, 'Azzi threatened to kill the people who brought it.

In order to reach the Azru n-Damza, the people had to cross a high bridge. King 'Azzi sat on the bridge and literally got on the back of every man who brought a kuskus tub, driving him with his feet like a donkey.

Finally a man from Iharrushen known as Bu Ghadar (who was more of a patriot than a traitor, contrary to the meaning of his nickname), got tired of 'Azzi's behavior. He called the people together and asked them if they would like to live in peace and remain unmolested; if so, he said, he had a plan. They agreed, and he said he would teach 'Azzi a lesson. Bu Ghadar's turn came to fetch a tub of kuskus, and when he reached the bridge to the Azru n-Damza the king got on his shoulders. Halfway across Bu Ghadar gave a lurch and jumped off; he, 'Azzi, and the kuskus tub all fell into the Bayyu River (the name of the Nkur above Aswil, where it flows into Waryagharland) and both he and the king were killed.

Old Testament and Qur'anic Legends

Adam and Eve: God made Adam, the first man, out of earth, and blew spirit (*ruh*) into him. God then made Hawwa (Eve) from a grain of earth that came from Adam's rib. When they grew up, God took them to Paradise (*al-Jinna*). They had no children yet, for they had no sexual organs.

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[37] Coon, op., cit., 1931, p. 21, gives a rather different version of this same legend. My version is as I heard it in 1959.

In Paradise there was a particular tree, and Adam and Eve went to it. In this tree there was a snake; and Shaitan, the devil, entered the snake and so reached Paradise. He told Eve on his arrival that her husband Adam was now married to another woman. Eve replied that there were as yet no other women in the world. Shaitan said he would show her that there were: he produced a mirror, and Eve believed her reflection to be another woman.

Shaitan now told Eve to eat some fruit from the tree, at which point Adam arrived and said that this was forbidden. Eve got angry and ate the fruit, and it went directly into her stomach. Adam then ate some, and it got stuck in his throat: hence men today have "Adam's apples," and men also think before speaking while women do not.

After Adam and Eve had both eaten the fruit, Shaitan gave them sexual organs. But when God discovered they had eaten the fruit, He threw them out of Paradise. One was thrown east, the other west, and they did their best to find each other. Adam walked by day and slept by night, while Eve walked both by day and by night. For this reason, women are more infatuated with men than men are with women.

The pair finally found each other on opposite banks of a river, and Eve turned away from Adam for a moment: this is why women have a certain shame in front of men. There was then an argument about which of them was going to cross the river to reach the other. Adam finally crossed it, and for this reason men chase after women, rather than vice versa.

Then God sent them a loaf of bread, but it slipped from Adam's hand and began to float down the river. This is why men today work to earn their daily bread. God sent them two more loaves, and Adam ate all of his loaf, while Eve only ate half of hers. This is why a man receives a full share of inheritance and a woman receives only a half share.

Finally they had intercourse, and thus arose the Banu Adam, or mankind.

Noah's Ark: Fir'awn (Pharaoh) was a prophet, and the *amghar amqqran*, the senior member of his particular *aitharbi'in* or council. He became extremely powerful and began to think that he was God. One of his *imgharen*, Nuh (Noah), who was a *nabi al-mursal* or prophet in disguise, disputed his claim. When Fir'awn asked Sidna Nuh (Our Lord Noah) if he knew that there was a God in the sky, the latter replied in the affirmative but added that nobody knows where He is. Then Fir'awn mounted a horse, shot up into the sky, and with his sword killed a fly. The fly's blood was on the sword when he returned to earth, and he said that he had killed God. Nuh told him that he was a liar; and, bearing out Nuh's words, God sent down a huge army of flies, which killed a number of Fir'awn's people. One fly got into Fir'awn's nostril and swelled up inside it until Fir'awn's head cracked like an eggshell. God then told Sidna Nuh (whom Fir'awn and even Nuh's own wife and son, as well as the rest of the *jma'th*, had considered to be an *ashhar*, a sorcerer) that He was sending a great ocean of water down to destroy all those who did not believe in Him, and that Sidna Nuh, in order to escape, had to build a very large wooden boat quickly.

So Sidna Nuh built the Ark, and he said that anyone who believed in God and in him could get aboard. A few people did so, but not Sidna Nuh's own wife and son, who still considered him a sorcerer. A male and female pair of each of the animals went aboard the Ark as well. Cock and Hen were amongst them, and thus some informants say Chicken came before Egg. When all the animals were on board, Rat, a traitor, began to gnaw a hole in the side of the Ark so that water would seep in. Boar saw this, looked at Rat, sneezed violently, and Cat leaped out of his nostril and killed Rat. Then the Ark floated off, and everyone and every animal on it was saved, and the whole of the animal and human population of the world today is the result. Those who didn't board the Ark all perished.

Igwaar

The Legend of Sidna 'Aisa (Jesus)

Muslims recognize Jesus as one of the great prophets, second only with Sidna Musa (Moses), to Muhammad, but the question they ask about him is: where is his tomb? In Islamic doctrine, he never died, and somebody else was substituted for him at the crucifixion.

Sidna 'Aisa was born at a time when his mother Maryim (Mary) was fleeing from an irate crowd. She stopped in despair under a date palm to rest, after she had eaten (God had miraculously caused the dates to fall into her hand). Then Sidna 'Aisa was born; and Muslims agree with Christians that she had not been rendered pregnant by human agency—rather, God had blown *ruh*, spirit, into her (just as He had with Adam). Sidna 'Aisa started speaking immediately after birth, and told his mother (for his father was unknown and in any case irrelevant to Islamic doctrine) not to worry, that he was a Prophet of God, and that he was Sidna 'Aisa bin Maryim (after whose name Muslims always add the phrase *Karam Ullah wujah!* "The Mercy of God on his face!").

Later, in a battle, Sidna 'Aisa split the ground with his sword, and the ground told him that he would eventually return to it. In this same battle he defended the Prophet Muhammad, whose enemies became furious against him. They rushed after Sidna 'Aisa in order to crucify him, but he melted into the crowd and escaped; they succeeded only in grabbing a Jew who was identified as Sidna 'Aisa, and it was this Jew who was crucified. Sidna 'Aisa will return only when the end of the world is at hand, in order to save it from Dujjar (Ar. *ad-Dajjal*), the Anti-Christ identified by one somewhat sophisticated informant as the Soviet Union and Communist China.

Representative Animal Fables

Hare: it is said that Hare was once a woman, turned by God into a hare because she failed to wash after menstruation.

Crow: it is also said the Crow was once a woman, turned by God into a crow for having refused to accept Islam.

Hyena: it is believed all over Morocco that anyone who eats a hyena's brain will go crazy.[38] On the other hand, anyone who eats the head of a rabbit will have excellent blood circulation.

Egyptian Vulture: this carrion eater is believed to have its heart located in its anus.

Lizards (two types) A larger gecko lizard once came to the Prophet Muhammad's enemies and pointed out his hiding place to them. The Prophet escaped, but because of this treachery these larger lizards can always be killed with impunity, and it is said that anyone who kills seven of them in a single Friday will go straight to Paradise when he dies.

The small gecko lizard, which runs all over the walls of houses and eats flies and insects, is considered to be a female saint (*tamrabit*). It may never be killed, because once when the Prophet Muhammad was wounded and escaped into a cave to hide from his enemies, a gecko lizard appeared and licked up the tell-tale bloodstains on the cave floor and outside the cave, so that the Prophet's enemies would not know where he was. For this reason, the gecko lizard has a red spot on its neck today.

is cool at
hot [illegible]
[illegible]

Spider: It is also considered very bad to kill a spider, because on the same occasion that the Prophet entered the cave, a spider was spinning its web across the cave entrance. By the time the Prophet's enemies had arrived, the entrance to the cave was covered up by the spider web.

Stork: when seen in any quantity, storks are said to presage a good harvest, (however, in the Rif they are very rare indeed, in contrast to the Moroccan Atlantic plains).

Swallow: the swallow is also considered a female saint and is not eaten.

Owl: the owl cried "*Mut! Mut!*" ("Death! Death!") and knows when people are going to die. It is considered an intelligent bird, as the following story about King Solomon, the Bat, and the Owl makes clear.

Sidna Sriman (Sulaiman = King Solomon) was the leader of all the animals. One day an ancient crone, more than eighty years old (and who had thus "entered the country of Shaitan"), came to him and said, "Why is it that you, the *amghar amqqran* of all the animals and birds, are sleeping on a miserable mat when you could be sleeping on a feather bed? Call all the birds in and tell each of them to bring you one or two feathers so that a decent bed can be made for you."

Sidna Sriman thought about this and decided that the old woman was right. He called in all the birds, and the first to arrive was Bat (considered a bird by Rifians). He told Sidna Sriman that he was in a great hurry and had to leave again as soon as possible. Sidna Sriman then pulled out all his feathers.

When all the other birds filed in, Sidna Sriman told them they would await the arrival of Owl. Owl was very late, and when Sidna Sriman asked him why, he answered, "Because I have been thinking of three things." Sidna Sriman asked him what they were. Owl then asked him: "Which is greater, earth or stones; night or day; and men or women?" Sidna Sriman wondered and replied, "Whichever of these is the stronger." Owl replied: "Of the first, stones, because all hard [rocky] earth is counted as stones. Of the second, day, because when there is a moon it is clear and like day." "And of the third?" asked Sidna Sriman. "Women," answered Owl. "Why are there more women than men?" asked Sidna Sriman. "Because," Owl answered, "all men who pay attention to women may be considered as women."

Sidna Sriman then thought of the wrong he had done to Bat, and to make amends for having taken away his feathers, he gave him the *baraka* to cure fever.

Jackal is the craftiest of all animals save *Hedgehog*. There is a lineage named Ushshannen ("jackals") in the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa of Ajdir in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; another in Iharrushen of the Asht 'Asim of the Igzinnayen; and a third in the Aith Sa'id of the Eastern Rif. In all cases the name is complimentary: it refers to the cunning and stealth of the lineage ancestor, and is in no sense totemic.

The rainbow, normally referred to as *dhasrith w-unzar*, "bride of the rain," is also often called *dhasrith w-ushshan*, "bride of the jackal," because after a storm, when a goatherd is cold and shivering and therefore wants to warm himself, a jackal can creep up and easily steal any goat he wishes.

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[38] In parts of the Moroccan Sahara, hyena's heads are prime objects for *suhur*.

It is said by the Aith Turirth that the people of the Asrafil in the Timarzga eat jackals and foxes; one informant even said that his own mother's brother had once done so. It is not *haram* (forbidden) but is looked upon with great disgust.

Of Jackal it is said that he commits two grave errors in his life: to steal goats in summer and chickens in winter, when both are scrawny. However, Jackal's greatest error of all was to get mixed up with Hedgehog—the pair being the major protagonists of Berber animal fables. These two animals are singled out for attention over all others, perhaps not only because their geographical distribution is the most nearly universal, but because Berbers consider them the most intelligent members of the animal kingdom (as Hoopoe is among the birds, elsewhere in Morocco). But the rule of thumb is that when the two are matching wits, it is always Hedgehog who wins out.

Here are four representative fables.

1. Jackal and Hedgehog were walking along together on a path one night, when Hedgehog all of a sudden spotted a trap that had been set in the path. Jackal did not see the trap and nudged Hedgehog to keep moving on: "Go on! What's the matter with you?" Hedgehog answered, "I have a great favor to request of you." Jackal asked what it was. "Just hit me," said Hedgehog. "Why?" asked Jackal. "Please, go on, hit me, and I'll tell you why afterward," replied Hedgehog. So Jackal hit him very hard, feeling a surge of pleasure as he did so. Hedgehog reeled under the blow, and said, "I'm glad you did that. This makes it very clear to me that I am smaller and more inferior and insignificant than you, and that indeed I am your inferior in every way. I think, furthermore, that in order to show your superiority to me, you should walk in front of me." "You are absolutely right," said Jackal, now full of confidence. He walked out in front of Hedgehog, and fell right into the trap a few yards up the path. He wailed, cursed, and screamed, "What shall I do? This is an awful situation!" Hedgehog, standing quietly by, replied, "Oh no, it's not so bad right now, but, my friend, it certainly will be when the owner of the trap comes by!"

2. Once a jackal was trying to steal plums from a plum tree by jumping up and down and trying to bite the fruit on the branches.[39] He was not succeeding, and Hedgehog came by to say that the owner of the tree was approaching. The jackal decided that the best way to get the fruit down was to tie his tail to the tree trunk and to pull as hard as he could. He did so, and soon became separated from his tail. All the other jackals asked him what had happened, and his explanation was that he had gone to steal chickens and had been surprised and overtaken by dogs, who bit his tail off. However, when his "agnates" chortled in disbelief, he told them he knew of a place where there were some nice figs that simply fell to the ground, waiting to be picked up.

But it was not yet June, and all the early figs were still in the tree. The other jackals, dismayed, wondered how they could get at them. Jackal suggested that he tie their tails to the tree, and when they agreed, he did so. He then sat himself down at a distance, and as they pulled away, he yelled that the owner of the tree was coming. They pulled all the harder, and thus they all pulled out their tails.

3. Once upon a time Jackal and Goatherd were great friends. Jackal would help Goatherd guard the goats, and Goatherd would share half his daily loaf of bread with Jackal at lunchtime. But this was in the Age of Innocence; eventually Jackal learned from God that his job was to steal and kill goats and sheep. So the next day he told Goatherd to round up half the goats in one direction, and said that he, Jackal, would round up the rest in another. After they did so, a goat in Jackal's half was missing. Goatherd wondered suspiciously what had happened, and finally Jackal said, "Praise be to God that I deceived you!", to which Goatherd replied, "Praise be to God that I know you for what you are!" . . . And since that time the two have been mortal enemies.

4. Jackal was once bothered greatly by fleas, which attacked him all over his body. He ran to a pond and lowered himself into it backwards, waggling his posterior on the bottom of the pond so that the fleas, who hate water, would rise to the surface. They still bothered the exposed parts of his body, however, and so he submerged completely and was drowned.[40]

Legends and Stories about People

THE FARMER, THE TWO COWS, AND THE BARLEY STRAW

A Waryaghar farmer discovered one day that two cows that were not his had broken into his land and were eating up all the straw on his strawstack. He rushed out in high dudgeon to look for the owners of the cows in order to make them pay for the damage. When the two owners were found, a squabble broke out between them, for one cow had a tail and the other had none. The argument continued for a long time, and was finally taken to the *qadi*, who demanded that the owner of each cow pay for half the barley straw that had been eaten, amounting to 50 pesetas each. The owner of the tailless cow, however, refused to pay 50 pesetas; he would pay part of it, he said, but not all, because his cow had eaten less than half the straw. How so? Because the other cow, being able to flick the flies off her back with her tail, continued to eat all the time, while his cow, without a tail to defend herself against their onslaughts, had to turn her head around with every mouthful and snap at the flies, thus losing eating time. So the man with the tailless cow would only pay 25 pesetas, and it was up to the owner of the other cow to make up the difference.

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[39] It appears that jackals are virtually omnivorous; cf. Jean B. Panouse, *Les Mammifères du Maroc*, Travaux de l'Institut Scientifique Chérifien, Série Zoologique, No. 5, Rabat 1957, p. 48.

[40] The man who told me this story is considered the local wit in the Aith Turirth, and is nicknamed "Juha" after a legendary buffoon, Si Juha, widely known in many guises in the Arab and Islamic world. Many of this man's stories are, I fear, far too filthy to record here, but he finished this one by saying, with a shrug of his shoulders, "*Manira w-ushshan!* That's the way of the Jackal!", to which one of his own agnates, also present, smiled and replied "*La, la, manira n-Juha!* No, no, that's the way of Juha!".

STORIES ABOUT THE AITH 'ARUS

As had been mentioned before, the Aith 'Arus subclan represents the mountain Waryaghar mode of thought taken to its logical conclusions. They are very violent-tempered and are considered to be rather backward by their neighbors. The following illustrative ancedotes are told by their neighbors in the Aith Turirth and Timarzga.

1. Early one morning two brothers went out to plow. The sun had risen and was blinding in intensity. They got angry at the sun and decided to shoot it dead. One brother told the other to go over to the far corner of the field with his gun, and at a given signal they aimed and fired. The result was that one of the men shot his brother through the head.

2. At the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, a man of the Aith 'Arus who had come into market on a small donkey was very conscious of the larger white donkey of a man of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. He asked him how his donkey had become so white, and the man replied that he had washed it vigorously, and with much drubbing, in the Nkur River. The 'Arus man thought this an excellent idea, flung his donkey into the river, and began to beat it to death methodically with his stick. As the donkey's lips curled back exposing its teeth when rigor mortis set in, the man exclaimed triumphantly, "You see? It's starting to get white already!"

3. A man from the Aith 'Arus had a small herd of goats, which got very wet in a heavy rain. He wanted them to dry off quickly, so he put them in the oven. . . .

4. Mint tea was introduced late to the Aith 'Arus, only after the Spanish occupation of 1926. On one occasion, an *amghar* who had acquired a tea service invited the other men of the community to taste the new beverage. He was called outside briefly, and on his return he found that the various objects making up the tea service had been divided up among those present and auctioned off in order to compensate him for his expenses. The guests had also eaten the candles, and they told the *amghar* that they thought the candy he had served was a bit rancid and that they did not like the string in the middle at all.[41]

The Aith Waryaghar as Seen By Their Neighbors: Thuri, Thuri: Thuri, Thuri means "loaded, loaded," with reference to a gun; all other Rifian tribes use the term in connection with the Aith Waryaghar, because underlying it is the principle of keeping one's word to the letter, as in this story:

A man of the Aith Waryaghar (clan unspecified, since this is an outsider's story) happened to be standing some distance away from his fig trees, guarding them, with his rifle unloaded, against thieves. Suddenly his son appeared by the trees, went up to one of them, and nonchalantly started to pick figs and pop them into his mouth. The father had spotted him from the distance but did not recognize him. He called out, "*Ay fran* [O you], get away from that tree, even if you may be my own son." He called this out two or three times, but the boy paid no attention, knowing it was his father. So the latter loaded his gun and went up to the tree, cocked the gun, and said, "I called out several times to get you away from my tree, and you did not obey. And now, even though you are my son"—for he had recognized the boy at last—"*thuri, thuri.*" And he shot his son through the head.

The reasons for the "*thuri-thuri*" reputation of the Aith Waryaghar have already been made clear throughout much of this book, and they will become even clearer before we conclude. Other tribes say of them that their land is unproductive and their tempers are terrible, as a result.

The Fqih as a Lover, and the Rabelaisian Factor:

1. An extremely good-looking woman once went to a *fqih* and asked him to rid her of the ailment from which she was suffering perhaps caused by *suhur* which had been put on her. While the *fqih* was seated, he asked her to put a pot of olive oil between her legs and to stand over it. She did so, and thus he saw a very clear reflection, in the pot, of her private

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[41] This particular story comes from an unpublished Spanish administrative report from the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, dated April 25, 1939, and which I found in the Emilio Blanco collection in 1960, although it was not written by him.

parts, which were in excellent condition. He told her, however, that she was badly diseased, and that if she would come to the mosque that night, he would cure her. So she did, bringing him his dinner as well. Afterwards he asked her to get undressed, and he did likewise. He asked her to close her eyes and lift up her right leg, and from foot to vagina he carefully counted 4-1/2 handspans; then he asked her to lift up her left leg, and he made the same handspan tabulation. Next he carefully counted 4 handspans from the top of her head to her vagina, and then he began to make love to her. The woman said, "Why, Sidi *r-Fqih*, this is just what my husband does!" He replied, "Yes, perhaps so, but he doesn't calculate the measurements!"

2. Once a *fqih* who was living in another man's house was very attracted to the latter's wife. The woman, who loved her husband, told him that the *fqih* was continually sending her barley and other gifts, and the husband hit on a plan to turn the *fqih's* attention away from his wife once and for all. He told the *fqih* that he was going out for a while and asked him to take good care of his wife. As soon as he had gone, the *fqih* started to make advances, and not long thereafter the husband returned. The wife (with her husband's knowledge) rushed the *fqih* out to another room, dressed him up as an old woman, and told him to start grinding barley on the quern. She said she would tell her husband that she had hired an old woman to grind it, and that if he got suspicious, she would cough as a signal for him to grind all the harder. So she kept coughing all night, the *fqih* perspired over the handmill without a moment's respite, and all the grain was ground by morning. When the woman later offered herself to the *fqih*, he looked aghast and fled.

3. Once again, a *fqih* living in another man's house was very attracted to the man's wife. The wife did not want this and told her husband, and they hatched the same plot as in the story above. When the husband returned, the wife told the *fqih* to get up on the shelf-like platform serving as a loft. The husband now told his wife to go fetch water, and when she left, he produced the *fqih's* wife and began to have intercourse with her, with the *fqih* himself looking on from the loft. The *fqih*, already in a compromising position, could do nothing. When the husband realized that his own wife was coming back with the water, he told the *fqih's* wife to get up into the loft, where of course she found her own husband; each demanded an explanation, and they were furious with each other. When the man's wife returned, he told her that the guilty pair were in the loft. Then he said to the *fqih* that this time he had had intercourse with the *fqih's* wife, but that he would have figurative intercourse with him if he tried to come after his wife again. So the *fqih* and his wife beat a hasty retreat.

PROVERBS, SAYINGS, AND RIDDLES

The following Aith Waryaghar proverbs, called *tkhiyith* in Rifian, and all taken from the Aith Turirth, are representative. Some have their English equivalents, given in brackets.

R-'aqr, baba-s n-shwit-shwit: Intelligence is the father of patience.

Dhafantazith, baba-s n-taqaluq: Self-importance is the father of hurriedness.

Dhamqqi tamqqi itshar ughzar: Drop by drop the river fills up.

Iharmushen ur binni taddarth: Little boys do not build houses.

Dhaqnushth dhitharraxen attas dhighinjayin ma tarraz ma tfagh dhamddjah: The *tajin* bowl where there are too many spoons will burst open [Too many cooks spoil the broth].

Ntta am ushuggwadh uyazidh: He is like a chicken's tailfeathers [He sees which way the wind is blowing: said of a "two-faced" person, *bu dhnain iqansuren*].

Argaz bra dhamgharth am dhamzidha bra yajarthir: A man without a woman is like a mosque without mats (all mosques have mats for the congregation to pray upon.)

Argaz bra dhamgharth am ukhkham bra dhimttarth: A man without a woman is like a room without a washstand (as explained by one informant, because a woman *is* a man's washstand).

Ussan addan am dhi'arqayin n-tsbih: Days (of a person's life) pass like the beads on a Muslim rosary.

Dhakhs attas s-innij am z-zith s-innij iw-aman: He always wants to be on top, as oil is on top of water (said of a person who always wants his own way.)

Innai ish n-tmsraith, itfham ish n-nadhni: He says one thing and means another.

Ur itigg arrai gi dhamgharth, itas am tamgharth: Whoever lets himself be influenced by a woman, counts as a woman (the end of the fable about Sidna Sriman and the Owl).

Aghzar ithăhun ur itiwi: A river that makes much noise can easily be crossed (the obverse of "Still waters run deep").

Shmat unighi yawren, yiddji-s ur dhmiddjish shi: If a coward escapes from a bloodfeud, his daughter will never marry.

Mmi-s n-shmat, mara isarrif arba'in sna gi dhargazt, adhidhwar ghar shmatith: The son of a coward, although he lives courageously as a man for forty years, will eventually turn out to be a coward [Blood will tell].

Conversely:

Mmi-s w-argaz, mara isarrif arba'in sna gi shmatith, adhidhwar ghar dhargazt: The son of a brave man, although he may live as a coward for forty years, will eventually turn out to be a brave man.

D-dim itawid g-khwarithsen, ikhsan dh-izuran g-'azizithsen: Blood is inherited matrilaterally, bones and veins patrilaterally.

(Moroccan Arabic) *Arja min l-khwal, ma shi min l-ghwal:* Physical characteristics are inherited from the matriline, not from the patriline.

D-dim ur itminzi ur itmarhin: Blood is not to be sold or mortgaged (illustrating the principle of segmentary opposition). Akin to this is an *izri*, a couplet, sung by girls during the Ripublik:

Ay ibrighen-nnagh, ay urawen umddzi
mara nimnagh jiranagh, r-barra ntimsa'dhi
Oh, our young men with hearts strong as thuya wood
Even if we fight among ourselves, we unite for war outside.

Aghax r-kighad, iwa ra'i, bu-r-kighad: Literally, "Take the paper and look for the cartridge" (this refers to the paper, the domain of the *fqih*, and the cartridge, the domain of the *imgharen*).

Amdhyaz n-as-dshar ur isfarraj: An *amdhyaz* does not dance in his own community.

(Moroccan Arabic) *Ma nhadhi l-hut, ma itba'ni l-qtut:* Show me no fish and no cats will follow me (a combination of "Ask me no questions and I'll tell you no lies" and "Keep your nose clean").

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There is a series of special proverbs, sayings, or beliefs about mules *isardan* (sg. *asardun*), that do not exist about any other animals and that do not fall into the category of the animal fables discussed earlier. The mule is something of a prestige animal, and the most expensive animal that can be bought in the region. It is possible that some of the concepts and images invoked in the following examples may be linked up with the notion of the fabulous "she-mule of the cemetery" discussed earlier in this chapter. Also present is the idea that an action performed by the mule with its right hoof means good luck, and with its left hoof, bad luck or death.[42]

Asardun ghars ijj umzugh ghar dhath ijjin ghar xarmin, thitta adhimmith bab-ines: If a mule puts one ear forward and the other backward, its owner will die (i.e., it is asking God that its owner die).

Asardun mara adhqaz s-udhar afusi, qarqaz dhisarfin andar i-bab-ines: When the mule is pawing the ground with its right hoof, it is digging grain-pits [a sign that the year will be good],but if it is pawing the ground with its left hoof, it is digging its owner's grave.

When a mule is purchased, and before it is brought into the courtyard of the house, a silver ring and a mattock are put in the courtyard gateway. If the mule lifts up its right foot to pass over this, it will bring good luck; but if it lifts up its left hoof it will bring bad luck (*tirth*) and hunger. (The same belief applies to a new house: if the year is a good one, the house is lucky, and if a bad one, the house is unlucky. By the same token, if a man breaks something or shouts at his wife and children, the day will be a bad one.)

If a bride, on her way to the groom's house, talks to anyone while she is mounted on the mule, or if anyone talks to her, everyone accompanying her will catch cold and fall sick, even the mule itself.

If a bride mounted on a mule looks behind her, she will return to her father's house in three days.

When the mule bearing the bride arrives at the groom's house, the bride, still mounted, starts to throw handfuls of grain at the assembled guests; if the mule should become frightened during this and start to urinate, it means that the bride is not a virgin.

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Riddles (*dhahajith*, pl. *dhihuja*), as well as stories, provide a very common way to pass the time. The following are representative (and, by Western standards, most are, we regret to say, "corny"):

Question: *Anu x-w-anu, aman walu.*
Answer: *r-ghanim.*
Q. A well on top of a well that has no water.
A. A reed.
Q. *S-barra dh-azigza, s-dhikhr dh-azzugwagh.*
A. *d-dillah.*
Q. Outside it is green, inside, red.
A. A watermelon.
Q. *Ghar ijjin jarthitsh ribda g-w-aman udha shi.*
A. *Yirs.*
Q. A mat that is always wet but never falls apart
A. The tongue.

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[42] There is, however, no corresponding belief about the undesirability of left-handedness in human beings, and the strong dichotomy between right, white and good as opposed to left, black and bad which exists in the Central Atlas has no Rifian counterpart. Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, who figured prominently in the Aith Turirth feud, was nicknamed *Bu Zirmadh* "left-handed" (while 'Amar Uzzugwagh was *Ahidar* "lame one"; Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, *r-M'addjim*, "Master," as he was such a good rifleshot; and Muh Uzzugwagh, *Bu Jillikh*, "chapped lips").

Q. *Ghari ijjin thburjutsh ribda ghars ikhsan.*
A. *dh-aqinium.*
Q. I have a window that is always full of bone.
A. My mouth and teeth.
Q. *Ghars idharen, ur ghars ifassen.*
A. *S-sarwair.*
Q. It has legs but no hands.
A. A pair of trousers.
Q. *Ghars ifassen ghars aziddjif, ur ghars idharen.*
A. *Aziddjab.*
Q. It has hands, it has a head, but no legs.
A. A jillaba.
Q. *Barqind, ur twirind.*
A. *Dhburjutsh.*
Q. It looks out, but it cannot see.
A. A window.
Q. *Izrai zright, arijbai sghight.*
A. *Thisith.*
Q. It saw me, I saw it, it wants to buy me, I want to buy it.
A. A mirror.
Q. *Arkhmi rahand, usind; arkhmi dusind, rahand.*
A. *Ashshawn n-tghatan.*
Q. When they are going they are coming; when they are coming they are going.
A. Goat's horns.
Q. *Yuri iddin idha dismunsu r-ʻayar.*
A. *Madhun.*
Q. It has risen up, it has called up, it has gone down, and the family has eaten.
A. A kuskus bowl.
Q. *Arkhmi n-gharqnagh ddjunan, arkhmi ur gharqnagh ddjuzan.*
A. *Aharkus.*
Q. When it is tied up it is full; when it is untied it is hungry.
A. A shoe.

And one of the off-color ones, which are numerous:

Q. *Arkhm iggur itimsinhadh, arkhm iqqim dhahhak.*
A. *Abshun.*
Q. It rubs together when walking, and smiles when sitting.
A. A vagina.

One note here. Rifian rhyme sense is not exactly like our own. The off-color riddles include a whole series that rhyme; some of those that I thought up were considered very funny, and others were shrugged off as not properly rhyming. Most Western jokes, with their fast punch lines, are foreign in tempo and in content to the Aith Waryaghar, if not too subtle for them. Sometimes, indeed, as is shown in some of the fables, Rifian jokes have a punch line in the Western sense, but in other cases they pass beyond an obvious one to peter out into nothing. In yet others, there is a minor punch line in every other sentence, at which the audience guffaws appreciatively, but no major one at all; in this type there is little sense of build-up to a climax, only a string of disconnected episodes.

THE CULTURAL ROLE OF *AY-ARALLA-BUYA:* POETRY, MUSIC, AND DANCING

The famous refrain of *ay-aralla-buya* and the rhymed couplets or *izran* (sing. *izri*) that accompany it point to one of the most enduring of all Rifian and Aith Waryaghar values. *Ay-aralla-buya* is much more than a mere culture trait, it is an institution; and it can safely be said that any tribe in which it is not chanted or sung is not Rifian. In the west, the Bni Bu Frah and the Aith Yittuft, for example, both have it, but the Targist and the Sinhaja Srir tribes do not. In the east, the Iqarʻayen and the Ixibdhanen have it, and the transhumants of the Ibdharsen and the Aith Bu Yihyi have a modified version of it, but the Arabs of the Ulad Stut do not. And to the south it is not chanted in either of the Jbalan tribes of the Branis and the Marnisa. The style of *ay-aralla-buya* varies somewhat from one tribe to the next, but its most prototypical versions are those of the Central Rif—and today it is generally just these versions, perhaps from the Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, and Thimsaman in particular, that are heard most frequently over the Rifian language and music hour which is broadcast daily on Radio Maroc.

Ay-aralla-buya is a highly symbolic, if equally highly fragmented, theme running through most of Rifian life, and in its way it is a commentary on Rifian history, hopes, and aspirations. In their emphasis on both the frustrations and the triumphs of day-to-day life and love, the *izran* couplets, if systematically collected year by year (for they change constantly, and new ones are rapidly invented), would provide the raw anecdotal material for such a commentary.

Although the full refrain is in fact pronounced *Ayara liyara, ayara labuya*, the spelling *ay-aralla-buya* comes nearest to what it is supposed to mean, in popular etymology: "Oh Mother [Lit. "Lady"] and Father." The chanting of this refrain and the accompanying couplets, done by unmarried girls, is primarily associated with the ritual of marriage (although also with those of name-giving of children and of circumcision), and the obvious reference is to the hoped-for future status of the bride and groom. One informant described its origin as tied in with the destruction of the Madinat an-Nakur by the Almoravid Sultan Yusif bin Tashfin in 1084: amid the smoke and fire, the girls of Waryagharland saw their fathers dying and cried out, in Arabic, "*A buya!* Oh Father!" This cry later became lengthened to "*ay-aralla buya.*" Whether or not this legend is apocryphal, it points to the fact that the refrain is very old indeed in the region.

In an excellent study of Rifian dances, Emilio Blanco views the *ay-aralla buya* complex and the dancing that accompanies it as far more than a mere pastime[43]—as Malinowski might have done, Blanco sees in it the satisfaction of a social need. Furthermore, he points to the parallel between dances (as part of the ritual of marriage, of the name-giving of a child, and of circumcision) and markets: both provide opportunities for people to come together—although of course the gathering at a market is a larger and more heterogeneous one than at a wedding—and both serve as breathing spells in the "struggle for existence." The operations of buying and selling in the market are secondary and accessory, as, in the dance, are the dancer, the dancing, and the music in themselves. Business in the one case and art in the other are not the motivating factors: it is rather the human need for association and social relationships that is being satisfied.

Women and girls always take up choruses of *ay-aralla buya* and the *izran* while engaged in household tasks, and little girls also do so while pasturing goats in the mountains. Although singing and dancing are theoretically done by women and by *imdhyazen*, young men can often be heard chanting the refrain when they are by themselves, and anyone overheard murmuring it on a bus, for example, is at once identified as a Rifian. However (outside of ceremonial occasions) one must never sing it, or talk of love or marriage, in front of one's parents, and indeed it is generally considered disrespectful to do so in front of any very much older kinsmen or kinswomen.

Informants say that during the *Ripublik* any woman, whether single, married or divorced, was allowed to sing *ay-aralla-buya* and to dance; but 'Abd al-Krim declared both activities taboo for all except unmarried girls, and the taboo has persisted ever since. Married women today may dance among themselves, and in closed rooms, but if the husband of one should catch her dancing in a courtyard with single girls, and in front of strange men, he would kill her. Divorcees may dance, but if so they must wear the headband, face veil, and dark glasses of a single girl. The veil in particular was obligatory until after Moroccan independence; by 1959, even in the conservative Jbil Hmam subclans, a number of girls (but by no means all) had dropped it, while dark glasses were universal. The object and effect of this attire, as Blanco observes, is to preserve the anonymity of the dancer, even though a good many people in the audience may know who she is.

The celebrations involving singing and dancing occur at night and in the courtyard of the house where the festivities are taking place. The dance itself (*dhfurjth*) falls into two phases: the *ay-aralla buya* and the *shdhih*. The ideal number of girls who perform it is four, but it may be either more or less. The *ay-aralla buya* phase is a slow, continuous, and rather monotonous walk, with tiny flexed and lateral steps in cadence, following either clockwise or counterclockwise a circular itinerary with pauses for vibration of maximum intensity. Each of the girls accompanies her singing by tapping a tambourine (*addjun*, a wooden hoop covered by goat or cow skin on one side, with a single snare strand underneath it; it is made taut by warming at the courtyard fire). If there are four girls, one pair sings the *ay-aralla buya* refrain and the other pair sings the couplets in alternation.

Ay-aralla buya represents a perfect and intimate communication between the dancers and the spectators, between the unmarried girls and the young men, at whom the couplets are very often directed. Certain couplets have been agreed upon by the girls only minutes before; and when a couplet deals with love (as in fact the majority of them do), and the girl singing it directs it at a particular young man in the audience, the latter gleefully replies by tossing a lighted firecracker into the air (during the *Ripublik* he would have fired off his rifle). Under such circumstances the whole group, participants and spectators alike, becomes more excited, and the girl herself more abandoned in the dance, although always within the rigid limits imposed by convention. The punctuation of well-received *izran* with firecrackers is reinforced by ululations (*jwaru*) a "yuyuyuyuyuyu!" trilled by the unseen married women—who can see all going on outside from their positions inside the house.

There are two principal movements as well as two distinct phases in the dance. In the circling *ay-aralla buya* phase there is a barely perceptible or sometimes languorous flexing of the legs, and in the *shdhih* phase the circle straightens out into a sinuous line of girls, undulating at waist and bust, and with upper trunks vibrating either during the course of movement or during a pause, according to the phase. In the *shdhih* phase all but two of the girls have usually put aside their tambourines in order to take out and twirl headscarves, both as a time marker and as a highly sensual visual accompaniment to their trunk and bust undulations. The *shdhih* phase is performed at double the tempo of the *ay-aralla-buya* phase, and is either given tambourine accompaniment by one or two young men in the audience or by *imdhyazen*, hired musicians from the Axt Tuzin. There is no singing in this phase, only drumming and undulation; and each dancer, hemmed in by two others, is incapable of any movement other than vibration. Sometimes, although rarely, a single dancer may disengage herself and break away from the group to assert her own individual personality, but soon, as Blanco says, the group again imposes itself upon the rebel, annulling the individuality which she has tried so briefly to establish.

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[43] Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas," Africa, V, 55, pp. 315-16; 56-57, pp. 414-19; and 59-60; pp. 547-51, Madrid 1946. Cf. also D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1958.

The whole sequence is characterized by alternation: as the *ay-aralla-buya* refrain alternates with the *izran* couplets, so does the whole *ay-aralla-buya* phase alternate with that of the *shdhih;* and if there are *imdhyazen* present, as there usually are, their singing, playing, and dancing alternates with that of the girls. There may even be different groups of girls alternating, for at a marriage ceremony, for instance, the bride's unmarried sisters and other young female relatives dance and sing, and then those of the groom. The audience quickly judges which group is the best, as each competes with the other. And the whole sequence is repeated all night long. The *imdhyazen* play a special role, musical and social, which reflects their low status and reputation for licentiousness (for when one has no property one can afford to be "shameless," as one automatically has no honor or anything else to lose). They not only have their own special *izran* couplets but another series of songs that are sung in Arabic, not in Rifian, and are called *mali, mali, mali*. This term is symbolic of social status in reverse: for *mali* literally means "my property," and the *imdhyazen* have, traditionally, little or no property. Although less commonly sung than *ay-aralla buya*, these songs may well be of almost equal antiquity in the Central Rif. One of the most common of them compares the groom to a hawk and the bride to a partridge.

One of the hallmarks of the *imdhyazen* is their instrument called *zammar*, a double-reed "bass clarinet" with an extraordinarily deep and booming tone. A pair of bull's horns is attached, base upward, to the end of the reeds, and they are joined together in the center by a tassle. The *imdhyazen* also play tambourines, reed flutes (they may bring small boys along to play these), and the Arab *ghaita* of the Jbala. The *ghaita*, which today is replacing the *zammar*, is a short reed instrument of wood that terminates in a bell and produces a piercing shriek.

The *imdhyazen* are always paid for their services; they arrive for the ritual ahead of the guests, and the price is agreed upon then. A standard trick to make the *imdhyazen* work for their wages is for a spectator to place a coin on top of a *babouche* (a Moroccan Arab slipper); the *amdhyaz* must then bend over backward and pick up the coin with his teeth, while still playing and dancing. When the musicians are at rest between numbers, spectators also put coins either in their turbans or in the horns of the *zammar*.

The dancing of the *imdhyazen* is often very energetic: I have seen an *amdhyaz* jump, in a single bound, from the floor of the courtyard to the roof. While they are dancing, too, a great deal of horseplay goes on, especially if the women are out of sight. In the middle of a dance an *amdhyaz* may go up to greet someone in order to see if he can get a tip out of him, and he must publicly announce his thanks by pronouncing the donor's name. If he does not, or if he gets the name wrong, he can be slapped or kicked in a joking way by the offended party. This happens often, because, as a proverb has it, *Amdhyaz n-ad-dshar ur isfarraj*, "an *amdhyaz* does not dance in his own community": he dances in communities where he is not known and where, like a *fqih*, and *akhammas* or an *amkari*, he stands in a contractual relationship to the *jma'th* as a whole: because of his nonpartisanship, he is friendly to everyone, and is accepted because of his low social status and apoliticality.

Appendix II gives representative examples of *izran* couplets that were current in 1953-55 and 1959-62, both those sung by girls (very largely from Aith Turirth) and those sung by *imdhyazen*.[44] Other *izran* that were current during the Rifian war and the Spanish civil war, and which thus mark noteworthy historical events, are given in Part 2. I am unable to discuss their artistic merit or demerit, but those selected, out of literally hundreds recorded, are highly typical of themes that continually crop up in Waryaghar life.

Some final remarks about the dance are in order, and here again I lean partly upon Emilio Blanco.[45] It is only in Waryagharland, and nowhere else in the Rif, that dancers are (or, until recently, were) veiled. The practice of veiling, a custom that is in complete harmony with Aith Waryaghar ideas about seclusion of women, began in the lowlands and then spread to the Jbil Hmam. Unfortunately, we do not know when this transpired. In recent times (i.e., since independence), the subclans of the Jbil Hmam have been showing greater reluctance to remove the veil than have those of the plain: this, too, is typical. Blanco sees in the Aith Waryaghar practice of veiling the faces of the girls who dance a combination of three factors: greater desire for impersonality, greater rigidity of custom, and greater degree of Islamization. The factor I would personally describe is a more conscious bend toward orthodoxy, at least as locally conceived. I would also add a fourth factor: the cultural imperative, in Waryaghar eyes, of maximum control over one's womenfolk. The women of the Aith Waryaghar are often extremely good-looking, and the men are intensely aware of this fact and are correspondingly jealous. The point has been made earlier, but it cannot be reiterated strongly enough: the rein over women must at all times be kept taut, for it is universally thought that if it is not, women will run rampant. The Aith Waryaghar thus share one of the values common to the whole circum-Mediterranean area, and to an excessively high degree: for whenever, in any conversation among men, the subject of women is brought up, the question of control over them looms paramount. It is quite impossible for a male anthropologist to interview women in order to gauge the corresponding female point of view; but there is in my view, little doubt that women fully accept their subservient status, and consider it absolutely right and proper. And, as far as the men are concerned, quite apart from any question of infidelity (in which the double standard, of course, always prevails), the danger of sorcery must also be guarded against. One never knows from what direction it will strike, but the chances are that a woman is at the bottom of it. Thus control over one's women is yet another way of hedging one's bets.

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[44] Earlier samples are provided in S. Biarnay, "Notes sur les Chants Populaires du Rif," *Archives Berbères*, I, 1, 1915, pp. 22–39; in Cmdt. L. Justinard, "Note sur la Littèrature et la Poésie chez les Rifains," in *Rif et Jbala*, Paris: Larose, 1926; and in same author, *Manuel de Berbère Marocain: Dialecte Rifain*, Paris: Geuthner, 1926, pp. 54–66. Justinard found the Rifian *izran* less satisfying esthetically than the epic poetry of the Berbers of the Sus and Anti-Atlas; but I do not feel in a position to be able to pass such literary value judgments.

[45] Cf. Emilio Blanco, op. cit., 1946, passim and D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1958.

Nonetheless, as Blanco says, one must never underestimate the power of a woman:

> The woman dances, plays, sings, and the man is seated, motionless, silent, huddled up, with the hood of his jillaba pulled up, all eyes, tense, on restless guard, suspicious, very alert to the song, to public judgement, to veiled allusions, to insidiousness and vengeance, fearful of imprudent or malevolent female ingenuity, which placates him or arouses latent discord in him . . . The peace, the tragedy and the comedy, the reputation, the prestige of the individual and of the family or group headman, is always (under these circumstances) at the mercy of feminine caprice . . . (and in the original): *No hay fiesta, sino inquietud.* There is no feast, only uneasiness.[46]

To stress once again the preponderance of the male in Aith Waryaghar society, one remaining dance needs to be described: the war dance (*ta'yan r-barud*) of the *ibarudhiyen* or "gunpowder players," which has not been in existence since the time of Abd al-Krim (who outlawed it in order to save gunpowder). Once again, the best description is that of Blanco, gathered about 1930 from the late Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (who had himself been a notable participant); it is not an eyewitness account, unfortunately, but it was gleaned less than a decade after this particular ritual had been barred. In it there are no girls, no music, and no *imdhyazen*, only two or four men, armed with flintlocks or with modern rifles. These men were on foot, not on horseback, unlike the participants in the "classical" Arab *la'b l-barud*, the form of "gunpowder" play (inaptly rendered as "fantasia" by the French) that persists today in other parts of Morocco. Nor did they constitute a group of armed men on foot, as in the Jbala: they were merely one or two pairs of men, each with a gun. The "powder play" in Waryagharland was stripped to its essentials.

The dance of the *ibarudhiyen* was described to me (as well as to Blanco) by informants as having been a mime *par excellence* of maneuvers in battle—whereas the Arab "powder play" on horseback has, today at least, become merely a series of wagers made and performed, for prizes in money by impromptu rival teams organized on festive occasions. The dance of the *ibarudhiyen* was performed at ceremonies celebrating birth, circumcision, or marriage. It was held in the courtyard of the house of the man giving the feast. And as Blanco most tellingly reconstructs the scene:

> A joyful day, a day of rest, of meat strongly seasoned with spices, the prospect of which is only one more stimulant amongst the many which are felt, the noise of gunshots, the smell of gunpowder, the ritual sacrifice of animals by slitting their throats, the blood spurting out in gushes, the harvesting light, the wild natural surroundings, the presence of women swathed in violent colors, yellow, red or white tunics, large, gaudy square shawls of silk, whistles, laughter, dancing, the sound of tambourines, rugs, polychromed in strangely contrasting colors, copper trays, enormous coffee pots and candelabras, shiny nickel teapots, cheap cut glasses . . . large sugar cones . . . raveled poor people, talkative children who are practiced in games of dexterity, agility and crawling, squalid marauding dogs, dying donkeys, mules of a fine stamp, and the whole pulverized by dust, heat, and flies. A picture which would not be different from the normal one, in an agglomeration of this type, without forgetting the short dark jillabas and the small and immaculately wound turbans of the men.

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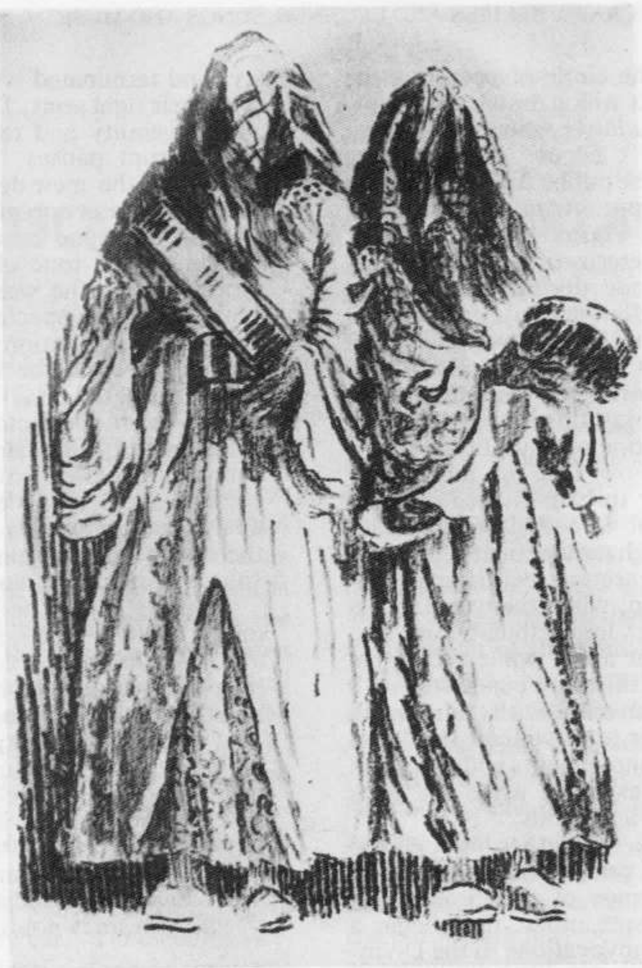
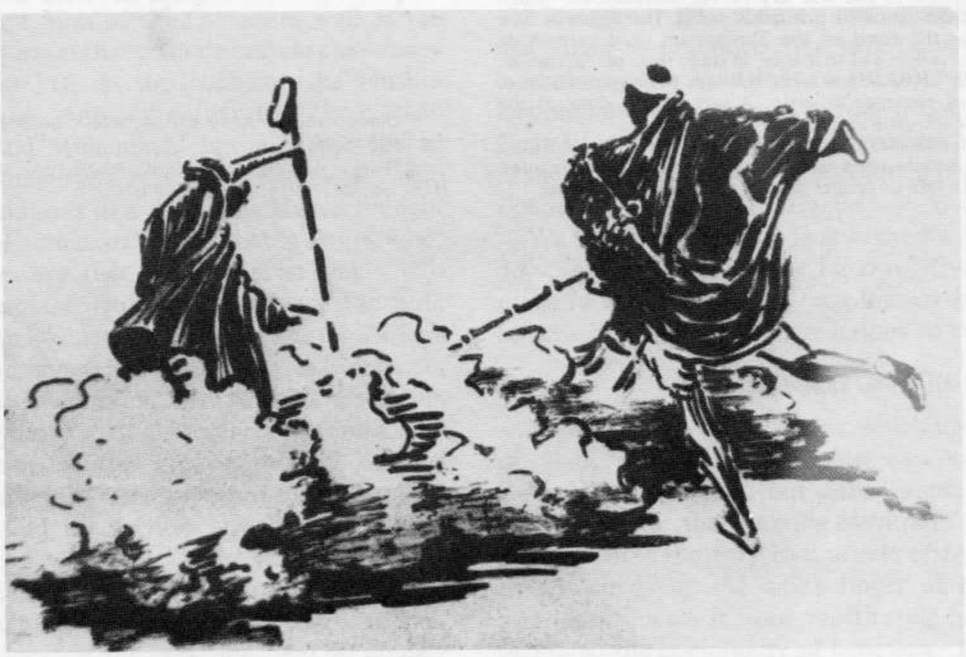
[46] Emilio Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1946, nos. 56-57, translated and quoted in Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 226.



Ay-aralla-buya, veiled dances of the Aith Waryaghar. From Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas," *Africa*, Madrid, 1946



War Dance and Battle Maneuvers of the *Ibarudiyen*. From Emilio Blanco Izaga, "Las Danzas Rifeñas," *Africa*, Madrid, 1946

And in the center of the circle of people is the chief attraction of the feast which draws the curiosity of the people; two *ibarudhiyen* who are preparing themselves at the circle's edges, characterizing themselves in the eyes of the public for the spectacle which they are about to put on, in the same way as puppet players in the Plazas Mayores in our cities. These prolix characterizations and preparations, above all those made during the romantic epoch of the flintlock rifle, with its spectacular and complicated loading mechanism, was aided and abetted by the spectators . . . and especially by the female and infantile portion of the public . . ., which was disposed to enjoy this day of vacation from the monotonous routine of daily life.

Our *ibarudhiyen* are now face to face, their shaven heads bared, their turbans tucked into the hoods of their jillabas, or into their magnificant huge-pouched, leather Taghzuthi scrips, or armed, with turbans wound again around their heads, jillabas with sleeves tucked up, while the war dancers tie them tight around their loins, thus giving free play to their legs and right arms, while the ample sleeves of their white nightshirts are contrasted with the dark colour of their jillabas and with their tanned and muscular arms in order to wave their flintlocks in the air in crazy turnstile movements and gyrations in order to prove their dexterity, while the guns are held sideways in their left hands.

Now begins the dance, or rather, the elastic march around the circle of people, one man behind the other on the inner fringe of the circle, with pauses in which, facing each other, they begin a harangue,[47] seasoned with invocations to the Divinity, and terminated with wild threats and gestures with their right arms. This is the provocation, replete with ingenuity and rapidity. The air is quickened with abrupt pauses, jumps and turns, while the bodies of the men dodge around; at other times, their attitude is one of caution and slow advances, and the dialogue becomes more lively, from the challenge; the tone of voice becomes harder and more violent; the weapons are now grasped with both hands; the spectators are now stirred up with cries and exclamations; and both the audience and the actors repeat the scene enacted so many times in the market,[48] on a raiding party or in the bloodfeud, which the actors complete with fantastic gyrations of legs, arms, weapons and jillabas, shooting off their rifles, again and again, at the center of the circle of people, raising clouds of dust, pebbles, smoke, flies and barking curs, while the strong smell of gunpowder dominates the atmosphere, dilating the nostrils and drying the lips.

Theme? Plot? There is none. It does not need one. It is always the same. Human. Rivalry, egotism and ambition. The bloodfeud. The law of talion, the primitive law which humanity has not yet known how to eliminate from any society.

A game of dexterity, of love and of war, it has abundant means of inflaming an audience, even if the latter be selected, and in this brave country, it serves not only as a delight to the tribespeople, but as a magnificent natural school in which new generations learn from their elders, and maintain and elevate their localistic and tribal spirit effectively. I am sorry not to have been an eye-witness.[49]

To this last statement, the present writer can only add: so am I. And on this personal note, we here let Blanco, because of his seniority and because of his priority in the region, have the last word.

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[47] Called *'aita* by Biarnay, op., cit., 1915, p. 22. In Arabic this term means "cry, tumult, brawl" (José Solis Pascual and José Madrid Lopez, *Diccionario Arabigo-Español*, Tetuan 1950, p. 389), and in Rifian it refers to the war cry of the *ibarudhiyen*, which generally invokes the name of a famous saint. The tomb of Sidi Sha'ib u-r-Ftah on the coast of the Thimsaman used to provide a locale for the *ibarudhiyen* of that tribe to stage their performance. When two or four *ibarudhiyen* went through their performance, in the courtyard of someone's house, it was always done to the accompaniment of the girls singing the *ay-aralla-buya*.

Biarnay, above considers the *'aitat* as one major class of Rifian chants or refrains, and the *izran* as another. Such a dual classification of popular refrains was no longer possible when Blanco wrote.

[48] Blanco should have added here: "subject to heavy fine by the *imgharen*."

[49] Blanco op. cit., 1946, nos. 59-60, pp. 56-57, translated by Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 233-236.

7. ISLAM IN WARYAGHARLAND

PIETY, DEVOTION, ORTHODOXY, AND TRADITION

The "Five Pillars" and the Muslim Feasts

It is extremely difficult to pigeonhole the whole system of thought and belief embraced by the notion of Islam in a single chapter, because in Morocco as in other Muslim countries, the influence of Islam is all-pervasive. It includes elements ranging from the large university-mosques of the urban centers down to the small village Qur'anic schools of the tribal regions, and from the saints' tombs that dot the countryside to phrases eternally on everyone's lips, such as *in sha'llah,* "If God Wills," and *bismi-llah,* "In the name of God." The first of these phrases is a conditional: let it rain tomorrow, so that the crop will be good, if God wills; the second prefaces any undertaking at all—for eating a meal, starting off on a journey (especially today by car) or the commencement of any other new project is done in the name of God. Another phrase, *al-hamdu li-llah,* "Praise be to God," is not only uttered by any Muslim after sneezing, for example, but is also the preambular phrase of the first Sura of the Qur'an as well as the preamble to the *qanuns* that embody secular customary law (see Chapter 11). As the *shahada,* the Muslim profession of faith, runs, "I testify that there is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Messenger of God"—Muhammad, the "Seal of the Prophets," who through his revelations in a cave near Mecca brought the Qur'an, the Eternal and Uncreated Word of God, to man in a message that is uncompromisingly monotheistic. Within the Qur'an is contained the bulk of the Shari‘a, the Divine Law, and thus the regulations dealing with inheritance and succession, for instance, are all of divine inspiration. The same is true even of the contractual associations in agriculture and herding. If a man testifies in front of the *qadi,* he must repeat the words, *Ana bi-llah u bi-sh-shra‘,* "I am with God, and the Divine Law." God, in His Omnipotence, is One, Eternal and Uncreated.

In short, the Shari‘a and the Qur'an, plus the traditions, examples, and sayings of the Prophet, provide a total view of the good life, and an equally total view of the rules of conduct for a whole social order. It is a formalistic and a black-and-white view, one filled with "do's" and "do not's," with *halal* (the lawful) and *haram* (the forbidden), but it is a world view that embraces the entire community of believers. In Morocco, except for the Jewish minorities, this community of the faithful was coterminous with the whole society. There was no separation of church and state, and all—city dwellers and tribesmen—were Muslims together, under the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful.

These are all well-known facts. However, in order to begin a discussion of Islam as practiced by the Aith Waryaghar, it should be stressed that they most sincerely and genuinely, as Muslims, subscribe to all the above; that despite their bloodfeuding, "hateful in the sight of God," the keynotes of Islam in Waryagharland are piety, devotion, and a strong and basic adherence to orthodoxy, or to the Maliki version thereof. There may be a fine line between orthodoxy and traditionalism, and thus Waryaghar orthodoxy may come as a surprise to some, but it should be remembered that Islam came early to the Central Rif and was very soon solidly entrenched there.

Throughout this chapter, we shall take the view that Islam as practiced by a given community forms a whole system, and that to subtract possible "pre-Islamic survival" elements from it not only leads to a partial understanding, and even a misunderstanding, of the whole, but also robs it of much of its contextual richness at the local level.

We shall look at Islam first in the way that Muslims do, considering briefly the famous "five pillars"—or *qawa‘id l-Islam,* as they are known in the Rif—in terms of Aith Waryaghar reactions to them.

1. PROFESSION OF FAITH

Standard phrases in Arabic which invoke the name of God, and which are thus essentially religious formulae, are legion; but none stands out as much as the *shahada,* the "bearing of witness" or Profession of Faith. It is the very first article of faith. A Muslim merely holds up the index finger of his right hand and then repeats it, thus reaffirming his ties of allegiance to the community of believers. The Profession of Faith is also, of course, an integral part of the five daily prayers. To these ordinary usages the Aith Waryaghar add the following interesting contribution: if a Christian in a critical situation performs this act, not only does he become an immediate convert to Islam, but he is considered to be worth one Muslim and a half. Thus eight such converts equal twelve Muslims by birth. In the following quotation, Coon describes such conversions:

> Before the Spaniards took the beach of Ajdir in 1925 (Coon's text mistakenly reads 1924:DMH), Christian prisoners held on the rock of Alhucemas (al-Husaima) off-shore, an old and famous Spanish penal island, would escape now and then, and swim ashore. The refugee would find Rifians awaiting him on the beach, their rifles cocked. Staggering to his feet in the surf, the Christian, already instructed by his fellows who had learned this from the Rifian traders allowed on the island, would raise the forefinger of his right hand and recite: *la ilaha illa-llah*, and he would be allowed ashore unmolested. Often he would be given a complete new set of clothing, a house, a wife and a job. (I have measured some of these *renegados* who were in a cold sweat for fear my calipers would reveal their origin to the Spanish authorities.)[1]

My own postscript is that in 1953-54, there was at least one such former *renegado* still living in Ajdir, and two or three in the Ibuqquyen: all, I was told, had become completely Muslim and thoroughly acculturated Rifians.

2. THE FIVE DAILY PRAYERS

The second of the "five pillars" is prayer (*saddjit*), said five times a day at the prescribed hours of dawn, noon, midafternoon, sunset, and night (or, in the last instance, not long after dinner). One of two kinds of ritual ablutions must be performed with soap and water beforehand in order for the performer to attain the desired state of ritual purity: the major ablution (*r-udhu amqqran*) in which all private parts must be washed thoroughly and scrupulously if copulation or defecation has occurred since the previous prayers; and the minor one (*r-udhu amzzyan*), involving only the washing of arms up to the elbows, if the performer has not been rendered ritually impure since the last time he prayed. Sick people who may not be allowed to use water may use the substitute *taimmum* method of cleansing themselves with stones or sand: I was told that this method is also employed if one's sexual organs are temporarily injured.

There is a definite correlation between a man's age and the rigorousness with which he observes the daily prayers: the older he is, the more apt he is to pray. The reason of course is that the older a man becomes, the closer he is to death. It is extremely difficult to obtain any sort of accurate statistics on mosque attendance, but I would estimate that in 1954-55 a good 80% of the male population in the Jbil Hmam subclans prayed very regularly, whether at home or in the mosque—and attendance at the Friday sermon was even higher, possibly 90%; by 1965, however, attendance of the Friday mosque had fallen off very sharply, particularly among the younger men, and it was perhaps as low as 20%. Women in general pray much less than men, but again older women pray more often than younger ones; since they are prohibited entry to the mosque, they do their praying at home, separately from the men. From a distance, I have quite often observed old Waryaghar women praying (and I even know of one, from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca and became a *hajja*). Nonetheless, in general terms, religion is an open, a public, and a male affair; the world of magic and sorcery is closed, secretive, and the domain of women (although with the *fqih* in his capacity as writer of charms, there is a certain overlap).

The times that I have been seated in informants' guestrooms when several older men would break off their conversation in order to perform the minor ablution and pray have been too numerous to count. The younger men would take no notice of their elders at prayer, and although on several occasions I suggested that the radio be turned down out of consideration for those praying, the reply was always that it did not matter and did not bother them. Often before praying, men would drop their baggy trousers under their below-knee-shirts; I thought that this was to make it easier to perform ablutions, but one wag suggested that it was primarily because their trousers were dirty! In any case, there is no lull in the conversation of those who are not praying, although should anyone get up to leave and pass someone at prayer, he is careful to walk behind rather than in front of him, because the man would then have to start the prayer all over again. I have even observed praying men interrupt their own prayers in order to ask a question of someone in the room; then they too must start all over again. Anyone may pray at any time, and supererogatory prayer, often practiced by members of religious orders, is considered meritorious. However, today a man who has performed the sunset prayer may not bother with the night prayer, or vice versa, although in the context of Ramadan, the most strictly observed of the "five pillars," the sunset prayer is extremely important.

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[1] Coon, *Caravan*, op. cit., 1958, pp. 104-5. Cf. also Mouliéras, op. cit., 1895, pp. 97-8.

3. SELF-TAXATION

The third of the "five pillars" is what is usually labeled almsgiving and in the Rif is termed *dha'ashurth*. It actually includes both almsgiving proper and a form of self-taxation. It is paid in money, animals, and grains, to the poor, and the money and animal part is paid on 10 Muharram (the feast day known as 'Ashur, from the Arabic root for "ten"—hence the term *dha'ashurth*). The *dha'ashurth* on money is a flat rate of 2-1/2%, and each type of animal has its equivalent value. One out of every forty goats must be paid, for instance—I cite this case because of the relative prevalence of goats over other animals in Waryagharland. One heifer must also be paid out of every 30 cows, but I know of no man in Waryagharland who has as many as thirty cows.

The *dha'ashurth* levied on grain is paid after the harvest has been brought in, and consists of one *mudd* of grain (barley, wheat, or rye) out of every ten. There is no tax, however, on any harvest yielding less than ten *mudds*, and this effectively negates the tax as far as fruits, nuts, and vegetables are concerned. These self-imposed taxes are a religious requirement but are in no way related to donations and offerings made either to saints or to the poor on other occasions.

4. FASTING DURING RAMADAN

The "fourth pillar" is that of fasting during the month of Ramadan. Perhaps more than any of the other "pillars" save the profession of faith, and more than any other Muslim institution, the fast of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Muslim year, (called *ar-Rindan* in the Rif), reaches into the core of the community, for virtually everyone is affected by it. Those who do not pray must still fast, and nonobservance of Ramadan not only calls forth the traditional sanctions—such as either fasting for 61 days for every day that one lapses and eats, or feeding 60 poor people at one's expense until they are stuffed—but it is also an offense that carries a jail sentence in modern Morocco. Ramadan is in every sense the sharing of a common ritual bond and common ritual values. All Moroccans feel that is is a very "good" month, a month in which to show one's devotion; for those who do not pray otherwise, it is a time to go to the mosque with one's elders. It also makes Muslims feel immeasurably superior to Christians and Jews, who they know seldom fast: even if the former observe Lent, it is not nearly so obvious that they are doing so as it is when Muslims observe Ramadan; and those few Muslims who know anything of Lent at all are also aware of its nonobligatory character.

What is of particular importance is the social context: whereas prayer may tend to interfere with the conduct of everyday affairs, during the month of Ramadan the whole of community life is reorganized and readjusted around the fast. It is easily observed by all, rich and poor alike, a fact that distinguishes it from self-taxation and the pilgrimage; and since it occurs only once a year, it retains a special symbolic value that distinguishes it from the daily prayers. Since everyone is fasting, the observance is rendered easier and more bearable, for it would require a tremendous amount of willpower for anyone to undertake it on his own. And since any backsliders or deviants from the norm would be quickly recognized (and denounced) by the rest of the community in any case, everyone conforms. (In Waryagharland the epithet *ititt ar-Rindan*, "he eats during Ramadan," is a term of real opprobrium). On the other hand, those few, usually old men, who undertake days of fasting over and above what is enjoined by Ramadan are considered particularly holy.

Fasting is enjoined upon all persons of both sexes after they have reached puberty, but even if an adolescent should have no pubic hair by the age of eighteen, he must begin to fast by then. (In Waryagharland, until independence, when a boy reached adolescence a string was put double around his neck. Then it was opened out, and if his head passed through the loop, he was old enough to participate in the fast.) In Morocco, those who determine when the fast actually begins are the *'ulama'*, the learned doctors of the Qarawiyin Mosque in Fez; when they have seen the new moon, the news is relayed all over the nation that the fast will begin the next day. That evening, the Aith Waryaghar hold the "Ramadan supper." Someone slaughters a cow or a goat on an *uzi'ath* basis, and the members of the *jma'th* divide up the meat, after paying for it. This girds people up for the communal ordeal to begin at dawn the next day. Sick people, pregnant or menstruating women, men engaged in holy war (*imjahadhen*, from Ar. *jihad*, the so-called sixth pillar of Islam) and people traveling over 60 Km. in one day on foot (but not by train, bus or car) are exempt from the fast, but they must make it up later.[2] It is difficult to say whether

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[2] During the Rifian War, the first great Rifian victory against the Spaniards, at Dahar Ubarran in 1921, fell during Ramadan. The *imjahadhen* ate if they were on the front and fighting, but if they were behind the front lines they had to observe the fast. Any interrupted days had to be made up later. The Rifian troops who participated on the Nationalist side in the Spanish Civil War did observe Ramadan, however, as they were not fighting in a *jihad* for their own homeland. Indeed, many pregnant and menstruating women, too, refuse to take advantage of the dispensation. However, those people who do, according to Domenech, tend to make it up in Sha'ban, the month immediately preceding Ramadan, which is thus referred to as *ash-shahar n-bu-imarwasen*, "the month

Ramadan was kept by Rifian labor migrants during the early period of their migration to Europe; certainly their isolation from the Muslim community would have made observance difficult.[3]

The fast goes on from sunrise to sunset—from the time that a black thread can just be distinguished from a white one, until the time that this is no longer possible. The fast is broken only after the sunset prayer when all partake of the *harira*, the special Ramadan soup, which is very thick, tasty and nourishing. This is a custom peculiar to North Africa, if not to Morocco alone. After this, those who smoke light their first cigarettes, for not only are food and drink taboo during the day, but so are tobacco, sexual intercourse, bleeding, and the use of perfumes as well. (Many younger informants confided to me that while they did not mind going without food all day, going without smoking could be very difficult. Yet despite their own self-denial, my hosts, with true Waryaghar hospitality, always strongly urged me to eat my fill and smoke as much as I wanted; sometimes, however, I was able to make excuses and absent myself at what could otherwise have been normal mealtimes.) Another proper meal is then served an hour or so after the *harira*, and people always eat once again, well before dawn, when the next day's fasting begins.

The culmination of Ramadan is the night between the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh days of that month, the famous "Night of Power" when God sent the Qur'an down from Heaven to Muhammad through the medium of the Angel Gabriël. This is a night of constant prayer, and of all nights it is the one when the mosque is generally filled to capacity.

It is undeniable that the adjustment to Ramadan slows down the pace of life (and of work) considerably.[4] Rich and poor alike observe it, but the rich are often able to remain indoors and sleep, while the poor with no such option, are out attending to their agricultural tasks. Markets are held, but attendance falls off. It is a time when life is lived at night, and when the tempers of those who have to work during the day are apt to smolder and blow up. In 1955 I saw the results of a Ramadan quarrel between four goatherds at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt: they had beaten each other over the heads will billhooks, were all in very critical condition, and were rushed to the hospital in al-Husaima for treatment. Two of them died in the ambulance, and the other two died in hospital.

On the thirtieth and last night of Ramadan, people everywhere listen to their radios for word that the *'ulama* in Fez have once again seen the new moon and have made the official announcement that the month of fasting is at an end and that the three-day feasting of the *'Aid s-Sghir* or "Little Feast" will begin the next day. Should the moon not be observable, the fast is held for one more day, and the feast begins the day after that.

Ramadan is now over and normal life is about to be resumed. The first morning everyone puts on new clothes to go and pray in the mosque; then the *r-fdhar* of two kilos of barley is given by each person to the poor. The rest of that day and the next two days are spent in visiting one's kinsmen and friends and in feasting. The *'Aid s-Sghir* is not formally part of the "fourth pillar" but is rather a ritual reaction which is only natural after the deprivations of Ramadan.

5. THE PILGRIMAGE AND THE GREAT FEAST

The last of the "five pillars" is the pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hijj*, which is enjoined upon all who have the means to make it. Obviously the majority do not, but virtually every local community in Waryagharland has, and has long had, its tiny quota of *hujjaj*.[5] They are respected members of the community and represent all the traditional values. I do not have full statistics, but three men from the Jbil Hmam made the pilgrimage in 1961, four men in 1964, and three men in 1966 (one of the latter group was a young man of twenty-two, which was unusual, since most who do make it do not have the wherewithal to do so until rather later in life). Patently, the influence of the *hujjaj* is (or was) quite out of proportion to their numbers; but this is understandable, for they represent, by virtue of their accomplishment, the pinnacle of piety and orthodoxy that a lay tribesman can attain.

The ritual of pilgrimage to the holy places of the Hejaz has been very well described elsewhere and needs no further discussion here. Since the protectorate period a Moroccan boat has gone regularly to Jidda every year, laden with pilgrims; it departs from

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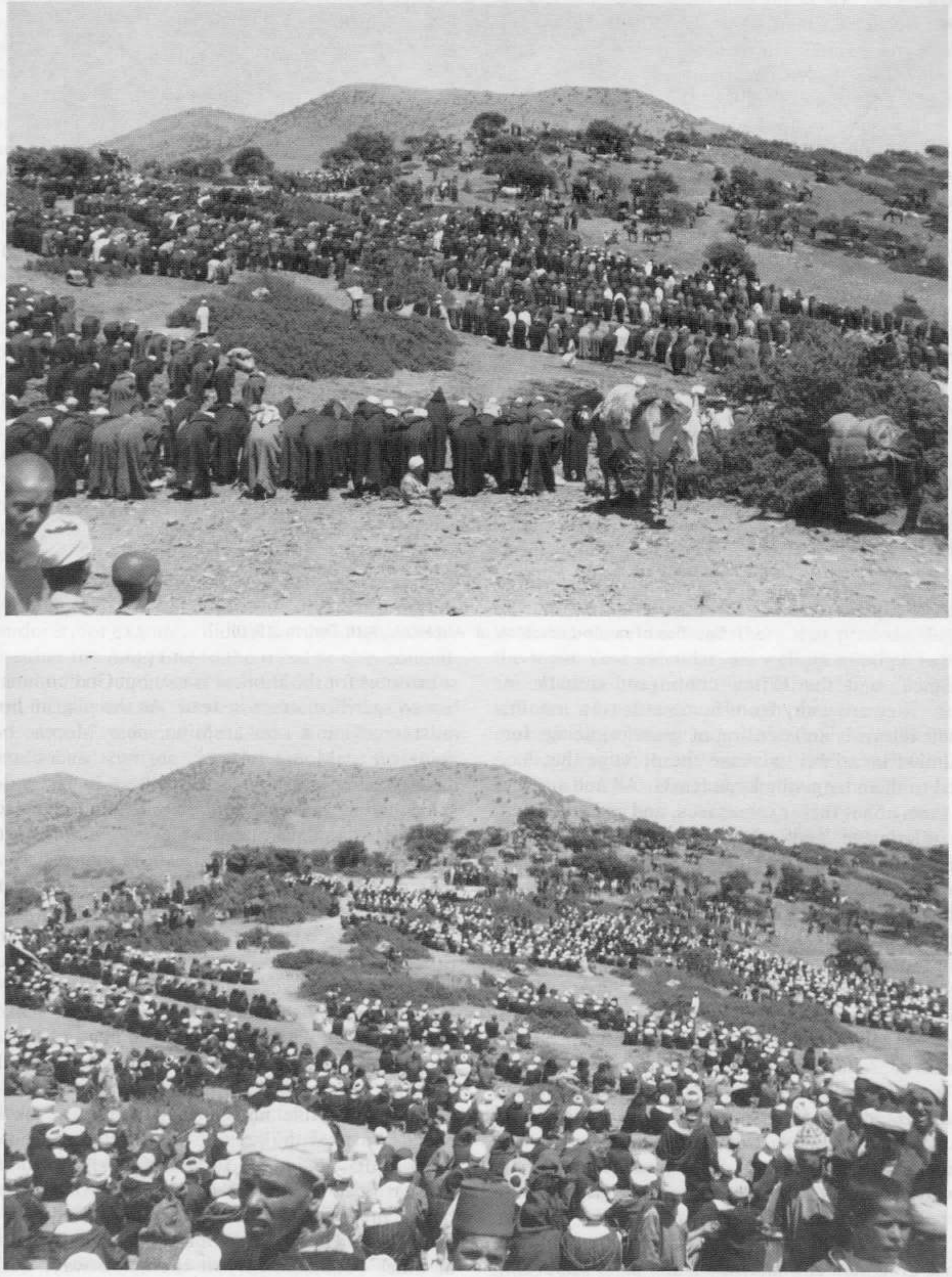
of the debtor." Cf. Angel Domenech Lafuente, *Del Islam*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950, p. 73.

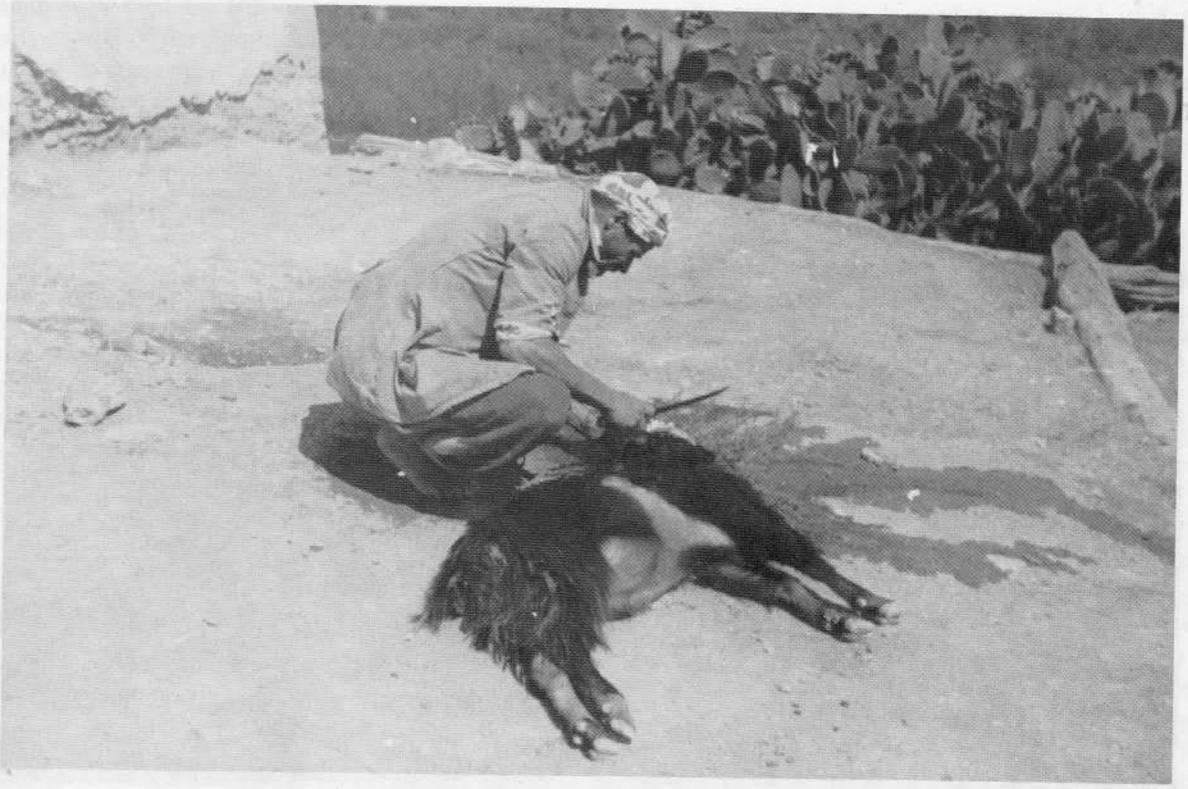
[3] By the mid 1970's, there were at least 327,000 Moroccan workers in Europe, and close to a million Algerians in France alone. Thus in a sense it is just like home, where everyone observes Ramadan and everyone is on the lookout for those who smoke or eat in secret during the day.

[4] Marriages tend to fall off during Ramadan, if it should fall during August or September; but there is no particular evidence that bloodfeuding did so, although it was considered very shameful to exact vengeance on Muslim feast days, as one Igzinnayen man did by shooting three adversaries on the 'Aid l-Kbir. Cf.C.S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox*, New York: Morrow, 1932, chap. VIII, p. 94.

[5] Pl. of *hajj*, "pilgrim." By this term, plus the definite article—*r-hajj*—any returning pilgrim is addressed, the term being prefixed to his name.



a, b. Common prayer at the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar, major saint of the Aith Waryaghar, in the Timarzga on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir (1955)



Sacrifice of ram on occasion of 'Aid l-Kbir, Aith Turirth (1960)

Casablanca, and the Rifian contingent embark in Tangier. They are away from home at least a month, and their return is an occasion of great rejoicing, for they almost invariably increase the prestige that has accrued to them by giving large feasts. All and sundry query them about their experiences, and over the rites of the pilgrimage itself, they are generally ecstatic, especially about the prayer they have performed at Mount 'Arafat, the most essential single feature of the pilgrimage. (They are, however, considerably less enthusiastic about the Saudi Arabian officialdom with whom they came into contact, and least so about the native Meccan touts.) Yet on the returning boat, there is evidence that they revert to being their Aith Waryaghar selves: in 1938, for example, the Hajj Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, the *mqaddim* of the Aith Turirth, took exception to a remark made by the Hajj Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, *qaid* of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and almost threw him overboard.

While the crucial rituals of pilgrimage are being observed in Mecca, from the eighth through the tenth day of *Dhu l-Hijja*, the last month of the Muslim year, the *'Aid l-Kbir* or "Great Feast" is celebrated by those at home. The sacrifice is the most important feature of the *'Aid l-Kbir*, and it commemorates the occasion when Abraham ascended the mountain in order to sacrifice his son Ishmael (whom Muslim lore substitutes for the Biblical Isaac) but God commanded him to sacrifice a ram instead. As the pilgrim himself must sacrifice a ram at Mina, near Mecca, before going on to Mount *'Arafat*, so must every married male Muslim householder elsewhere in Islam do the same, and at the same time. In Aith Waryaghar terms, this means that the head of every *nubth* must buy a sheep and sacrifice it,[6] and a single man can sacrifice only if he and his widowed mother form a *nubth* together.

The sacrifice (*dhaqqarsth*) of a goat or a ram for ritual purposes involves the labor of two men. The animal is flung over on its back with its feet in the air and one of the men grabs it by the neck with his right hand. The other man, the head of the *nubth* in question, is the one who actually performs the sacrifice. With his left hand he grabs the animal's mouth, and while his colleague bares its neck, he cuts its throat with the knife in his right hand, intoning the formula "*Bismillah, Allahu Akbar!*" Should a ram be sacrificed at the *'Aid l-Kbir* after its throat has been cut, it is said that the *nubth* head will have a long life. (The sacrifice of a cow or bull is performed at other occasions in just the same way, but here four or more men are needed: sacrifice is a very honorable act, and is in direct contrast with the way the butchers in the market slaughter their animals, which are standing on all fours, even though the formulae of sacrifice are the same.) In Waryagharland, and particularly in the Jbil Hmam, where there are no sheep, a billygoat may be substituted for a ram at the time of the *'Aid l-Kbir*, but either animal must be at least one year old.

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[6] A man who does not feel adept at sacrifice, however, may ask the *fqih* of the local mosque to do it for him.

Each of the three days of the *'Aid l-Kbir* is named. In Rifian terminology, the first day is *nhar n-daqqarsth*, "the day of sacrifice," and on it the liver, tripe, and heart of the animal are eaten. The second day is called *axsum azzugwagh*, "Red meat," and this day the ribs, chops, legs, and shoulders are consumed. The third day is the day of the head, *bu iziddjifen*, and all that is edible in the head is consumed. All edible portions of the animal are cut up and either prepared with olive oil, garlic, parsley, and seasoning and roasted on skewers as *shwa* or "pinchitos," or prepared as a *tajin*, without garlic and with much more olive oil, and surrounded with vegetables, as a stew.

The *'Aid l-Kbir* underscores the mutual aid and charity that are so inherent in the Muslim social order. If a murderer, for example, did not have enough money to pay either the *haqq* fine to the tribal or clan council members or the requisite bloodwealth to his victim's agnates, he sometimes went around to every house in the community during the *'Aid l-Kbir*, to ask the household head for the skins of the rams that had been sacrificed for the feast. If a poor man asked for the "skins of the 'Aid" (*irmawen nj-'Aid*) in this way, he was always given them by custom. After collecting enough of them, he sold them in order to help pay off his blood debt. It also seems that if a murderer requested time to pay off his *haqq* in this manner, the councillors gave it to him. This institution of the "skins of the 'Aid" is still practiced: in 1959, not long after the Rifian uprising was over, a man from the Aith 'Arus requested "skins of the 'Aid" in order to help pay off the bloodwealth that he still owed for having killed another man in Spanish times, before independence; his request was granted. It is also considered very shameful for anyone of consequence to attend the market on the next market day following the *'Aid l-Kbir* (and should the latter, or any feast day, fall on a market day, the market is not held in any case) because this particular market day is reserved for the poor, who sell the sheepskins that they have been given through charity.

A most important event in Waryagharland occurs on the *'Arafa Tamqqrand*, the day immediately preceding the *'Aid l-Kbir:* this is the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar at the summit of the Jbil Hmam (to be discussed in the section on saints later in this chapter). Far from reflecting any "heterodox" practices, this pilgrimage vividly underlines Aith Waryaghar orthodoxy. Although the Mecca pilgrimage and sacrifice is made only by a chosen few, the sacrifice at home on the *'Aid l-Kbir* is made by everyone; thus the Aith Waryaghar, as members of the Muslim community, share in the symbolic experience of their more fortunate fellow tribesmen who have been able to amass the funds necessary to perform the *hijj*.

The "sixth" pillar, the *jihad*, which has in most textbooks on Islam been added as an adjunct to the other five, is now considered important only in its literal sense of "striving, effort." However, until 'Abd al-Krim appeared on the scene—and he explicitly denied that his war was a *jihad*, a holy war—it loomed large in the eyes of all Aith Waryaghar because of the continuing presence of Christians just off shore.

Other Religious and Nonreligious Feasts

The *'Aid l-Kbir* and the *'Aid s-Sghir* are the two most important Muslim feasts observed in Waryagharland, but there are two others that precede them on the lunar year calendar, as well as another two that are calibrated to the Berber "farmer's year" calendar and are of interest, although they were no longer conceded any importance at the time of my fieldwork.

The first of the "farmer's year" calendar feasts is that called *Fus Usugwas* (lit. "the hand of the year"); it takes place on 1 Yinnair, (Rif *Nayar*) and thus corresponds somewhat with "New Year's Day." It is simply a day when nobody works and everyone eats rather better than usual, and it corresponds to the Moroccan Arabic *Haguz.*[7] It is in no sense a religious feast—nor is the *'Ansra*, which falls on 24 Yulyuz of the " farmers' year" calendar. On this day, which has been equated with the summer solstice, again no one works and everyone eats well. However, probably up until about 1940, there was an interesting additional feature: brushwood and lentiscus fire was lit in the courtyard of every house, and everyone—men, women, and children,—leaped over the bonfire. It was believed, in the Jbil Hmam, that those who did so would not get sick during the rest of the year. Valderrama Martinez sees the day of the *'Ansra* (which on the Julian calendar would fall on June 24) as the limit between heat and cold, and remarks that it was therefore celebrated with fire and water.[8] This interpretation seems to be substantially correct, because in the plain, after the children jumped over the bonfire, they went to the beach to swim. Their mothers had already painted a mixture of burned apricot rinds and olive oil around their eyes so that they would not get sick; and while the children swam, the women painted the trunks of fig and almond trees with red earth so that they would not wither and die. This practice was confined to the plain and was unknown in the mountains. In the Igzinnayen, the bonfire jumping went on right up until independence, but it was the influence either of 'Abd al-Krim or of certain *tulba* during the protectorate period that made the Aith Waryaghar begin to regard it as a deviation from orthodoxy, and then to reject it out of hand.[9]

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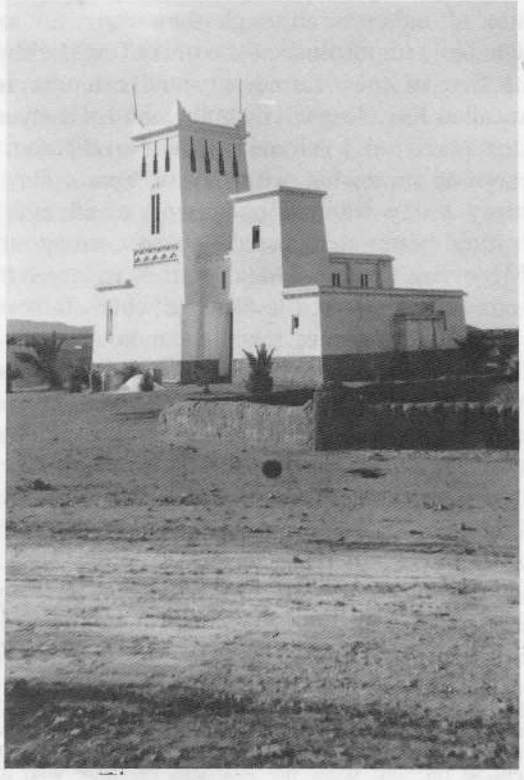
[7] There is, however, in Waryagharland no corresponding belief to that about the *Haguz* in the Jbala, for example, in which an old woman comes around to give presents to good children and threatens to fill with straw the stomachs of those who do not eat their food. Cf. Fernando Valderrama Martinez, *Manual del Maestro Español en la Escuela Marroqui*, Tetuan, 1952, pp. 74–76.

We return now to the Muslim feasts proper. The first is the *'Ashur*, on 10 Muharram; again, no one works, and all eat well. This is also the day for paying the *dha'ashurth* to the poor, as noted above under the "third pillar." Often men have set aside their obligatory contributions in grain from the previous harvest, and grain, money, and animals (if any) are all paid out in a lump sum.

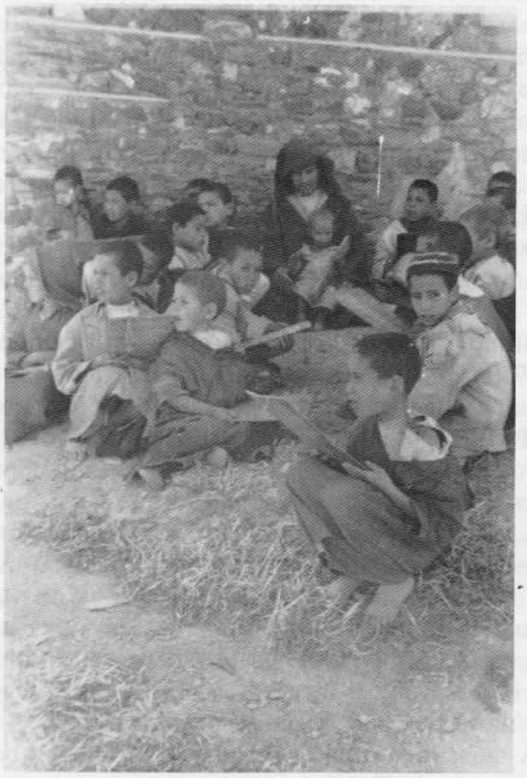
The next feast is the *Mulud*, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth, on 12 Rabi 'al-Awwal. Traditionally, the night before, all men had to sleep not at home but in the mosque. On the day itself (as on those of the 'Aid s-Sghir and the 'Aid l-Kbir) people put red flags on the roofs of their houses (today it is the national Moroccan flag, red with a five pointed green star in outline in the center; formerly it was a woman's red headscarf, which, after being taken down at the end of the day, was said to cure headaches if tied around the head of anyone who had one). In the plain the *Mulud* was an occasion of visiting the mosque of the Martyrs, the Jami' l-Mujahidin in Ajdir.

MOSQUES AND TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

Apart from the obvious fact that all Moroccan Muslims form a single religious community, the reli-



Friday Mosque built by Emilio Blanco at Imzuren (1953)



Fqih and pupils memorizing the Qur'an, Yinn Sa'id Ikhrif in the Aith 'Ammarth (1954) gious community in the narrow sense, in Waryagharland, is organized around the two kinds of mosques: the mosque of the local community (*dhamzyidha n-d-dshar*), and what is known as the Friday mosque, (literally, the "mosque of the sermon," *dhamzyidha nj-khutbath*).[10] In 1952 there were, in Waryagharland, 183 local community mosques and 54 Friday mosques, a ratio of slightly more than three to one. The costs of construction of the community mosque are shared equally by the community's constituent lineages, and the same principle holds good for the larger Friday mosque.[11] The Friday mosque could also be labeled "clan mosque" or "subclan mosque," but these definitions have become too restrictive, for with increasing population growth, ordinary local community mosques have been consecrated as Friday mosques. As of 1955, the Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus each had only one Friday mosque apiece, but by 1967 the first two each had three and the last had four.

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[8] Ibid., pp. 76–77.

[9] The *'Ansra* is a prototypical example of what Westermarck and other earlier writers have labelled a "pre-Islamic survival." It is of course nothing of the sort, but rather one of any number of items of ritual and belief involved in the overall complex of Moroccan Islam which was weeded out, in the Rif at least (although I have seen bonfire-jumping elsewhere), in the orthodox "spring-cleaning" initiated by 'Abd al-Krim.

Both types of mosques and both types of *tulba* or *fqihs*,[12] the Qur'anic schoolmasters who are associated with them, merit attention.

In 1939–40, estimated 96 percent of the total male population of the Aith Waryaghar was illiterate and the remaining 4 percent were *tulba* from lay lineages or members of certain Imrabdhen lineages (some men were both) who could read and write in Arabic. Illiteracy has doubtless declined since then (unfortunately I have seen no figures for any subsequent years), but I should venture to say that it is not very much lower, at least in the southern highlands. It is common to hear highlanders remark on the fact that in the Igzinnayen there are so many individuals called *Si Muh*, whereas in Waryagharland they are simply *Muh*, *Si* being the title reserved for a *fqih*. Female illiteracy was and is, of course, total, the traditional Qur'anic education being entirely a male concern.

From the outside, most mosques in Waryagharland look like ordinary houses, with the differences that the Friday mosque, which must accommodate a larger congregation, is rather bigger than the local community one, and that any mosque must display a flag proclaiming its holy purpose. The flag, plainly visible to all, is run up a pole about 10 meters high that stands in the mosque courtyard. There are two flags, a red one for the morning, and a white one from the time of the noon prayer on. It is the *fqih*, in his other role of muezzin, who calls the prayer, and since Aith Waryaghar mosques have no minarets,[13] he does so either from the mosque roof or from just outside the mosque. His voice must be powerful, so that all will hear him. (It is fortunate, in my opinion, that the public address systems now in vogue in the Moroccan cities have not yet penetrated the rural and tribal areas of the country. I have found few experiences so esthetically refreshing and so laden with human dignity as that of hearing, from afar, the undistorted human voice enunciate the Muslim call to prayer.)

Each local community mosque has its *fqih*, and each has its caretaker, called *mqaddim*, who is nominated by the *jma'th* in question: he collects the *fqih's* annual remuneration in barley, and he sees to the general maintenance of the mosque—buying new mats when needed and keeping up the supply of kerosene for the lamps—for which the *jma'th* at large supplies the necessary funds.

The relationship between the *fqih* and the community he serves is contractual, and hence he is also referred to as *amshart* (from Ar. *shart*, "stipulation, provision"). His contract with the community is verbal; it lasts for a year; the amount he is to be paid is stipulated beforehand; and because he is always paid in barley and never in money, he is engaged in August, after the harvest is in. A *fqih* who is well liked by the community may have his contract renewed for any number of years running: the *fqih* at one of the three Friday mosques in the Timarzga had come in 1959 and still held his position in 1967. A *fqih* who either does not like the mosque where he is working or who is not liked by its constituents leaves when his contract is up—he is easily replaced. I even know of one instance in which a *fqih* from the Igzinnayen was "fired" outright by the constituents of the Bulma mosque in the Aith Turirth. The case occurred about 1942, and a man whom I know very well was one of the principals. He was then a small boy, and his father had sent him to the mosque to study the Qur'an. His penmanship was very good, and the *fqih,* seeing that this little boy had nimble fingers, put him to work stitching the seams of jillabas—one means by which *tulba* traditionally supplement their income (another being the writing of charms). When the boy's father heard of this, he told his son to tell the *fqih* that jillaba stitching was not for him. The boy dutifully did so, and the *fqih,* furious, slapped him nine times in the face, saying "Here at the mosque, I command!" The boy, weeping, ran up to the mosque roof and flung his slate through the chimney at the *fqih,* hitting him on the head with it and causing blood to flow. He then ran home and told his father (who, as it happens, was the clan *mqaddim* of the Aith Turirth); the latter picked up an axe, gathered his agnates together, and went to the mosque with the intention of killing the *fqih.* The upshot, after people had calmed the father down, was that the *fqih's* contract ended the next day; but the boy left school never to return.

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[10] *Dhamzyidha*, "mosque," is derived from Arabic *masjid*, as is Mor. Ar. *msid*, referring to the primary school in any local community (or village) mosque.

[11] The expenses involved in building the local community mosque of Bulma in the Aith Turirth were shared five ways: the lineages of Bulma Proper paid two-fifths, those of Ignan and the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id paid two-fifths, those of l-'Ass and the Imjjat paid one-fifth. These figures correspond more or less closely to the numerical strengths of the lineages concerned.

[12] In Moroccan Arabic, the singular form of *tulba* is *talib*, and the plural form of *fqih* is *fqaha*; but in Rifian these two notions are idealogically fused, such that the singular of the latter term is generally employed, while the plural of the former is, equally. Strictly speaking, a *fqih* is a Qur'anic schoolmaster, and a *talib* is a seeker of Qur'anic knowledge, but to our knowledge such differences in the Moroccan context amount to hairsplitting. (In Rifian, one would say *t-tarb*, pl. *t-turba*, or *r-fqih*, pl. *t-turba*). However, Coon's distinction, in the same vein, between "schoolmaster" for the *fqih* of the community mosque and "preceptor" for the *fqih* of the Friday mosque (Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 113–4), is perfectly valid.

[13] Exceptions are the Friday mosques at Ajdir and Imzuren, with minarets built, or perhaps rebuilt, under the aegis of Col. Emilio Blanco in the 1930's. Both of these mosques also have associated *habus* property.

Regarding actual amounts of payment, in 1955 the *fqih* of any local community mosque in the Aith Turirth received 12 kilos of barley from each *nubth* in the community; this was collected and taken to him at harvest time by the mosque's *mqaddim.* Barley is invariably the primary commodity of payment; if there is not enough, the rest of the quota is filled with raisins or figs. The total annual supply of barley paid to the *fqih* of the community mosque thus amounted to 15-20 *mudd,* or about 8-10 quintals;[14] however, when in 1961 the Bulma mosque was converted into a Friday mosque (with the addition of a *minbar* or pulpit for the *fqih* and the hoisting of a larger flag), the *fqih* was receiving as many as 20 quintals per year, from a good hundred participating *nubath.* The *fqih's* diet is also regularly supplemented in two ways: once a week each of his pupils brings him an egg or two as *tahrir* or "liberation," so that he will close school early the following day and allow the boy to attend the market; and each *nubth* in turn provides him with his supper every night, taken to him by one of his pupils. The supper comes already cooked, and if the *fqih* is lucky he may even get a little meat. Furthermore, if the harvest has been good, the *fqih* may be given a special *mijma'* (lit. "reunion") or "tip," in barley, over and above what was previously agreed upon in the contract; and he may have a *dhwiza* working party formed on his behalf by the members of the community. Jillaba stitching and charm writing help him to make ends meet, but he may not charge the illiterate majority for writing their letters for them—this last is considered to be in the line of duty. It should also be added that a *fqih* must wash the bodies of dead men before their enshrouding and burial.

Every Friday mosque has two *fqihs:* the *fqih imhadharen,* the "schoolmaster of pupils," to teach the small boys the Qur'an; and the *fqih nj-khutbath,* "the preceptor of the sermon," who is more learned, and is generally an outsider from a neighboring or nearby tribe (but always a Rifian), to deliver the weekly sermon (*khutba*) at the time of the noon prayer on Fridays and to instruct the more advanced students who have already learned the Qur'an. The same principles that apply for the community mosque apply to the contracting and remuneration of the *fqih* of the Friday mosque. However, since a Friday mosque tends to cater to several communities at once, the *fqih* in this instance is contracted by all the interested parties (previously he was in effect contracted by the subclan). In 1955 the top *fqih* of the one Friday mosque in the Aith Turirth was receiving as much as 50-60 *mudd* of barley a year. With the conversion of more community mosques into Friday mosques, however, there was considerable reduction in his annual barley allotment, which in 1961 was cut by half.[15]

Anyone may become a *fqih,* but in practice it is often members of humble lineages, or possibly humbler members of politically acceptable and participant lineages, who do so. In the Aith Turirth, the despised lineage of the Ihawtshen, the nonfighters and buriers of the dead, have provided a considerable number of *tulba* for local community mosques. The incumbent at the Bulma mosque in 1955 was of this lineage, as was the incumbent in 1967. In the former year, too, the *fqih* at the Friday mosque in the same subclan came from an *imziren* or blacksmith lineage in the Axt Tuzin; the *fqih* at the Aith Hadhifa mosque was from the Iqar'ayen, in the Eastern Rif; and the one at the Imzuren mosque was from the Thimsaman. These cases underscore another point already made: that those *tulba* who become sermon deliverers at Friday mosques are likely to come from outside the tribe in which they work. Even at the level of the local community, the *fqih*, although no stranger, is apt to come not from that community itself, but from another one fairly near by. The reason for this, as well as for the *fqih's* generally rather humble status, seems obvious: he wields the pen rather than the sword, and he must, ideally, be impartial and neutral insofar as community disputes are concerned. (Even 'Abd al-Krim, who was to change radically the notion that a one-time *fqih* could not become a "strongman," came from one of the lesser lineages of Ajdir—one which had, it seems, been settled there only for about three or four generations.) Like clerics in other parts of the world, *tulba* in the Rif are often made the butt of jokes, mostly of a sexual or scatological kind. The uniform, so to speak, is respected, but this by no means necessarily applies to the man who wears it—in this particular domain as in others.

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[14] Weights and measures in Morocco have always been problematical, and to date I have not run across any adequate study of the problem. But a comparison of the quintal and *mudd* figures given in the text shows an approximate ratio of two *mudds* to one quintal, or *quntar.*

[15] I was told in 1955 that every *nubth* in the Aith Turirth, save those of the lineages of the Iznagen and Ihawtshen, must contribute to feeding the *fqih* of the Friday mosque. The latter two lineages do not do so, it seems, because when the mosque was built, their ancestors had not yet arrived in Aith Turirth territory. I am skeptical of this interpretation because there is no doubt that the Imjjat lineage of l-'Ass appeared on the scene well after both the Iznagen and the Ihawtshen, and the Imjjat contribute regularly to the sustenance of the same *fqih.*

The primary function of *tulba* is to provide a traditional Qur'anic education. There are already a number of excellent general descriptions of such education (and socialization) in the literature,[16] but to these I shall add an account of the traditional education process as observed in the Jbil Hmam in 1954-55.

First of all, the Aith Waryaghar father believes that a little boy is of far more immediate use to him herding goats on the mountain slopes, and it is invariably the immediate, rather than the long-term, goal that is sought for. Nonetheless, education brings more than a modicum of prestige, and if a man has more than one son, he is willing to send one of them to study in the mosque. Thus, out of three or four sons, one will start between the ages of six and eight as a pupil, *amhadhar*, under the *fqih* at the local community mosque.

This primary instruction is called *ta'lim l-awwal*, and educational aids, methods, and techniques are the same as elsewhere: the wooden slates (*luha*), preferably made from the wood of a tree growing near the tomb of an important saint; the special form of chalk (*sansal*) that is dissolved in water and rubbed upon the slate before any writing begins; the small reed pen or *qlam*, the dark or black liquid "ink" (*smagh*) obtained by dissolving wool and calcinated rams' or goats' horns in water; and the small earthenware inkwell (*dwaya*).

The great majority of the pupils are day students, although boarders may come from further away. Class hours are from 7:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m., with three hours off, during which the pupil goes home to eat lunch if his house is near enough. The class resumes again from 2:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., when the boys return home for the night. Thursday afternoons and Fridays there is no school, and the pupils have in addition some forty days of vacation (*'awashar*) per year: ten days each at the 'Ashur, Mulud, 'Aid s-Sghir, and 'Aid l-Kbir holidays. During their vacations they go from house to house chanting the Qur'an, and the people give them eggs and butter as a present for the *fqih*—no doubt in part to substitute for the weekly eggs he would be receiving from each pupil if school were in session.

The *fqih* admits pupils without regard to their age. Some of them are younger than the usual school age, and these sit on the floor with a serious air, apparently taking no part in the class. In fact they are getting acclimated, seeing their neighbors (and sometimes, although rarely, their elder brothers) write verses on their slates and listening to them recite. Although the language barrier between Rifian and classical Arabic may appear almost insurmountable, the sacred words become familiar little by little, until the youngest boys themselves come to take an active part in the class.

They then receive their slates and, sitting cross-legged, hold them upright with both hands, the shorter side resting on their legs. On the slate, which the pupil presents to him for the first time, the *fqih* writes the letters of the alphabet in their isolate, initial, medial, and terminal forms, as well as the orthographical signs and vowel points to be learned; at the same time, he demonstrates the distinct motions that must be used in writing.

Once the pupil has acquired this indispensable base, he traces the same letters and signs with the black ink on the slate, guiding his strokes by the outline that the dry reed pen of the fqih has left on the coat of *sansal*. When this has been done correctly, the boy writes without assistance; and then comes the time to write the first *sura* (chapter) of the Qur'an, the Surat al-Fatiha, on the slate. The pupil, seated cross-legged on his mat, recites this *sura*, raising his voice when he can, and balancing his body while he reads. He must commit it to memory, and the swaying of his body and an occasional tap on the slate with a small piece of beveled wood help him. When he has learned it by heart, he recites it to the *fqih*, standing up and showing him the slate—although the *fqih* has no need to see it, for he knows the whole of the Qur'an perfectly in any case. If the pupil has retained it well in his memory, he is then permitted to wash the slate and to rub *sansal* on it once more in order to write a new *sura*. An important point to be noted here is that the water resulting from the washing may not be mixed with any water used in washing clothes or in washing the body; thus when a mosque is built, its drainage must be kept apart from the rest of the community drainage.

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[16] One of the best of these, for Northern Morocco, is the incomparable description given by F. Valderrama Martínez, op. cit., 1952, pp. 59-62. Cf. also Alberto Serrano Montañer, *Enseñanza General Indígena*, Ceuta, 1930, pp. 10 sq.; but this is a less lucid account.

The second *sura* (The Cow) is not studied after the first, because it is the longest of all; instead the pupils go to the last one (The Men) and continue in reverse order until arriving at the second *sura*, which is learned last. This procedure is explained by the fact that the boy must learn the prayers, and these, except for the *fatiha*, are all in the last and shortest *suras*.

The Qur'an has 114 *suras*, and for teaching and rote-memory purposes it is divided into sixty parts called *hisib* in Rifian. These are unequal in size, as the *suras* themselves are, and each one embraces a specific number of *suras*. Generally, they are arranged in order of difficulty, which corresponds, in fact, to the back-to-front order in which the Qur'an itself is memorized.[17]

Studying is done purely by rote, without any explanation at all, because Qur'anic exegesis is only permitted to great savants. The boy thus recites the *suras* without understanding what they mean—and this is particularly the case among Rifian boys. Ideally the *fqih* should know the Qur'an so well that he can dictate to several boys at a time merely by identifying the last word that each one has written on his slate.

So many hours of study and, above all, memory work demand a considerable effort on the part of the pupil. Recreation is quite unknown, except at times when the *fqih* leaves to pray, or at others when he falls asleep. But woe to the pupil who is distracted, who is caught laughing, or whose eyes close in the August heat. The *fqih's* wild olive cane descends on all heads, legs, and especially soles of the feet, (the "bastinado"); and generally the punishments are met with the sincerest approbation by the boy's parents (the case of the boy from Aith Turirth discussed earlier was exceptional).

When an *amhadhar* finishes his study of the Qur'an, which may take him anywhere from five to twenty years, according to his individual learning capacity and memorization ability, he becomes a *talib*. He may now continue his studies by learning the *Ajrumiya* and the *Alfiya*, two famous treatises on Arabic grammar and syntax, respectively, and both in verse. He does this either at the Friday mosque or, more often, in Spanish times, at the *madrasa*, the more advanced school for "secondary instruction" or *ta'lim ath-thani*, in al-Husaima. He improves his penmanship and calligraphy by copying books. Once he has completed this secondary course of training he is, for local intents and purposes, truly a *fqih*. He is now, for example, fully qualified to deliver, in Arabic, the Friday sermon, which itself almost invariably consists of diverse passages from the Qur'an strung together in one way or another: this again reflects the emphasis placed, in traditional education, upon memorization rather than upon any ability to organize one's own thoughts, or to extemporize, save within the confines of traditional rhetoric.

A special feast called, in Rifian, *tbitth*, marks the educational rite of passage from *amhadhar* to *talib* status. The father of a new *talib* kills a sheep or a goat and invites the other *tulba* in the vicinity to partake of it, as well as the *fqih* of the local community mosque, who has trained his son and who is hence the guest of honor.

Talib and *fqih*, however, are not by any means the final steps in religious-legal education. The opting to remain in the Friday mosque, for example, only confirms a man's status as a *talib* and gives him no opportunity to go on to university training in order to become a *qadi*.

During the *Ripublik* the number of *qadis* in Waryagharland could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and the position of *qadi* has always carried much more prestige than that of *fqih*. Any aspirant to it must go to a university and learn religious law (*fiqh*), its sources (*usul al-fiqh*), and prophetic tradition (*hadith*), along with the *Sahih* or traditions of al-Bukhari, unitarian theology (*tawhid*), and a considerable number of other traditional disciplines—legal, theological, and grammatical—including the *Burda* of Shaikh Busiri (a long paean to the Prophet). Under the traditional system the academic year and final examinations are unknown. Once a student, working under one or several professors of his choice, felt that he had mastered enough of the material in question, again largely through gargantuan efforts at memorization, he was given a certificate (*ijaza*) that functioned as his academic "union card" and enabled him to give classes on his own.

In Northern Morocco, the disciplines in question may be studied either at the University of Sidi Bu Ya'qub in the Thimsaman, the only university in the Rif and the nearest, of course, to Waryagharland, or at the Luqash University in Tetuan. However, the most prestigious University by far for the pursuit of any higher degree in the traditional Muslim educational system has always been the Qarawiyin University of Fez, one of the three great Muslim universities of

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[17] I am indebted to Dr. Kenneth Brown for this information. Personal communication August 10, 1966. I would add that the boy whose brief school career I mentioned earlier learned 13 *haisib* in only 4 months, but his father then took him out of school, as he was an only son.

North Africa (the other two being the Zaituna of Tunis and the al-Azhar of Cairo).[18] The bulk of Morocco's most illustrious *'ulama'* or savants, and indeed of its more noteworthy *qadis*—including, in fairly recent times, 'Abd al-Krim himself—have been graduates of the Qarawiyin or, at the very least, individuals who had had considerable exposure to the Qarawiyin brand of learning at this university level of *ta'lim al-'ali* or "higher education." For only *ta'lim al-'ali* can produce *'ulama'*.

SAINTS AND SAINT WORSHIP

The *imrabdhen* or "saints" of Waryagharland—who must be differentiated from the clan or "fifth" of the Imrabdhen—will be discussed here *as* saints, from the standpoint of the sociology of religion. This is to emphasize a distinction that is already implicit: that between the *imrabdhen* and the Imrabdhen. In chapter 10 the latter will be discussed, especially from the point of view of their structural position. This will include the conceptual differences between *imrabdhen*, or *mrabtin*, and *shurfa;* those between "genuine" and "spurious" genealogies, and between "lay holy" and "holy holy" lineages; and the primary role of the latter very minoritarian groups both in the adjudication of disputes (such as in the arrangement of summer truces for harvesting) and in the division of labor, within any given "holy holy" lineage, between the adjudicator and his *baraka*-holding agnate. In this chapter the focus will be upon the role of the *imrabdhen* in Islam as manifested in the Aith Waryaghar context, upon the role of a considerable number of individual saints rather than upon the "corporate" role, if such it can be called, of a whole "fifth." (Indeed, there is in fact no such role save in the infrequent occurrence of the mobilization of overall tribal *liffs*.)

The point of interest here is that in Waryagharland the real *imrabdhen* are not the Imrabdhen as manifested in structural terms as either "fifth" or clan. They are for the most part foreign saints and not home-grown ones. What has happened is that the saints who have impinged upon the Aith Waryaghar from the outside have eclipsed the "local talent." Although there are some notable exceptions (such as Sidi Mhand u-Musa, Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnaw, and Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud), it is, by and large, the foreign saints who have performed the greatest miracles, and we shall therefore concentrate upon them before turning to the less positive achievements of the local ones. However, something must be said first about different categories of saints, saints' tombs and prayer-places, and the concept of "saint worship" in general.

Rifians do not differentiate between *shurfa* and *mrabtin*, and lump them together in everyday conversation as *imrabdhen*, despite the fact that they are well aware of the *conceptual* differences between the two. Briefly put, the major distinction between these two categories of saintly personages is one of descent. *Shurfa* (sing. *sharif*) are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima and her husband 'Ali, or at least they are locally held to be so. In Morocco, there are two major branches of *shurfa*, the Idrisiyin and the 'Alawiyin. The latter have provided the present ruling house, but here it is only the former, who are descended from Idris II, the Younger (and the founder of Fez, 803-828/9 A.D.), and from his father Idris I (788-791 A.D., buried in the town of Mulay Idris of the Zarhun, 16 km. north of Meknes), who concern us.

Mrabtin, on the other hand, acquire their saintliness through the performance of miracles or merely good works, although true *shurfa* also increase their local reputations in the same way. But *shurfa* and *mrabtin* are often found in association with each other: the latter frequently attach themselves to the former, and should the former give them their daughters in marriage, as has often happened, they then conveniently forget the principle of agnatic descent for one generation only,[19] to resume it at once afterwards and thus hook themselves onto a long holy genealogy. An illustrious pedigree is, after all, one of the essential stocks-in-trade of a true *sharif*. This explanation would seem to account nicely for the extraordinary proliferation of *shurfa* all over present-day Morocco: for the supply greatly exceeds the demand. It seems hardly necessary to add that the veneration in which *shurfa* and *mrabtin* are traditionally held extends both to dead as well as to living saints. The ritual surrounding the most important of the dead saints centers around their shrines, generally cupola-covered, where annual minor pilgrimages are held, and where their descendants receive the donations of the lay tribesmen or townsmen whose patrons they are.[20]

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[18] The University of Sidi Bu Ya'qub was supposedly founded in the 13th Century, A.D., but I would *a priori* doubt that it has ever contained the curricular range of the Qarawiyin University in Fez, although Beneitez (op. cit., 1952, p. 135) speaks of Spanish protectoral efforts to revive it.

[19] This precedent was, after all, set by the Prophet in giving his daughter, Fatima, to 'Ali.

[20] E. Lévi-Provencal, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris: Leroux, 1922, p. 46, even suggests that the intimate link between saint worship and *sharifism* which is so prominent a feature of Moroccan Islam is due largely to its specifically Moroccan, as opposed to peninsular Arabian, content. This is so because quite aside from any postulated and hard-dying heathen Berber religious cults (of which virtually nothing is known in any case), existing at and prior

Both saints and the tombs in which they are buried are again known as *imrabdhen*. The one implies the other. The term *siyyid* may sometimes be employed to refer to the tomb specifically, just as *salih* may be employed to refer to the mortal remains of the saint within it: but in the Rif, *amrabit* and *imrabdhen* are the more usual terms of reference. Since one literally cannot go more than a few kilometers anywhere in rural Morocco without seeing such a tomb, which is often, though by no means always (and this point is important), a building adorned with a cupola or *qubba*,[21] in lieu of a roof, we begin the subject of saint worship from the standpoint of its most visible material manifestation, the tomb itself.

Every saint's tomb has a definite perimeter, though the size may vary from one tomb to another. It is sometimes marked with stones or a low wall, within which is the *hurm* or sanctuary of the saint in question (the same is true of cemeteries). Often this *hurm* territory is not marked off at all; it is simply understood that no plant life or trees associated with the tomb or growing upon it can be cut down, nor can the ground be planted. This ground is therefore popularly regarded as *habus*, although technically speaking it is not. It does not matter in the least whether the trees in question antedate the saint or vice versa: the mere fact of their association with the tomb is a blanket warning to would-be woodcutters not to incur the malediction of the saint. This is why such clusters of trees, which generally hide the tomb on at least one side, are known in the literature as "sacred groves."[22] It goes without saying that the person of any individual who is inside the *hurm* grounds is inviolable.

The sepulchres or shrines of saints may or may not be associated with mosques and cemeteries; and, as indicated above, they may or may not have a cupola. Despite what popular opinion may be to the contrary, the existence of a cupola over the tomb of a saint has nothing whatsoever to do with the prestige of the saint in question: externally, at least, it means

Tomb of Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, ancestral point of definition of the Imrabdhen, outside Bab l-Gisa at Fez (1965)

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to the time of the Arab conquest, and which are also sociologically irrelevant in the present context, the extraordinary proliferation of holy lineages from the 16th century onwards is what really widened, both territorially and structurally, the already firmly entrenched common base of hagiolatry and *sharifism*. Documentation for this fact is ample.

[21] The word also refers to the grapevine arc, *r-qubbth*, which a bride wears on her head, the day she is taken to the groom's house; the masculine form *qubb* refers to the hood of a jillaba.

[22] Elsewhere in Berber Morocco there are indeed "holy trees," so sanctified because a saint has stopped to pray under them, thus commemorating the spot; but in the Central Rif, or, at least, Waryagharland, these do not occur as such.

only that the members of the *jma'th* concerned decided, at some point, to pool their resources in order to hire a mason to build one. As Gellner has pointed out for the Central Atlas, certain saints (or their spirits) object violently to having their tombs roofed in any way. He relates the case of a very important saint in the region whose tomb was reroofed on several occasions. The roof had fallen through each time, and the people finally learned their lesson: the shrine today remains open to the air.[23]

To my knowledge there are no legends as dramatic as this regarding *qubba*-less shrines in Waryagharland; but the fact is that although some nine saints' tombs in the plain and in the lower foothills do have cupolas, none in the Jbil Hmam does, with the single exception of the tomb of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnaw at the *zawiya* of the same name in the highland Aith Hadhifa. Indeed, a count of cupolas in Waryagharland, compared with the total number of saints' tombs recorded, shows them to be very much in the minority, with a total of ten. Table 7.1 gives a breakdown, as pieced together through personal observation, unpublished Spanish administrative reports, and the remarks of Rodriquez Padilla.[24]

TABLE 7.1

Saints' Tombs, With and Without Cupolas

	Number of Communities With Tombs	Number of Tombs in These Communities	Number of Tombs in These Communities With Cupolas
Aith Yusif w'Ari	5	8	—
Aith 'Ari	3	6	—
Imrabdhen	13	19	9
Aith 'Abdallah	7	6	—
Aith Hadhifa	6	4	—
Aith Bu 'Ayyash:			
a) Aith 'Adhiya	5	5	1
b) "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash	7	4	—
Aith 'Arus	10	5	—
Aith Turirth	13	6	—
Timarzga	7	3	—
Totals	76	66	10

According to these figures, only about 11% of the saints' tombs in the tribal territory are domed. Of the total of 10 domed tombs, at least two (Sidi Mhand u-Musa and Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar) are those of very important miracle-working saints. But of all the non-domed ones in Waryagharland, the primary one is that of the most important saint in the whole of the tribal territory. He is Sidi Bu Khiyar, buried above the community of Bu Ma'dan in the subclan of Timarzga, at the very highest point of the Jbil Hmam. The fact is of interest, because not only is Sidi Bu Khiyar the only saint in the Central Rif to whom a specific annual pilgrimage is made, but he was a stranger to the tribe as well, probably from Tlemcen in Algeria. Sidi Sha'ib u-r-Ftah in the Thimsaman, however, has a cupola over his tomb, which overlooks the Mediterranean.

People visit it throughout the summer in the hopes of learning how to sing and to play musical instruments properly: this is in no way an annual pilgrimage, and beyond the fact that Sidi Sha'ib u-r-Ftah also died a bachelor (or at least without issue), he has nothing else in common with Sidi Bu Khiyar. Sidi Sha'ib represents what might be called a kind of "left-wing fringe" of the Sufi movement in Morocco, while the keynotes of the annual pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar are simplicity and orthodoxy.

Two other types of sites related to saints are the *rawdha* and the *akarkur*.

A *rawdha* is any site where a saint has stopped, in the course of a journey, to pray. Sometimes such sites are commemorated with unroofed stone enclosures, such as the one where a female saint,[25] Aralla Mimuna (a descendent of Sidi Hand u-Musa of the Igzinnayen), stopped to pray in l-'Ass in the Aith Turirth; sometimes they are just open places known to all the locals, such as that in Tigzirin and that at Qubba Hammam, both also in the Aith Turirth. An *akarkur* (fem. and diminutive *dhakarkurth*) is, on the other hand, simply a site where a saint has stopped to rest, without necessarily having prayed; it is commemorated by a cairn of stones, each pious passerby adding one as he goes along. An example is the *Dhakarkurth n-Sidi Hand u-Musa* near the former *mkhazni* post above l-'Ass, almost on the Igzinnayen border.[26]

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[23] E. Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, pp. 163-4.

[24] I. Rodriguez Padilla, *Confradias Religiosas en el Rif y Diversos Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, pp. 33-4.

[25] Female saints are not uncommon in other parts of Morocco, and are called *Lalla X* or *Lalla Y* (whence Rifian *aralla* or *araddja*); but this is the only instance I have ever heard of in Waryagharland. Lalla Mimuna Tagnawt, however (and possibly the same woman?), buried on the Moroccan Atlantic Coast west of Suq l-Arba' dyal Gharb ("Souk El Arbaa du Rharb"), was supposed to have been either a Rifian woman (from the Ibuqquyen?) or of Rifian descent. Her nickname *Tagnawt*, "deaf and dumb" (cf. 'Abd r-Qadar *Agnaw*) implies this. See F. Valderrama Martinez, "Lalla Mimuna Taguenaut," *Africa* (Madrid) VI, 63-4, March-April 1947, pp. 120-1.

[26] A third and allied concept is that of *thamzyidha n-'al- Allah*, "the Mosque of God." It refers to a tomb or a mosque which

These last are trifles; but the notion of the *wali* is one of crucial importance in terms of Moroccan sainthood. A *wali* (pl. *awliya'*) is a really great saint (such as those from Tlemsen) who is a "friend of God."

The terms "saint," "sainthood," and "saint worship" themselves are used here with considerable misgiving, since they are, strictly speaking, concepts taken whole from Catholic Christianity and transplanted, where more or less applicable, into certain Islamic contexts. They are not satisfactory terms, then, but they have no easy substitutes. A *wali* is indeed a "friend of God"; and in Waryaghar idiom, its plural *awliya' Allah* can be said to characterize not only Sidi Bu Khiyar, but Sidi Hand u-Musa and Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud as well; the first and last were, probably, technically *imrabdhen* and the second, from the Igzinnayen, technically a *sharif.* Nonetheless, they often operated in conjunction, or so it is said—because they all had the ability to fly and to do so unperceived by living men. By the same token, it is said of Sidi Hmid Marrui, buried in the Aith 'Abdallah, that he was able to walk on water; that Sidi Mhand u-Musa, buried in Aith Hishim of the Imrabdhen (and not to be confused with Sidi Hand u-Musa of the Igzinnayen), had the ability to be in two places at once; and that Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnaw ("Deaf and dumb") had two black tongues and was mute until a year before his death when God miraculously awarded him the gift of speech.[27]

Now whether he is an *amrabit* or a *sharif,* such feats almost automatically raise a saint to the category of *wali.* The crucial fact in these cases is not one of descent, but of accomplishment. Although, as Gellner has noted, a saint ideally receives his *baraka* from God, he is actually ascribed it by the local lay population around him; hence *vox Dei* is in reality *vox populi.*[28] Although *baraka* (and the ability to work miracles, *karamat,*) is claimed to be an objective characteristic of people, it is treated as though it were a thing in itself. Its attribution is actually just another instance of semantic ascription, for those who have it have become possessors of it through being treated as possessors of it. Nevertheless, understanding the logical inconsistency behind the concept is essential to understanding how it works in the social system: for what God giveth, God may also take away.

The whole process is rather like that of a very long and drawn out university examination in which the positions and roles of the few who "pass" as well as those of the many who "fail" are both of great importance to the working of the system. Only some of the criteria, as Gellner has remarked, need to be satisfied; but obviously, the more that are satisfied, the better. To continue the analogy, another point is that the results of the examination are not posted up on the bulletin board beside the dean's office for all to see; they are rather passed around under the table, so to speak. It is of course the lay tribesmen who "grade the papers," and candidates who fail the examination need only pick up plow and gun again.

Now there is nothing particularly remarkable in the fact that almost all saints are visited by women, generally on Sundays, for the purpose of curing either their own barrenness or their children's sickness—and that while there, their husbands usually sacrifice a goat or a chicken, and all partake of it on the spot. (Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud is frequently visited for curing illness and causing pregnancy, while Sidi r-Hajj Sa'id, upriver from the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, is considered very efficacious for removing *jnun* or evil spirits, and twenty to thirty women may be found at his tomb any Sunday in the year.) However, most of the saints in this category are "little *imrabdhen*" as opposed to "big *imrabdhen*"—a distinction that is known to all. The latter, the big ones, are the *awliya'* of God, the miracle workers, who always have the *baraka,* and in abundance; they pray incessantly, they always perform good works, and ideally, they stay rigidly apart from worldly affairs. Ideally, again, they never adjudicate disputes, such tasks being left to their brothers or agnates, and they never ask for donations (*ziyara*), although these almost invariably are given them. In this connection the Aith Waryaghar quote a subdivision of the ideal into two subcategories: one gives a *sadaqa* offering in money to true *shurfa,* while one sacrifices animals to *imrabdhen;* to this we shall return later.

Thus there are really three categories of saints involved, rather than two: on the one hand, *shurfa* and *imrabdhen* in the restricted (or restrictive) sense, differentiated from each other on the basis of descent

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has no *fqih,* no *mqaddim,* no *jma'th,* nothing; it is simply God's property. An example is the so-called mosque of Sidi Walu ("My Lord Nothing") near Shawen: it was built by the Spaniards about 1929–1930 and has never been attended by anyone.

[27] This is said to have happened in the following manner: Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar had a daughter whose hand was asked for in marriage by her parallel cousin, 'Abdssram. Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar refused his nephew, and in order to get revenge, 'Abdssram attempted to blind the saint by passing a hot iron in front of his eyes. At this, Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar uttered a piercing cry and began to pronounce words not of wrath or vengeance, but of thanks to God for having restored him his sight. Immediately afterwards, he spat on his hands and, passing them in front of his eyes, gradually began to recover his sight. Cf. Rodriguez Padilla op. cit., pp. 33–4.

[28] E. Gellner, "Concepts and Society," *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology,* Washington: International Sociological Association, Vol. I, 1962, pp. 153–83, esp., pp. 177–181.

or nondescent from the Prophet;[29] and on the other, *awliya'*, who may be drawn from the ranks of either of the two categories, and who are set apart from them principally by ascribed thaumaturgical power and by possession of the *baraka*. The distinction between these three kinds of saints having no exact parallel, to my knowledge, in Christian hagiolatry, I shall continue to employ the vernacular designations where the distinctions are relevant, rather than try to provide English equivalents. The list of *awliya'* for the Aith Waryaghar is very small indeed, and it includes at least two saints who were "foreigners" but whose association with Waryagharland was undeniable: Sidi Bu Khiyar and Sidi Hand u-Musa. Before we return to the "mountaineer quartet" composed of these two plus Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and his son Sidi Muhand, however, we shall first consider some of the exploits of the homegrown lowlander Sidi Mhand u-Musa in the light of the criteria given above.[30] It will be immediately apparent that he does not qualify on all counts.

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Sidi Mhand u-Musa was the point of fission of the Iziqqiwen lineage (his nickname was Aziqqiw, "loud voice"?) of the Imrabdhen of Aith Hishim. Unlike any of his descendents he often went on religious visits to Fez. He was a great warrior (in keeping with the Aith Waryaghar tradition of their "fifth" of Imrabdhen, but questionable for a wali or for a member of a "holy holy" lineage), and it is said that when the French, under Napoleon, went to Egypt, Sidi Mhand u-Musa also went there in order to fight against them, and to keep the Christian from Muslim shores.

Sidi Mhand u-Musa was also extremely active in keeping watch over the borders of the Rif, and local tradition wrongly has it that it was he who built the fortress (now a ruin) on the Ajdir beach, which is known as the Burj al-Mujahidin. Sánchez Pérez, says, to the contrary, that this "Fortress of the Martyrs" was already in existence when the Spaniards occupied al-Husaima Island in 1673, for the Rifian guard was already mounted there against them.[31] The Fort of the Mujahidin had a mosque attached to it (in which Sidi Mhand u-Musa is said to have had a room all to himself), and it was surrounded by the tombs of numerous fallen martyr-saints (hence its name, in Rifian, *r-Marsa n-Imjahadhen*, "Bay of the Martyrs") as well as by storehouses of ammunition, cannons, and guns of all types. The Aith Waryaghar were not to be caught napping in the event of a Christian invasion by sea, and Sidi Mhand u-Musa was constantly on hand to see that they stayed on guard.

People who entered the tribal territory, or who came and went from the South, did not do so before speaking to Sidi Mhand u-Musa and asking his permission. He was a superlative adjudicator (which, again, would technically disqualify him from *wali* status), and he resolved all intra- and intertribal disputes, whether easy or difficult. The following is an excellent example.

Once there was an argument between the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin on the one hand and the Aith Waryaghar on the other, over the subject of tribal boundaries. A glance at the tribal map, showing the Nkur River as the boundary between the first two on the east and the third on the west, will show why this could have happened, given the fact that the Nkur constantly changes its course. Sidi Mhand went personally to the disputed area in order to talk to the council members of each tribe. When he reached the Nkur, he requested that the frontier be placed a bit further east, thus encroaching on the territory of the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin. These tribes, not unnaturally, disagreed, and their councillors, headed by an Axt Tuzin *sharif*, Sidi Bu Jiddain (lit. "possessor of two grandfathers"), reiterated that the border had to be the river itself. Sidi Mhand u-Musa acquiesced, and the Aith Waryaghar, somewhat surprised and annoyed, did so as well after he told them *sotto voce* that all would work out best in the long run. Then everyone went home. That same night there was a torrential downpour of rain that caused the Nkur River to change its course and to move right up to the eastern limit that Sidi Mhand u-Musa had originally requested. This was a most felicitous outcome, for the *baraka* of Sidi Mhand u-Musa worked in favor of the Aith Waryaghar, who thereby gained ground which they have not lost to this day.

A postscript to this same story has it that when Sidi Mhand u-Musa went to say goodbye to Sidi Bu Jiddain, he shook him by hand. The latter then discovered an abcess or a tumor sprouting from his hand, from which, it is said, he eventually died.

It is also said that Sidi Mhand would be absent for days on end and then suddenly reappear. Once he was jailed and put in chains in Fez; nevertheless, when the Aith Waryaghar went to pray, they found him in their midst. They were astonished, for Sidi

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[29] One informant, indeed, defined a *sharif* for me as a descendant of the prophet through the male line (i.e., through Hasan and Husain b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib), and a *mrabit*, on the other hand, as a descendant of the Prophet through the female line! He himself was neither, but had some pretensions to *mrabit* status.

[30] Almost all my information on Sidi Mhand u-Musa is derived from an excellent (but unfortunately unsigned) Spanish administrative report dated February 7, 1944.

[31] Sánchez Pérez op. cit., 1952, pp. 29-47, Esp. pp. 40-43.

Mhand u-Musa was in two places at once: praying with them and chained up in prison at the same time. In contrast to the earlier story, in which Sidi Mhand acted as adjudicator, these last two incidents show the true marks of a *wali*.

Sidi Mhand seems to have told his sons that they would never see any *shurfa* who were greater than those of their lineage, the Iziqqiwen, and that the latter would be the most important holy lineage in the Rif (a prediction that was not entirely realized). Nonetheless, he was very friendly with the Sharif of Wazzan (whether at Wazzan itself or at the Zawiya Snada of the Wazzaniyin in the Aith Yittuft is not specified), and the latter once sent him a letter saying that until the end of the world came, the only true *shurfa* would be the descendents of both of them. These points of view are doubly interesting, given the essential spuriousness of the Imrabdhen claim to *shurfa*-hood, for they illustrate not only the assertiveness of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, but also the conciliatory attitude of the Sharif of Wazzan, whose pedigree was certainly genuine.

An informant gave me the year 1254 A.H., or 1838 A.D., as the date of death of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, whose tomb is on the so-called "Hillock of the Saints" in Aith Hishim.[32] Here his descendents are also buried, including his grandson Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq, who swung the Imrabdhen over to the Aith Yusif n-'Ari *liff* alliance faction (see chapter 12), and in so doing perhaps tipped the Aith Waryaghar scales into a state of perpetual imbalance.[33] It seems that Sidi Mhand's son Sidi Siddiq was visited over the course of the Mulud (11-13 Rabi'al-Awwal) every year by the Aith Waryaghar, just as they had visited his father. On the final day of the visit they left him their *ziyara* donations and, in a *dhwiza* party, they cleaned, whitewashed, and made necessary repairs to the *zawiya*.

The transmission of the *baraka* in the Iziqqiwen lineage of Sidi Mhand u-Musa is worthy of comment here in the light of observations made earlier in this section. When Sidi Mhand u-Musa died, his *baraka* bypassed his son Sidi Siddiq (who was apparently due only a certain amount of respect), and went to his eldest grandson Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq, and then to the latter's son Sidi Hmid n-Sidi Misa'ud (nicknamed *Bu Rjila*, because of his deformed foot; today the whole lineage is even referred to as the Iburjilathen). From this point, however, it seems that the *baraka* then reverted back to Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila's paternal uncle, Sidi 'Abdssram (the younger brother of Sidi Misa'ud); from him down to his own son, Sidi Muhand; then to the latter's eldest son, Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was nominated *qaid* of the Imrabdhen by the Moroccan Sultan, Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz (1894-1908); and finally to his eldest son, Sidi Muhand. Since the last Sidi Muhand was the elder brother of my informant in this case, there may well have been a certain degree of self-interest in the arrogation of claims to the *baraka*. However, even though the passing of the *baraka* from a nephew back to a paternal uncle may seem odd, Michaux-Bellaire[34] provides excellent documentation on how the *baraka* was transmitted in the case of the Shurfa of Wazzan (whose claim to *shurfa*-hood is infinitely stronger than that of any of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen). At one significant apex, for example, it went from one *sharif* to his brother rather than to his son, and then it continued down in that brother's line. Moreover, and in congruence with Waryagher notions of *baraka* transmission, only one *sharif* at any given time was the possessor of the *baraka*. This point is crucial, in the light of my earlier observations, for in at least one instance amongst the latterday Wazzan *shurfa*, Michaux-Bellaire cites one brother (the elder one) as the *baraka* possessor and another (the younger one) as the adjudicator, administrator, staff-worker, and settler of disputes. This provides independent support for my ideas about *baraka* transmission both in the Iziqqiwen lineage and, more particularly, in that of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud in the Aith Turirth.

There are however, other accounts of *baraka* passage in the lineage of Sidi Mhand u-Musa; significantly, perhaps, the point where they all diverge is after Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, who may well be the last member of the lineage to have actually possessed it. Certainly his son Sidi 'Abdssram Bu Rjila did not have it; or if he did, he unquestionably lost it when in about 1924, 'Abd al-Krim had him executed at the Sunday Market of Thisar for having passed information on to the Spaniards. This, it seems, is a classic case of the prestige of a holy lineage being lost through the pressure of wider politics, and it may possibly be analogous to the contention made by some younger Rifians today to the effect that when King Muhammad

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[32] Westermarck (Op. cit., 1926, vol. I p. 84) says that near the tomb of Sidi Mhand u-Musa there is a spring, the water of which cures the itch. Elsewhere (ibid. p. 498) he reports that oaths were regularly taken at Sidi Mhand's tomb on Wednesdays, and that perjury in oath "was severely punished by the saint." The death date above would in any case seem to hold good.

[33] J. R. Erola, MS., 1952, records a case of nearly a century earlier dated by him at 1190 A.H. (1776-77 A.D.), in which Sidi Hmid of the Imrabdhen of Iqanniyen, one of the discontinuous Imrabdhen lineages in the Aith 'Abdallah, became the supreme mediator for both overall *liffs* in Waryagharland. Perhaps it can be assumed that at that time these *liffs* were balanced in their opposition to each other. Later, they were not.

[34] Michaux-Bellaire, op. cit., 1918, pp. 236-54.

V died suddenly in 1961, the *baraka* "left the country." (Whether this would signify a growing secularization or a certain dissatisfaction with the present dispensation is a moot point.)

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It is here pertinent to define a few terms that have cropped up previously in the text. The first of these is *zawiya*, known in Rifian as *z-zawith*. The usual definition of this word is that of a lodge or building associated primarily with a religious order (such as the Darqawa or the 'Alawiyin, to mention only the two leading orders in Waryagharland); but in the Aith Waryaghar context, at least, the factor of housing members of a religious order is by no means an absolute *sine qua non* for a building to qualify as a *zawiya*. It is sufficient for the building to be, or to have been, a center of religious learning, of meditation, and of prayer. Such is indeed the case for all the Imrabdhen *zawiyas* in Waryagharland: Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, the "Upper Zawiya," and Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, the "Lower Zawiya," both in Imrabdhen territory, as well as the Zawith n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa; Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnaw in the Aith Hadhifa; and two adjoining *zawiyas* in the Aith Turirth, those of a father and son, Zawith n-Sidi R-Hajj Misa'ud and Zawith n-Sidi Muhand. In the last instance, Sidi Muhand held the principal *tasbih* or rosary of the Darqawa order during his lifetime, and thus his *zawiya* was associated with that order; but after his death it was either not passed on to his eldest son as his *baraka* was passed on, or the latter simply abandoned it. Today the Aith Waryaghar *zawiyas* are such in name only, for none of them is associated with or affiliated with any order at all, nor has any of them been so associated in the recent past.

We will now discuss in slightly more detail the four related concepts of *ziyara*, *ma'ruf*, *sadaqa*, and *hdiya*. All four refer to offerings or donations made or given to saints, or to their descendants, by members of the lay tribal public, but each has its own particular contexts and shades of meaning.

Ziyara is the act of visiting a saint's tomb, and of leaving some material object there, either money or an animal for sacrifice, in exchange for the protection of the saint or for the benefaction that may be sought. It also generally involves the donor's kissing the hand of the saint's leading descendant. The act of *ziyara* implies a periodicity, generally annual, and this recurring regularity is not a characteristic of the other types of offerings. Alternatively, the descendants of the saint may appear once a year amongst the lay tribesmen concerned in order to collect their *ziyara*; they do so at a given time, and in exchange for adjudicative and other services. An example of this practice is the *r-'aiwadh nj-urbu'* or "refuge of the clans" of Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, who made annual visits to the territory of each of the subclans in the Jbil Hmam. In this particular case, as in others, however, it is very important to add that any saint worthy of the name is expected by the lay tribesmen to do a great deal of entertaining; and both Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and his two sons Sidi Muhand (the heir to the *baraka*) and Sidi Hmid (the adjudicator and top *amghar*) are said to have entertained guests constantly. The *ziyara* contributions were thus put back into the mouths of the contributors through food, but informants estimated that the various donations were such that this particular holy lineage never suffered a deficit until the "year of hunger" of 1945-46. By this time they could no longer count on lay tribesmen to help them with their agricultural tasks, for instance, and by 1953, when one of the sons of Sidi Muhand was made *shaikh* of the Jbil Hmam by the Spaniards, this act of politicization was the last straw. The religious ascendancy of the lineage dropped greatly (although the elder, nonpolitical son still retained his *baraka*, which in this particular lineage seems to have always been transmitted from one eldest son to the next)—and so, correspondingly, did the invitations to dinner. Indeed, certain informants commented to me on how bad their food was!

Ma'ruf consists of gifts, again either in money or food, which are given either to the poor or, more particularly, to *tulba* when they are present at any sort of gathering. This will be discussed in more detail in connection with the annual pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar.

Sadaqa, on the other hand, is always an offering in money, and no food is involved. It may be donated to a saint or to his descendants, or to the *tulba*, as an act commemorating one's own deceased kinsmen, for example.

Hdiya is primarily a gift of food, which may be made to a saint but which is perhaps most typically made by anyone invited to a marriage ceremony or a circumcision; it generally consists of loaves of bread, sugar cones, and perhaps a chicken or two, according to the resources of the giver. Its object is to help the host defray a fraction of his expenses.

All of these donations are essentially voluntary in character; they are not obligatory, as is the *dha'ashurth*, the third of the "five pillars" discussed earlier. Yet most people make such donations, small as they may be, fairly regularly, for to do so is a mark of piety.

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We now return to the quartet of saints of the Jbil Hmam: Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud; his son Sidi Muhand; Sidi Hand u-Musa[35] of the Igzinnayen; and Sidi Bu Khiyar. These saints are all without question in the *awliya'* category, although perhaps the qualifications of the last two in particular are most impressive. It has been noted that they all had great *baraka*, which, among other things, gave them the ability to fly: on the day of the *'Arafa*, which immediately precedes the *'Aid l-Kbir*, Sidi Muhand n-Sidi R-Hajj Misa'ud, Sidi Hand u-Musa, and Sidi Bu Khiyar all flew from the Rif to Mecca and back, during the course of the same day. Unperceived in flight by ordinary mortals, their presence in the Rif that day was attested by men there, while their attendance at the communal prayer on Mt. 'Arafa outside Mecca was equally attested by other Rifians who were in process of making the pilgrimage. Of Sidi Hand u-Musa, it is also said that on several occasions people starting off on the pilgrimage left him in the Igzinnayen only to find him in Mecca on the day of the sacrifice. Several of his descendants could also fly (Amrabit 'Aisa; Amrabit l-Husain, who lived in the Aith Turirth and died there about 1937; and even the lady Aralla Mimuna), while the Amrabit 'Aisa and Sidi 'Ari, of the line of Sidi Mhand n-Sidi Hand u-Musa, were both able to ride their horses up and down the face of an absolutely perpendicular cliff, Azru Khuwan in l-'Ass. They would tie them to a peg in the rock about half way up the cliff wall, just below a cave filled with nesting doves. The Amrabit 'Aisa was also responsible for the spring (*mizab*) in l-'Ass: he once wanted water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer, and could find none. He went up to the source of the present spring and tapped in the rock with his walking stick. The spring appeared immediately in the place his stick had touched, and it provides cold water in summer and tepid to warm water in winter.

To return now to Sidi Hand u-Musa himself: as noted, he had the ability to be in two places at once, and when he took a huge single step or *khalfa* (such as that from the Igzinnayen to Mecca), the world moved with him. The tomb of Sidi Hand u-Musa (in Dwaiyar of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa in the Igzinnayen), which has a cupola, is the only one in the Central Rif that has a four-posted wooden *darbuz*, a coffin-like structure erected directly above the grave itself and covered over with an expensive *kiswa* cloth. Beside the head of the *darbuz*, on the floor, is placed the *sunduq* or alms box for *sadaqa* offerings in money. It is opened up by the *mqaddim* of the tomb once a year, and the proceeds are divided up amongst the descendants of the *sharif* after the *mqaddim* gets his share. (Only Sidi Hand u-Musa has an alms box; Sidi Bu Khiyar and Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud do not, which indicates that offerings to them are primarily in the form of sacrifice.) The opening of the *sunduq*, and hence of the door to the tomb, is not consistent with another legend, to the effect that nobody can open this door of Sidi Hand u-Musa, a door that has no latch or lock, because the door will open by itself when the world comes to an end; but it should by now be apparent that these are questions of faith and belief rather than of logic. Overlooking the tomb is the Azru Aqshar, the highest peak in the Central Rif, which is said to have been a resting or gathering place for the famous and ubiquitous "seven saints" (*siba'tu rijal*), who are generally unnamed; Sidi Hand u-Musa was not supposed to have been one of them, however, and the peak merely marks the holiness of the region.

Like the Imrabdhen of Waryagharland, the descendants of Sidi Hand u-Musa included only a small fraction of white-robed miracle workers; the majority feuded bitterly amongst themselves. Unlike those of the Imrabdhen, however, the minoritarian "holy holy" individuals of the Dharwa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa were true *shurfa*, miracle workers and *awliya'* only. They adjudicated no disputes, for there were imrabdhen elsewhere in the Igzinnayen to deal with that problem.

No pilgrimage is made to the tomb of Sidi Hand u-Musa; that particular distinction is reserved for Sidi Bu Khiyar, and it is the one and only *'amara* (called elsewhere *musim* or "moussem") in the region. We herewith recall our observations at the beginning of this chapter about devotion, piety and orthodoxy as keynotes of Aith Waryaghar Islam; for the *'amara* of Sidi Bu Khiyar is above all else a day and a place of prayer, followed by a day of sacrifice.

Sidi Bu Khiyar was a real *wali* and he could fly, but very little else is known about him beyond the fact that he left no descendants. It is not known, for example, whether he was a *sharif* or a *mrabit*, but the point seems academic in view of his *wali*-hood. Also debatable is his point of origin: although Tlemcen in Algeria seems the most likely possibility, given the fact that it has always been considered a breeding ground for great saints (another of whom was Sidi Bu Midyan al-Ghawth, who was possibly one of Sidi Bu Khiyar's teachers[36]), the Gharb has also been

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[35] Properly, Sidi Hmid u-Musa, or more correctly, Sidi Ahmad u-Musa, although he is always referred to in conversation as Sidi Hand u-Musa.

[36] Sidi Abu Midyan al-Ghawth (1126–1198), according to Drague, came from Sevilla and studied in Baghdad (Spillmann, pseud. Drague, op. cit., ca. 1951, p. 40); but in popular North African

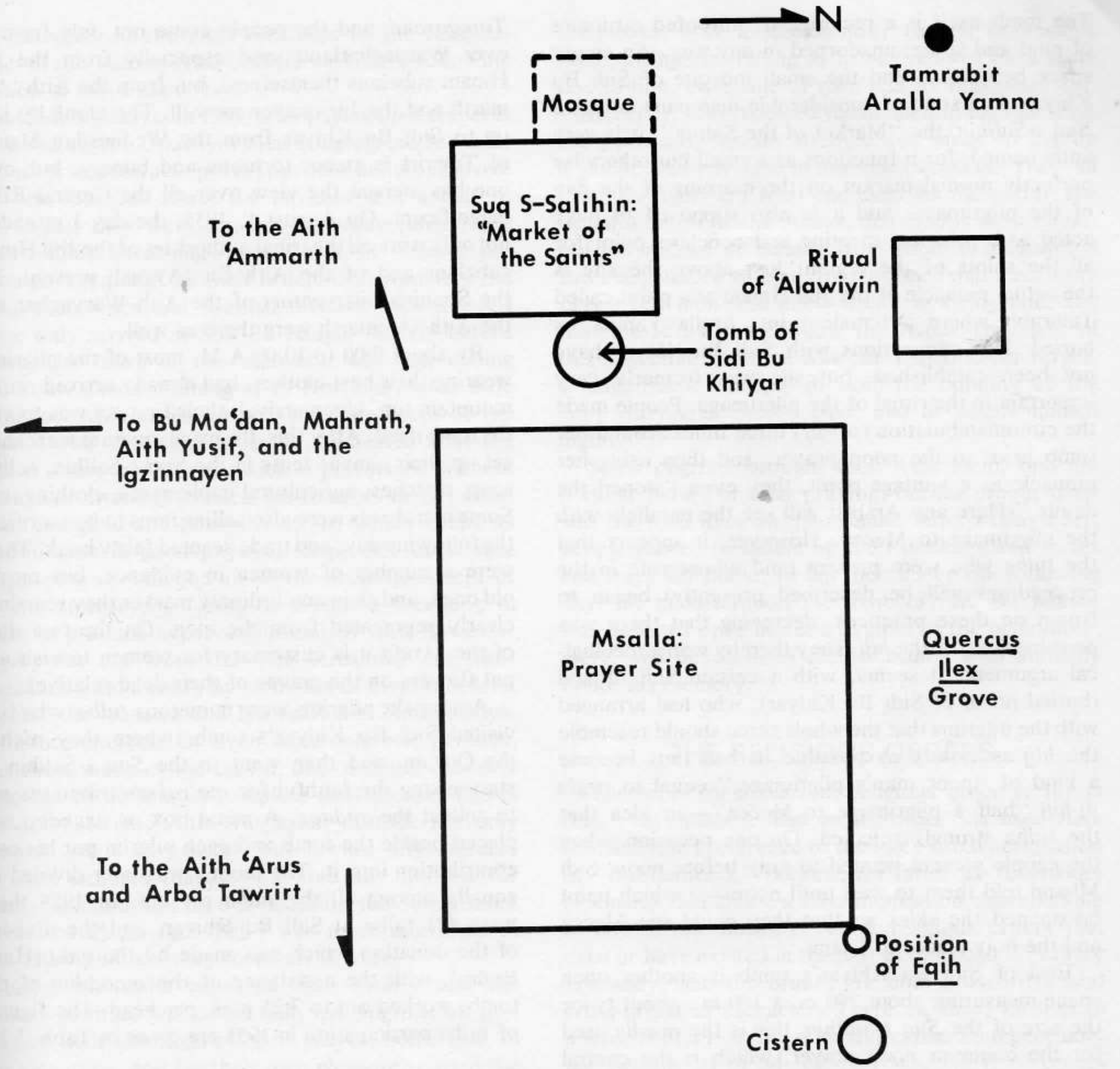
N
Tamrabit
Aralla Yamna
Mosque
Suq S-Salihin:
"Market of
the Saints"
To the Aith
'Ammarth
Ritual
of 'Alawiyin
Tomb of
Sidi Bu
Khiyar
To Bu Ma'dan, Mahrath,
Aith Yusif, and the
Igzinnayen
Msalla:
Prayer Site
Quercus
Ilex
Grove
To the Aith 'Arus
and Arba Tawrirt
Position
of Fqih
Cistern

Fig. 7.1: Sketch plan of the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar

suggested, and Rodriguez Padilla would see Sidi Bu Khiyar as a Saharan[37] who came without family, servants, or possessions, to settle as a hermit on the mountain that bears his name. In any case, what is important is that he was a stranger.

Sidi Bu Khiyar's tomb lies virtually at the top of the windswept and eroded peak of the Adhrar n-Sidi Bu Khiyar, the highest point in the Jbil Hmam, (1948 meters), about 3-4 Km., from the Timarzga community of Bu Ma'dan. The site is diagrammed in Figure 7.1.[38]

Islam he is associated with Tlemcen, where he is buried and "from where all the great *shaikhs* came." As his sobriquet *al-Ghawth* indicates, he always appeared miraculously on the spot to help, if anyone called upon him to do so.

[37] Rodriguez Padilla, op. cit., 1930, pp. 33-34. Cf. also my article "An *'Amara* in the Central Rif: the Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, V, 2, 1957, pp. 239-245.

[38] Westermarck (op. cit., 1926, Vol. I, pp. 70-71) mistakenly reports a cleft by Sidi Bu Khiyar's tomb which people must pass through: if they are honest they will squeeze through, but if they are liars the cleft will hold them fast. He has in fact confused this with the tomb of Sidi Sha'ib u-r-Ftah in the Thimsaman, where there is a *dhburjutsh w-uzru* or "window in the rock," through which people who are possessed with *jnun* cannot pass, and those who are not so possessed can get through. There is no such cleft

The tomb itself is a rectangular, unroofed structure of mud and stone, unadorned in any way. An empty space between it and the small mosque of Sidi Bu Khiyar (in a state of considerable disrepair) is called *Suq s-Salihin*, the "Market of the Saints"; it is very aptly named, for it functions as a small but otherwise perfectly normal market on the morning of the day of the pilgrimage, and it is also supposed to have acted as a principal meeting and conclave point for all the saints of the region. Just above the site is the actual pinnacle of the Jbil Hmam at a point called Tamrabit where a female saint, Aralla Yamna, is buried. Her connections with Sidi Bu Khiyar have not been established, but she was formerly very important in the ritual of the pilgrimage. People made the circumambulation (*tawaf*) three times around her tomb prior to the noon prayer, and then using her pinnacle as a vantage point, they even "stoned the devils." Here any Arabist will see the parallels with the pilgrimage to Mecca. However, it appears that the *tulba* who were present (and whose role in the proceedings will be described presently) began to frown on these practices, decreeing that there was no substitute for the *hijj*. They thereby won a theological argument, it seems, with a certain Sidi Mhand (buried north of Sidi Bu Khiyar), who had arranged with the pilgrims that the whole ritual should resemble the *hijj* as closely as possible. It had thus become a kind of "poor man's pilgrimage," equal to *azgin nj-hijj* "half a pilgrimage to Mecca"—an idea that the *tulba* strongly rejected. On one occasion when the people present wanted to pray before noon, Sidi Mhand told them to wait until noon—at which point he opened the skies so that they could see Mecca and the holy places of Islam.

East of Sidi Bu Khiyar's tomb is another open space measuring about 200 m. x 100 m., about twice the size of the *Suq s-Salihin:* this is the *msalla* used for the common noon prayer, which is the central feature of the *'amara*. Just north of the *msalla* is a large grove of *quercus ilex* or holly-oak trees, but they do not hide the tomb itself in any way. The *'Aid l-Kbir* is a three day ritual; on the first day, the *'Aid l-Kbir* proper, the ram must be sacrificed. The two days preceding these three feast days are called the *'Arafa Tamzzyand* or "Little 'Arafa," and the *'Arafa Tamqqrand* or "Big 'Arafa."[39] The 'Amara to Sidi Bu Khiyar is performed on the *'Arafa Tamqqrand*, and the people come not only from all over Waryagharland (and especially from the Jbil Hmam subclans themselves), but from the Aith 'Ammarth and the Igzinnayen as well. The climb by jeep up to Sidi Bu Khiyar from the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt is steep, tortuous and bumpy, but once one has arrived the view over all the Central Rif is magnificent. On August 1, 1955, the day I attended, not only were all the tribal authorities of the Jbil Hmam subclans and of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash present, but the Spanish *interventors* of the Aith Waryaghar and the Aith 'Ammarth were there as well.

By about 9:00 to 10:00 A.M. most of the pilgrims, wearing their best clothes, had already arrived on the mountain top. Upon arrival, their first act was to visit the tomb itself. After this, the usual itinerant merchants set up their canvas tents in the Suq s-Salihin, selling soap, matches, agricultural implements, clothing, etc. Some merchants were also selling rams to be sacrificed the following day, and trade seemed fairly brisk. There were a number of women in evidence, but mostly old ones, and as in any ordinary market they remained clearly segregated from the men. On the two days of the 'Arafa it is customary for women to visit and put flowers on the graves of their dead relatives.

Among the pilgrims were numerous *tulba*, who first visited Sidi Bu Khiyar's tomb, where they recited the Qur'an, and then went to the Suq s-Salihin to start asking the faithful for *ma'ruf* contributions and to collect the *sadaqa*. A metal box or *asunduq* was placed beside the tomb and each pilgrim put his own contribution into it. The money was later divided up equally among all the *tulba* present. In 1955 there were 421 tulba at Sidi Bu Khiyar, and the division of the donation which was made by the *qaid* (Hmid Budra), with the assistance of the *mqaddim* of the tomb, worked out to 7.25 ptas. per head. The figures of *tulba* participation in 1955 are given in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2:

Participation of Tulba and Offerings Collected at Sidi Bu Khiyar, 1955

Areas of Origin	No. of Tulba Present	Pesetas Collected
Jbil Hmam	99	717.75 ptas.
Aith 'Abdallah	96	696.00 ptas.
Aith 'Ammarth	87	630.75 ptas.
Aith Bu 'Ayyash	75	421.25 ptas.
Aith Hadhifa	39	282.75 ptas.
Imrabdhen	15	108.75 ptas.
Igzinnayen	10	72.50 ptas.
Totals	421	2929.75 ptas.

Since about the middle or late 1930s, the *'amara* of Sidi Bu Khiyar has also become a high point in

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at the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar. But an interesting account of how Sidi Sha'ib u-r-Ftah achieved his sainthood (through *Vox Populi*) is given in S. Biarnay, "Etude sur les Bethioua du Vieil-Arzeu," *Revue Algérienne*, no .279, 1910, pp. 430-33.

[39] These two preceding days are also jointly known in Rifian as *dhi'arfiwin*.

the activities of the local members of the religious order of the 'Alawiyin (to be discussed in the following section of this Chapter).

At Sidi Bu Khiyar in 1955, after paying their respects to the saint, the 'Alawiyin then congregated for their *mijma'* or reunion at a spot between the holly-oak grove and the mosque. Here, for an hour and a half to two hours, they went through the litany (*dhikr*) and the rhythmic breathing ritual (*'imra*, lit. "minor pilgrimage") required by their order. Unfortunately the tribal authorities and Spanish officers with whom I came only arrived at Sidi Bu Khiyar shortly before noon. The *'imra* of the 'Alawiyin was just ending and I saw almost nothing of it. However, what little I did see, while trying to peer over the heads of the large crowd that had collected, indicated that the 'Alawi litany and ritual, which is performed without the use of drums or musical instruments of any kind, is an energetic and muscular affair, which keeps its practitioners in good physical shape (for they were all jumping up into the air to the accompaniment of several stereotyped forms of rhythmic breathing in order to produce hyperventilation). It was, however, a very far cry from the wild screaming and self-flagellation indulged in by members of certain orders, notably the 'Aisawa and Hamadsha or Hamdushiya, to induce trances. Of even more interest, perhaps, was the attitude of the crowd, one of initial curiosity followed by an almost complete indifference; this is the characteristic Aith Waryaghar attitude not only toward orders in general, but toward any features of alien cultures that do not hold any interest for them. Significantly, on this occasion they were more interested in the fact that *I* was more interested in the 'Alawiyin than they themselves were.

After the *tulba* collected their money and the 'Alawiyin ritual was at an end, the pilgrims all performed their ablutions prior to prayer. Some had, in the meantime, and for their own pleasure, visited the Tamrabit point of burial of Aralla Yamna, although at the time of my visit there was nothing particularly meritorious in so doing.

The common prayer, held at noon on the flat expanse of space just below the tomb, is the major and most central ritual of the *'amara*. In 1955 it was led by a *fqih* who stood at the northeast corner of the *msalla* space, between the prayer site and a cistern a few meters away. The men about to pray formed long parallel lines, over 100 men to each line, all the way back to the tomb. (There were also a few old women and widows who prayed, but they did so completely apart from the men, on the other side of the grove.)

The prayer itself, as I heard it from the grove of holly-oaks, was a monotonous though impressive noise, rising and falling as it was relayed back from line to line. Each line of men had its *musammi'* (lit. "listener"), who repeated to the men in his line what the *fqih* said, for no attempt was made to set up a public address system for the occasion. They all came through very loud and clear on the *takbir*, the declaration of *Allahu Akbar*, that God is most Great; but the rest of it, issuing from some two thousand throats, sounded garbled, for it seemed that there were only a few men who knew what was being said, and that the rest had to follow the *tulba*. The sight of this collective devotion was one I shall never forget, a magnificent example of both the humility of the Aith Waryaghar before God, and of simple human dignity.

Some pilgrims brought food with them, and ate it either before or after praying; but the prayer itself was the final item on the agenda. After it was over, people started to saddle up their donkeys and mules and leave for home, to kill their sheep the following day. By midafternoon the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar was deserted once more, a symbol of the orthodoxy, piety, and devotion of the tribesmen who annually honor his memory.

THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

The term for a Muslim religious order is *tariqa* (lit. "way, path"). The term "order" is used here advisedly, in preference to the more usual designation of "brotherhood," because the latter has overtones of kinship that create a false impression. Membership in any of the dozen or more religious orders that exist or have existed in the past in Morocco is entirely voluntary, and the orders are both cross-tribal and cross-urban in character. There is, thus, kinship in a sense; but it is spiritual kinship rather than genealogical kinship, by blood and marriage. The basic objective of any order is to bring its members into more frequent and more intense communication with God than would be possible through the ordinary channels of "orthodox" or "official" Islam. Orders are named for their founding *shaikhs*, and the *baraka*-possessing descendants of these *shaikhs* successively became *shaikhs* themselves in their turn. Thus a member (*fqir*) of the Tijaniyin (or Tijaniya) order in Fez has his Tijani bond in common with a member of the same order in Casablanca or the Sus. They both subscribe to the teachings and to the litany (*dhikr*) of the same *shaikh:* the litany is a form of prayer repeated a set number of times, although these may vary according to the "grade of initiation" of the member concerned. Around their necks they also wear the same kind of rosary (*tasbih*), which is distinctive for every order. The rosary, in fact, is the one item that involves an outlay of money, for no dues are paid for membership. At their own local levels, the Fasi, Casablanca, and Susi members of the same order meet periodically (usually weekly) for their *mijma'* or "seance," either in a *zawiya* or lodge of the order built for the purpose and maintained by a *mqaddim*, or in the house of another prominent member if no *zawiya* exists.

The overall structure and organization of religious orders in Morocco has been described too often in the literature to need any elaboration here.[40] Our only comment upon this material is that, in the past, perhaps some of the more "extremist" and "fringe" orders have been given undue attention, at the expense of those with a more moderate litany and ritual. The present-day proliferation of religious orders in Morocco (despite the attacks upon them by the nationalists and their waning influence during the struggle for independence) is an outgrowth of the Sufi mysticism that began to permeate the country as early as the twelfth century A.D.[41] Another outgrowth of Sufism was, of course, the reverence for saints, as a manifestation, even in Sunni Islam, of a more personal approach to God. The full crystallization, however, both of the saint complex and (perhaps later) of the religious orders seems to have come with the virtually undivided Moroccan resistance to the encroachments of the Christian Portuguese on the Atlantic coast early in the fifteenth century.[42]

The Muslim *mujahidin* finally triumphed over the Portuguese invaders by inflicting a crushing defeat at the so-called "Battle of the Three Kings" near al-Qsar al-Kbir in 1578. The prestige of warrior sainthood now reached its apogee. Possibly the concept that the Aith Waryaghar label *tbrid arassas*, by virtue of which a man whose clothing has been perforated by a bullet but whose body remained unscathed is henceforth believed to be immune to lead, may date from this period. Any person who was deminstrably immune to Christian bullets had all the makings of a *mrabit*, given his already proven ability as a *mujahid* and his newly acquired *baraka*. Hence, given the ever-present problem, in later Moroccan history, of keeping out Christian invaders, the saint complex and the religious orders both reached their full flowering in an atmosphere of religious intransigence. Perhaps the greatest intransigence of all came to be achieved by the Darqawa, who are, significantly, one of the two orders predominating in Waryagharland, the other being the 'Alawiyin. Again, perhaps significantly, both of these have their greatest following in the mountain subclans of the Jbil Hmam, the Darqawa among the Aith Turirth and the Aith 'Arus, and the 'Alawiyin, today, among the Timarzga, who, interestingly, showed a relatively high percentage of Darqawa as of 1930,[43] and who now have a probably equally high percentage of 'Alawiyin.

The Darqawa (Rif. *Idarqawiyen*) are a home-grown Moroccan order, which nonetheless has members in western Algeria. The order was founded by Mulay al-'Arbi bin Ahmad ad-Darqawi (1737-1823), who died and is buried at the "mother *zawiya*" of this order at Bu Brih in the Jbalan tribe of the Bni Zarwal.[44] The teachings of the founder of the order lean heavily on the doctrines of Shadhilism. Even in a Morocco that is today becoming increasingly secularized, the intransigence and intolerance of the Darqawa toward all nonmembers of their order is a national byword, as is the scorn they have for all things of this world. They carry heavy walking sticks and wear rosaries of small round black beads, made of a special stone, possibly agate. Their supererogatory prayers consist of the following formulae, each repeated 100 times, with the aid of the rosary, after the morning and sunset prayers: (1) *Istaghfir Allah*, "I beg God's forgiveness"; (2) *Allahu musalli 'ala siyyidina Muhammadi wa 'ala alihi wa sahbihi wa silli*, "May God bless Our Lord Muḥammad and his family and his companions"; (3) *la ilaha illa 'llah wahidah wa la sharik Allah; Allahu l-mulk w-Allahu l-hamd wa huwa 'ala kulli shay'in*

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[40] Cf. Spillman (pseud. Drague) op. cit., ca. 1951, *passim*, a work which is in this respect a useful overall survey. See also two studies of rather "sensational" individual orders by René Brunel: *Essai sur la Confrérie Religieuse des 'Aissâouâ au Maroc*, Paris: Geuthner, 1962, and *le Monachisme Errant dans l'Islam: Sidi Heddi et les Meddawa*, Publications de l'Institit des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, XLVIII, Paris, Larose, 1955. On the Haddawa, furthermore, see also Ramón Touceda Fontenla, *Los Heddawa de Beni Aros y su Extraño Rito*, Tetuán: Instituto General Franco, 1955. These last two works, which appeared at the same time, complement each other nicely. See also Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya*, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, a good study of a "moderate" order whose adherents go far beyond the borders of Morocco.

To my knowledge, the Haddawa, centered in the Bni 'Arus tribe in the Jbala, were forcibly disbanded by the Moroccan Army of Liberation in 1956. Previously they had wandered around the Rif, where they were not appreciated, begging alms: they beat drums, wore long matted hair, never bathed, smoked *kif* (cannabis *sativa*), and practiced both celibacy and an institutionalized pederasty. I saw a pair of them in Imzuren in 1953, clouded with *kif*-fumes, banging on their drums and hoarsely howling for alms in the name of "Mulay 'Abd al-Qadir al-Buhali." Their cries went largely unheeded.

[41] Sufism itself seems to have been closely linked with the Fatimid Shi'as in Egypt. Dr. Louise Sweet (personal communication, October 5, 1968) has suggested that this subject be further explored.

[42] Cf. J. Brignon, A. Amine, B. Boutaleb, G. Martinet, B. Rosenberger, and M. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris: Hatier, and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale, 1967, p. 172.

[43] All 1930 figures on religious order membership are taken from Rodriguez Padilla, op. cit., 1930, pp. 22-4.

[44] For historical details on the growth of the Darqawa, see Spillmann (pseud. Drague) op. cit., ca. 1951, pp. 251-273.

qadir, "There is no god but God, He is One, and there is no association with Him; He is the authority and His is the praise and He is powerful in all things."

The Darqawa litany, which is gone through while the members are standing up at their Thursday night reunions, consists of an endless repetition of the formula, "There is no God but God." Then, at a signal from whoever is acting as leader, this changes to the *'imra*, a form of rhythmic breathing (*hu*nh! hunh! *hu*nh! hunh! *hu*nh! hunh!), in which the accent is on the outgo of breath, rather than on the intake as in the litany, and which usually ends with the members jumping and down in unison, thinking of nothing but the Unity of God (*Hu* = "He"), until they are too tired physically to do any more.

Another characteristic of the Darqawa is that they never allow music, singing, or dancing in their houses (in the Aith Turirth, the members of the holy lineage of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud also observe this taboo, perhaps because their founder was himself a Darqawi); a final taboo, peculiar to the Darqawa alone, forbids the drinking of coffee. The reason for this last prohibition is not without interest: One of their Algerian leaders, Sidi Muhammad l-Budali, drank coffee all his life, but after he died, his followers suddenly ran out of it. For several days the *fuqra* (pl. of *fqir*) refused to pray unless they had their coffee to drink. Finally one of them realized that this petulance over the lack of coffee was a very shameful thing, and he declared that henceforth coffee would be taboo. The majority seconded his decision, and with few exceptions the Darqawa have not touched coffee to this day. It also goes without saying that none of them smoke, and that they regard tobacco as *haram*.

Women as well as men are eligible for membership in the Darqawa; however, they always recite the litany of the order apart from the male members. In 1954–55 there were no less than three female Darqawiyas (*dhidarqawiyin*), all of them old, in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth alone. (Whether or not they are eligible for membership in any of the other orders I do not know.) At that time, 10 *nubath* out of 36 (or 28%) were Darqawa in Ignan, 5 out of 42 (or 12%) were Darqawa in Bulma Proper, and 8 (including the three women) out of 18 (or 44%) were Darqawa in l-'Ass.[45] This is a total of 23 out of 96 *nubath* for these three communities, or 24%, a respectable figure, although it is just above 5% of the total population of these communities calculated on the basis of the 1952 Bulma census. The Darqawa have managed to hold their own pretty well in the Aith Turirth since 1930, when Rodriguez Padilla cited 141 Darqawa out of a total population of 1,804 (or nearly 8%). He registered even higher Darqawa figures in that year for the Aith 'Arus and the Timarzga: 239 out of 1,898 (or nearly 13%) and 304 out of 1,680 (or 18%), respectively. These were the highest Darqawa figures at the time in Waryagharland: the overall tribal total was 2,351 men out of a population of 39,537 (or 5.55%). Since the total membership in other orders ('Alawiyin, Tijaniyin, Wazzaniyin, Nasiriyin, 'Aisawa,[46] and Karkriyin) only totaled 1,268 (thus giving total tribal order membership a figure of rather less than 9%), it is easy to see that the Darqawa maintained a huge lead, even in this limited domain. The lead is all the more surprising in view of the vituperative attack sustained by the Darqawa at the hands of 'Abd al-Krim—who may once have been a Darqawi himself! But by 1952, despite the relative constancy in the Aith Turirth figures, the overall membership in the Darqawa order among the Aith Waryaghar had been reduced to 1,009 souls, while that of the 'Alawiyin had come up to surpass this figure slightly, at 1,397. Even so, the two combined, out of a total tribal population of 58,291, gave a total of 4%, and with the even smaller memberships of all the other orders combined, the overall total might have come to 5%.

It would seem probable that interest in the Darqawa will wane in the Aith Turirth and the Aith 'Arus once the elderly members of the order die off; but even though they have no formal *zawiya* in Waryagharland, they all go regularly to pay their respects to Sidi r-Hajj Mimun at his *zawiya* in Dar Kibdani in the Eastern Rifian tribe of the Aith Sa'id, the leading "daughter lodge" for Rifian members of the order. One informant said that 200–300 people per day are lodged and fed there, and "not only Darqawa, but Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Jews"—all of which contributes to the magnanimous reputation and to the *baraka* of Sidi r-Hajj Mimun, whose origins, it seems, are very humble.

A final word however, to show that Darqawa intolerance dies hard: at the Bulma mosque in 1962, a bitter controversy developed between the *fqih* (a member of the despised Ihawtshen lineage, and a non-Darqawi) and the local members of the Darqawa, over the wearing of moustaches and beards and the shaving of heads. The *fqih* argued, in a mildly more revisionist interpretation of the Sunna of the Prophet, that these things were optional; but not so the Darqawa. They regarded them as a tonsorial command, and as absolutely obligatory. Soon the breach became open when most, if not all, of the Darqawa resident in the Aith Turirth decided that they would henceforth perform all their prayers at home and would refuse to attend the mosque. In 1967 most of them were still doing so, although some of the younger non-Darqawa members of the community tended to support the *fqih* and to look on the Darqawa as overly traditionalistic old men.[47] Yet a definite challenge had been offered, if only at the local level, to the doctrinaire authoritarianism of the Darqawa; and one also wonders in this case whether the lineage affiliations of the *fqih* in question might not have added a certain fuel to the Darqawa grudge.

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[45] All of these last were members of the lineage of the Fqir Azzugwagh, who had himself, it will be recalled, been a Darqawi.

[46] The 'Aisawa are considered adept at handling snakes and at curing snakebites.

The 'Alawiyin (Rif. *I'alawiyen*) order postdates that of the Darqawa by at least a century, and is not Moroccan, but Algerian, in origin. It was founded in 1913 by Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) in Mustaghanim; it appears that he himself was a discontented ex-Darqawi who had severed his connections with his own order in 1910 for the purpose of founding a new one that was more in line with his own way of thinking.[48]

In Waryagharland, the order is an even more recent development, postdating the effective establishment of the protectorate by the Spaniards. The teachings of the Shaikh al-'Alawi were simply brought back to the Rif, during the 1930s, by returning migrant laborers; I infer that, quite unlike the Darqawa, the order is of no significance elsewhere in Morocco apart from the Rif. Rodriguez Padilla states that in 1930 there were only 159 'Alawiyin in all of Waryagharland, but by 1952 their numbers had increased to 1397, slightly outstripping the Darqawa.[49] The greatest concentration of 'Alawiyin membership is primarily in the sub-clan territory of the Timarzga, and in particular in the community of Mahrath in that subclan, where their *mqaddim* resides. They also have a number of adepts in the subclan of the Aith 'Arus and the communities of the Aith Hadhifa which are adjacent to the Jbil Hmam. But they failed to gain any members in the Aith Turirth, whose inclination is rather toward the older order of the Darqawa. The 'Alawiyin do not, however, have a *zawiya* anywhere in Waryagharland, and so they normally meet on Thursday nights at the house of their acting *mqaddim* in Mahrath.

The litany of both orders is the same, but beyond this there are definite differences. The rosary of the 'Alawiyin, unlike that of the Darqawa, is made of big heavy beads of walnut wood. Beneitez reports that the ritual of prayer differs as well; the Darqawa pray with their arms alongside their bodies, while the 'Alawiyin do so with arms crossed, and with the right hand holding the left hand, in Hanafi rather than Maliki style.[50] Furthermore the *'imra* or rhythmic breathing routine that the 'Alawiyin perform after recitation of their litany is both more energetic and more complex than that of the Darqawa, and involves at least three different phases of accentuation: (1) *Hu*nh! Hunh! *Hu*nh! Hunh!, as in the Darqawa case; (2) Hunh! Hunh! *Hu*nh! *Hu*nh! Hunh! Hunh! *Hu*nh! *Hu*nh!, with accent here on the last two in a series of four; and (3) Hunh! *Hu*nh! Hunh! *Hu*nh!, which is the exact reverse of the Darqawa mode. And finally, the 'Alawiyin literally do jump up and down when they get into the swing of their *'imra*. As noted, their hour long session of hyperventilation is now an integral part of the annual *'amara* at Sidi Bu Khiyar. (To those Darqawa who attend, this is of course the most distasteful feature of the pilgrimage, and they either studiously ignore it or make intolerant comments about it.) The 'Alawiyin are distinctly a more popular order, in all senses of the word, than are the Darqawa, and this is all the more interesting in view of the fact that Shaikh al 'Alawi was totally indifferent to proselytizing of any kind. However, his nephew by marriage and successor, Sidi l-Hajj 'Adda (d. 1952), may not have been, and as of 1955 the young *shaikh* of the order (the grandson of its founder) was married to a Rifian woman from the Thafarsith, obviously with a view to attract yet more Rifian adepts.[51] The main concentration of 'Alawiyin in Waryagharland is in the mountains of the Timarzga and adjacent communities of the Aith Hadhifa, where they still have a strong foothold.

In the Igzinnayen, the predominant order is the Tijaniyin; in the Axt Tuzin, the Nasiriyin; and in the

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[47] One of these younger men had himself joined the Darqawa early in 1955, but later the same year he made me a present of his rosary, after which he never attended another Darqawa reunion. He remarked that as I now had the rosary, I could do so in his place if I wished!

[48] Useful general remarks on both the Darqawa and the 'Alawiyen are to be found in V. Beneitez Cantero, op. cit., 1952, p. 94. On the 'Alawiyin, furthermore, cf. Martin Lings, *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1961. This last work, however, is totally concerned with the teachings of the Shaikh al-'Alawi (who must have been a very remarkable man), but not at all, unfortunately, with the spread of his order. The author, however, does hint at the hold that it took among Rifians. A sociological reorientation of Lings' study is provided in a review article by Ernest Gellner, "Sanctity, Puritanism, Secularization, and Nationalism in North Africa: A Case Study," in J. G. Perishary, Ed., *Contribution to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities and Social Change*. Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1968, pp. 31-48.

[49] Spanish statistics for 1941 indicate 942 Darqawa and 717 'Alawiyin in Waryagharland.

[50] Op. cit., 1952, p. 94.

[51] In 1970 this same *shaikh* was apparently incarcerated by the Algerian administration.

Aith 'Ammarth, again the Darqawa. But in each case the proportion of individuals who join orders is very much the same as among the Aith Waryaghar. In Waryagharland, membership in both the Darqawa and the 'Alawiyin may, in the 4%-5% of cases in which it exists, be construed as yet another way to attain the goals of orthodoxy, piety, and devotion, while at the same time representing a more direct approach to God. In this sense, the super-religiosity of the Darqawa and 'Alawiyin may be said to represent the Waryaghar view of the "good life" carried to an extreme by a small minority of tribesmen. In northern Morocco in general, the activities of the orders have also been quite free of the taint of associational politics which some of them had under the French in the southern zone, and in the Rif the orders have been removed from the administration rather than in any way affiliated with it. In any case, if the Aith Waryaghar tend to be non-joiners of orders, they are also non-joiners of political parties at the present day, when order membership and party membership are considered particularly incompatible with each other.

The religious orders were never held in very high regard, and they were particularly weakened after 'Abd al-Krim's attack on them—an attack influenced by the Salafiya movement. They are today more than ever in a state of regression in the Rif, in that younger men seldom if ever become members; but even though these same younger men may consider them "foolish," the orders represent, and clearly so, an extreme right wing of Islam as known to the Aith Waryaghar. The dedication of the Darqawa, for example, may seem to verge on blindness to some, but in certain ways I personally find it admirable. Their intolerance, for example, was directed far more toward backsliders in their own community than toward myself, a Christian outsider; and at least in my presence, when the Darqawa in the guestroom would refuse coffee (offered by my hosts, on several occasions, as a joke), they would do so with a twinkle in their eyes. And on one occasion when a really intransigent Darqawi refused to shake hands with me, he was ridiculed so heavily by three other members of the order who were present that he had to leave the room; "ill-mannered donkey" was the mildest epithet supplied. The Darqawa are characterized by extreme abstemiousness, hardly by excess; they view the self-laceration and self-flagellation of the 'Aisawa or Hamadsha, for example, with the same horror as they would view any Muslim who did not pray regularly or keep Ramadan. My own respect for these Darqawi friends whom I knew in Waryagharland is here acknowledged, and I recall with pleasure the vigorous, often taxing, but always polite (and sometimes even humorous) theological discussions into which they dragged me.

CONCLUSION

One of the many stereotypes about Moroccan Islam, fostered largely by the French, is that of the "superstitious mountain Berber" as opposed to the "orthodox town Arab." The material presented in this chapter makes it quite evident that this particular stereotype is in serious need of revision, at least insofar as the Aith Waryaghar (and indeed, the Rifians in general) are concerned; and I would submit that it also needs considerable revision for other areas (such as the Sus and the Anti-Atlas, perhaps). It has recently been given a new sophistication and put into more modern sociological dress by Gellner. Although his observations to the effect that Islam, probably more than most other religions, provides a thorough-going blueprint of a social order are certainly valid, I find his suggested comparisons of urban Islam with Protestantism and rural tribal Islam with Catholicism to be misleading.[52] (In my view one of the best and most direct comparisons of Islam and Christianity is that offered by Alfred Guillaume in his little manual *Islam*.[53] His comparison on the basis of what Muslims accept and what they reject from the Apostle's Creed is of course made on the basis of dogma alone, but it compares the comparable, whereas Gellner's theory, essentially, does not.) In any case, I would hold that comparisons of this sort are not really germane to the issue, which is specifically to find out how Islam operates, in all ways and at all levels, in the context of a given society, in its daily life and practice.

I return finally to my earlier stricture on the use of terms such as "pre-Islamic survivals": for the mere fact that these "survivals" have, oftener than not, been enshrined forever in the Qur'an may give them, or certain interpretations of them, great sociological significance. To take some further examples: a *fqih* is no less devout, pious, or orthodox if he supplements his income by writing charms, for there is in Islam as elsewhere no sharp dividing line between "pure" religion on the one hand, and magic, sorcery, and witchcraft on the other- whatever the *'ulama'* may say to the contrary. A visit to a saint's tomb by a woman who wants a child is similarly no less "orthodox" for her, because she does not have access to the mosque in any case. The supererogatory prayers of a member of the Darqawa (given also his abstemiousness, and his intolerance of all who do not follow the letter of the law) embody his own approach to what is indeed a most intransigent form of orthodoxy, by highlighting the piety and devotion inherent in his personal search for God. The built-in checks against the overproliferation of the *baraka* among holy lineages, created by lay tribesmen who in effect assign categories of "holy holy" to the effective few and "lay holy" to the ineffective many; the resultant consignment to oblivion of the great bulk of the Imrabdhen, whose supporting traditions are very sparse and whose claim to *shurfa*-hood is not only considered invalid in Fez (where this counts) but in Waryagharland as well; and the elevation of a total stranger, Sidi Bu Khiyar, to the position of principal tribal saint: these are all facts that cannot, in the wider context, be considered indications of "unorthodoxy." Finally, the great communal prayer at the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir seems to me to be the real keynote of Islam as the Aith Waryaghar know it: orthodoxy, piety, and devotion, and a firm and unshakable conviction that Islam represents salvation and that the Muslim way of life is the "good life." Islam came very early to the Rif, and its initial foothold rapidly became total acceptance and immersion, such that any allusions to "Berber heathendom" in this region, perhaps more than in any other, belong entirely to the realm of fantasy. Younger men may today be growing impatient with saints, with *shurfa* or *imrabdhen* whom they consider fraudulent, and with religious orders that they consider hidebound; but their identification with Islam and with Islamic law is nonetheless total.

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[52] Ernest Gellner, "A Pendulum Swing Theory of Islam," *Annales Marocaines de Sociologie*, I, 1968, pp. 5-14.

[53] Pelican Books, Baltimore, Maryland, 1956, pp. 194-199.

8. KINSHIP

While the faith of Islam conditions and regulates the attitudes of the individual believer about God, His Prophet, the Law, the universe and the Muslim way of life, the web of kinship within which that believer is entwined conditions and regulates his attitudes and behavior toward his lineage-mates, his neighbors, his fellow tribesmen, and ultimately, outsiders.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

As stated in Chapter 1, all North African Muslim tribes are, in blanket terms, strongly agnatic or patrilineal in descent and patrilocal, or at least virilocal, in residence. However, Rifian tribes, including the Aith Waryaghar, have a very crucial classificatory kinship term, *AYYAW* (with its feminine equivalent *dhayyawxth*), which they appear to share with the Berber tribes of the Western Atlas, Sus, and Anti-Atlas regions of Morocco, and with those of Kabylia in Algeria. The mere existence of this single kinship term, with its classificatory application to no less than six categories of kinsmen (and to six further categories of kinswomen, if we include the feminine version), changes the Rifian kinship system from what might, in Murdock's terminology, be a "normal Sudanese" system to one that we here label "modified Omaha" (albeit both "Sudanese" and even "pure Omaha" systems are associated with strongly agnatic descent).[1] Now: whether *AYYAW* has exactly the same range of classificatory application in *tashilhit* and in *taqbailit* as it has in Rifian, I have not been able to verify on the spot, but I have been assured on good authority that it has.[2] On the other hand, the Moroccan Arabic kinship system—indeed, all Arabic kinship systems—and that of the transhumant Imazighen Berber-speakers of the Middle and Central Atlas and of the Jbil Saghru are "normal Sudanese" (or, perhaps, have so remained—if one wishes to employ Murdock's idiom[3]): neither employs this term, and each uses quite distinct terms for all of the six categories falling under the one classificatory rubric in Rifian. Why this should be so, or perhaps why Rifians, Ishilhayen, and Kabyles should either have developed a special newer Berber form (pursuing Murdock's reasoning) or indeed have retained an old one while the Imazighen transhumants lost it, I have no idea—although it is interesting that Arabic-speaking Rifians think incorrectly that the term *AYYAW* has a full-scale Moroccan Arabic equivalent, which it has not. For, anticipating the matter somewhat, Mor. Ar. *HFID* means "grandchild" only, and does not refer to the other kinship categories embodied in *AYYAW*. We are not concerned here with a historically oriented analysis of the Rifian kinship system but rather with a structural-functional analysis of that system, and in presenting this analysis we shall also demonstrate, incidentally, why Murdock's typologies of kinship seem to us to be, in this connection, only of rather limited utility: labeling or pigeonholing devices, rather than an explanation of how the system works, in its own terms. Furthermore, since every term of address, for example, has its own dyad, whether another term or the same one, there is no need to invoke that model-makers' dummy, an EGO, or even his opposite number, an ALTER.

The following list gives the kin terms in normal usage in the Jbil Hmam, with variants of the plain of al-Husaima recorded in parentheses if they are different. Terms for males are in upper case and for females in lower case letters. The forms of all kinship terms given, whether terms of reference or terms of address, may mean either, i.e., "*X*" or "*my X*," except in those cases where the suffix *-inu*, "my," is specifically listed after the form.

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[1] George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York: Macmillan 1949, pp. 224-226 238-241. The use of the important qualifying adjective "modified" was suggested to me in 1965 by Clifford Geertz, and my gratitude is due him.

[2] Joseph Applegate, personal information and communications, 1961.

[3] Murdock, op. cit., p. 241, postulates that the "Omaha" systems passed through a previous "Sudanese" stage, and that "Sudanese" systems thus show a priority in time on patrilineal descent. Not being an historian, or even a historically minded anthropologist (aside from documentary evidence, which indeed is often of crucial importance), I cannot offer any real comment upon this beyond recording skepticism as to the value of such "historical reconstruction" (and beyond reminding the reader of Evans-Pritchard's devastating attack on Murdock's book in *The Position of Women In Primitive Society, And Other Essays*, London: Faber, 1965, pp. 25-27.

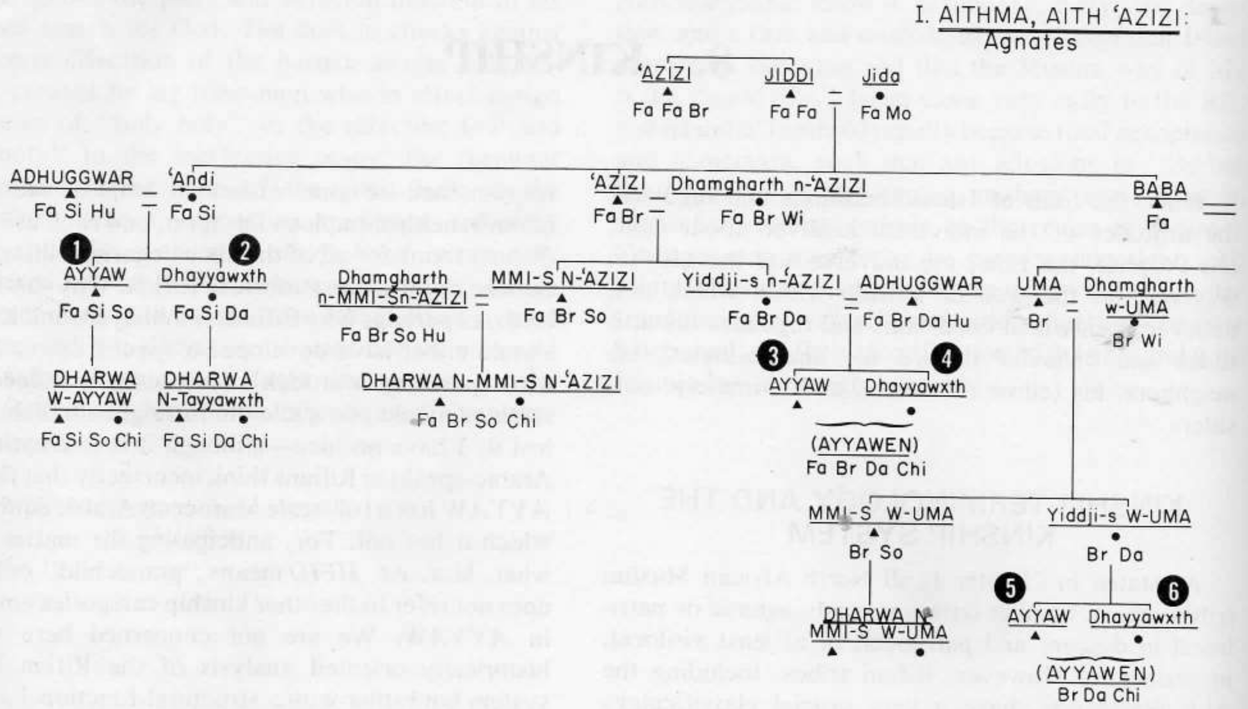
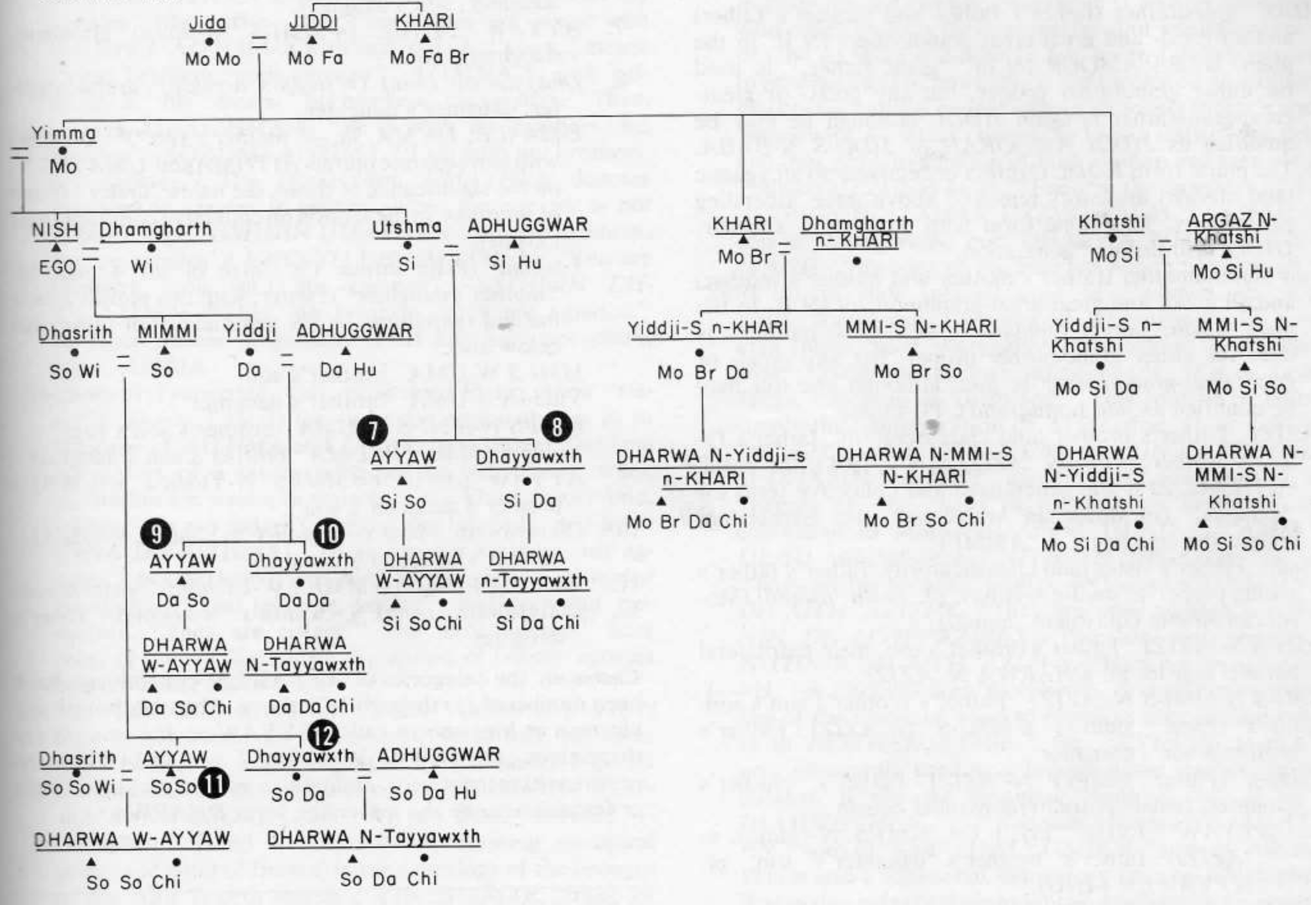

I. AITHMA, AITH 'AZIZI:
Agnates
'AZIZI
Fa Fa Br
JIDDI
Fa Fa
Jida
Fa Mo
ADHUGGWAR
Fa Si Hu
'Andi
Fa Si
'AZIZI
Fa Br
Dhamgharth n-'AZIZI
Fa Br Wi
BABA
Fa
1
AYYAW
Fa Si So
2
Dhayyawxth
Fa Si Da
Dhamgharth
n-MMI-Sn-'AZIZI
Fa Br So Hu
MMI-S N-'AZIZI
Fa Br So
Yiddji-s n-'AZIZI
Fa Br Da
ADHUGGWAR
Fa Br Da Hu
UMA
Br
Dhamgharth
w-UMA
Br Wi
DHARWA
W-AYYAW
Fa Si So Chi
DHARWA
N-Tayyawxth
Fa Si Da Chi
DHARWA N-MMI-S N-'AZIZI
Fa Br So Chi
3
AYYAW
4
Dhayyawxth
(AYYAWEN)
Fa Br Da Chi
MMI-S W-UMA
Br So
Yiddji-s W-UMA
Br Da
5
AYYAW
6
Dhayyawxth
DHARWA N
MMI-S W-UMA
(AYYAWEN)
Br Da Chi

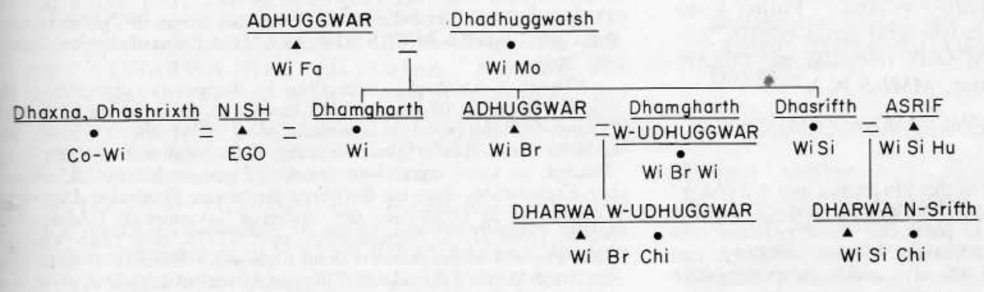
Fig. 8.1: Aith Waryaghar—Kinship Terminology: Terms of Reference

II. KHWARI:
Uterine Kin



Jida
Mo Mo
JIDDI
Mo Fa
KHARI
Mo Fa Br
Yimma
Mo
NISH
EGO
Dhamgharth
Wi
Utshma
Si
ADHUGGWAR
Si Hu
KHARI
Mo Br
Dhamgharth n-KHARI
Khatshi
Mo Si
ARGAZ N-Khatshi
Mo Si Hu
Dhasrith
So Wi
MIMMI
So
Yiddji
Da
ADHUGGWAR
Da Hu
Yiddji-S n-KHARI
Mo Br Da
MMI-S N-KHARI
Mo Br So
Yiddji-S n-Khatshi
Mo Si Da
MMI-S N-Khatshi
Mo Si So
7
AYYAW
Si So
8
Dhayyawxth
Si Da
DHARWA N-Yiddji-s n-KHARI
Mo Br Da Chi
DHARWA N-MMI-S N-KHARI
Mo Br So Chi
DHARWA N-Yiddji-S n-Khatshi
Mo Si Da Chi
DHARWA N-MMI-S N-Khatshi
Mo Si So Chi
9
AYYAW
Da So
10
Dhayyawxth
Da Da
DHARWA W-AYYAW
Si So Chi
DHARWA n-Tayyawxth
Si Da Chi
DHARWA W-AYYAW
Da So Chi
DHARWA N-Tayyawxth
Da Da Chi
12
Dhasrith
So So Wi
AYYAW
So So
11
Dhayyawxth
So Da
ADHUGGWAR
So Da Hu
DHARWA W-AYYAW
So So Chi
DHARWA N-Tayyawxth
So Da Chi

III. IDHUWRAN
Affines



ADHUGGWAR
Wi Fa
Dhadhuggwatsh
Wi Mo
Dhaxna, Dhashrixth
Co-Wi
NISH
EGO
Dhamgharth
Wi
ADHUGGWAR
Wi Br
Dhamgharth W-UDHUGGWAR
Wi Br Wi
Dhasrifth
Wi Si
ASRIF
Wi Si Hu
DHARWA W-UDHUGGWAR
Wi Br Chi
DHARWA N-Srifth
Wi Si Chi

(As Employed by the Aith Turirth Subclan of the Jbil Hman)

Terms of Reference

INDIVIDUAL CONSANGUINEAL KINSMEN (PATRILATERAL)

BABA father

Yimma mother

JIDDI grandfather (father's father and mother's father) and all great- and great-great grandfathers (N.B. In the plain, *BABA AMQQRAN* lit. "great father," is used for either grandfather proper, but any great- or great-great-grandfather is again *JIDDI*, although he may be qualified as *JIDDI AMQQRAN* or *JIDD-S N-BABA*. The plural form *R-JDUD* refers collectively to all agnatic (and uterine) ancestors removed above three ascending generations. This same form with a different singular, *IJIDD*, also means "generation."

Jida Grandmother (father's mother and mother's mother) and all great- and great-great-grandmothers (N.B. In the plain, again, *yimma tamqqrand*, lit. "great mother" is used for either grandmother proper, but any great- or great-great-grandmother is *jida*, although she too may be qualified as *jida tamqqrand*). Pl. *thijida*.

'AZIZI Father's brother (and classificatorily, father's father's brother, properly *'AZIZI-S N-BABA*); the plural *AITH 'AZIZI* is the generalized and collective term for "agnates." (In Moroccan Arabic and other Berber languages the equivalent is *'AMMI*.)

'Andi Father's sister (and classificatorily, father's father's sister, properly *'andi-s n-baba*), pl. *swith 'awandi* (Moroccan Arabic equivalent *'ammti*).

MMI-S N-'AZIZI Father's brother's son, male patrilateral parallel cousin, pl. *DHARWA N-'AZIZI*.

MMI-S N-MMI-S N-'AZIZI Father's brother's son's son.

Yiddji-s (Plain: yiddi-s) n-MMI-S N-'AZIZI Father's brother's son's daughter

Yiddji-s (Plain: yiddi-s) N-'AZIZI Father's brother's daughter, female patrilateral parallel cousin.

1. *AYYAW (-INU)* ("my") (= *MMI-S N-yiddji-s n-'AZIZI)* father's brother's daughter's son, pl. *AYYAWEN (-INU)*.[4]
2. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *yiddji-s n-yiddji-s n-'AZIZI)* Father's brother's daughter's daughter, pl. *d-hayyawin, (-inu)*
3. *AYYAW (-INU)* (= *MMI-S N-'Andi)* Father's sister's son, male patrilateral cross-cousin.
4. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *yiddji-s n-'Andi)* Father's sister's daughter, female patrilateral cross-cousin.

   MIMMI Son (one's own son), irregular pl. *DHARWA*; in state of construct, *MMI-S N-X*[5]

   Yiddji (Plain: yiddi) daughter (one's own daughter) pl. *yissi*.
5. *AYYAW (-INU)* (= *MMI-S N-MIMMI)* grandson, son's son.
6. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *yiddji-s n-MIMMI)* granddaughter, son's daughter.
7. *AYYAW (-INU)* (= *MMI-S n-yiddji)* grandson, daughter's son.
8. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *yiddji-s n-yiddji)* granddaughter, daughter's daughter.

   UMA (i.e., U+MA, lit.—"mother's son")[6] brother, with two separate plurals *AITHMA* and *UMATHEN*: on the significance of these, see below, under *aithma* or *umathen*, in the section on collective consanguineal kinsmen.

   Utshma (Plain *uttma*, i.e., *utsh* or *utt* + *ma*, lit. "mother's daughter")[7] sister, with two plurals *swithma* and *tyumathin*; on the significance of these, see below also.

   MMI-S W-UMA brother's son

   Yiddji-s w-UMA brother's daughter

   MMI-S N-MMI-S W-UMA brother's son's son

   Yiddji-s nMMI-s W-UMA brother's son's daughter
9. *AYYAW (-INU)* (= *MMI-S N-Yiddji-s w-UMA)* brother's daughter's son
10. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *Yiddji-s n-Yiddji-s w-UMA)* brother's daughter's daughter
11. *AYYAW (-INU)* (= *MMI-S W-Utshma)* sister's son
12. *Dhayyawxth (-inu)* (= *Yiddji-s w-utshma)* sister's daughter

Comment: the categories of *AYYAWEN*, collectively, have been numbered (1) through (12) above. The children of any kinsman or kinswoman called *AYYAW* or *dhayyawxth* are themselves *DHARWA W-AYYAW* or *DHARWA N-tayyawxth*, respectively: children in general, whether male or female, assume the masculine form *DHARWA*.

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[4] The popular Rifian etymology of this kin term, from AY-YAW! an expression denoting tenderness, loving care and/or distress manifested over a given person, in particular those persons subsumed under this particular classificatory kinship category, can probably be considered apocryphal (the advice of linguists to beware of popular etymologies in general is no doubt very sound.)

[5] I. M. Lewis (*The Somali lineage System and the Total Genealogy*, Hargeisa 1957, mimeographed, p. 46, n. 3) has noted that among the Somali, famous sons of relatively unknown persons are called "sons of X," *ina X*, through what he aptly calls a "kind of inverted modesty: for example, Sayyid Mahammad 'Abdille Hassan is usually called *ina* 'Abdille Hassan—and he was the 'Mad Mullah.'" Similarily in the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar adopt exactly the same "inverted modesty" in referring to Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim (the 'Abd al-Krim, the Rifian leader of the 1921–26 war against Spain and France) as *MMI-S N-Si 'Abd al-Krim*, "son of Si 'Abd al-Krim." Si'Abd al-Krim the father was a *fqih* or Qur'anic school master in Ajdir. We may note also that anyone whose name is prefixed by a title is always addressed by that title followed by his name. Also, it is standard practice for Rifians of different tribes, when they meet each other outside the Rif, to address each other as *MMI-S N-Tmurth*, "Son of the Land" (i.e., of the Rif). I have myself often been addressed as such. Also *MMI-S N-TADDARTH*, (lit. "son of the house") denotes a man of "good family" but a great insult is *MMI-S NJ-HARAM* (lit. "son of the forbidden" or "bastard").

[6] There is no doubt, according to Berberists, that this is the original meaning of uma, which has since come to mean brother (Lionel Garland personal communication, November 17, 1960). But to infer from this original meaning a precondition of matrilineal descent, as some have done (notably Georges Marcy "L'alliance per Colactation chez les Berbères du Maroc Central," Deuxieme Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés Savantes de l'Afrique de Nord, Tome II, 2, Algiers 1936, pp. 957–73, and "Les Vestiges de la Parenté Maternelle en Droit Coutumier Berbère et le Régime des Successions Touarègues," *Revue Africaine*, LXXXV, Nos. 3–4, 1941, pp. 187–211), is to put carts before horses. Always excepting the enigma of the Twareg, the evidence for any traces of Berber matriliny, even in pre-Islamic times, is extremely thin; such historical evidence as there is, on the contrary, underwrites a strongly entrenched agnatic system. In any case, I believe that the "mother's son" etymology can far more easily and logically be explained on other grounds: those of what Fortes has labelled "complementary filiation," which persists indeed (although it is statistically insignificant) among Berber individuals and lineages to this day.

[7] Cf. footnote 5: the application of my remarks is exactly the same, in this case, as in that one.

COLLECTIVE CONSANGUINEAL KINSMEN (PATRILATERAL)

AITHMA and UMATHEN (both plurals of *UMA*, "brother"): brothers, agnates. The distinction is as follows: *AITHMA* is always used when speaking of *someone's* brothers or agnates, i.e., possession is always involved. *AITHMA* alone may mean "my brothers, my agnates" (the suffix *-INU* "my" does not occur with this form). *AITHMA-X* with suffixed *-X*, "your," means "your brothers, your agnates"; *AITHMA-S*, with suffixed *-S*, "his" means "his brothers, his agnates." Thus, *AQTH AG-AITHMA-S*, "he is with his brothers, his agnates"; *AQAI AG-AITHMA*, "I am with my brothers, my agnates." The plural form *UMATHEN* denotes brothers or agnates in general, when a possessor is not implied, e.g., *NISHNIN UMATHEN*, "we are brothers, we are agnates"; *KINNYU DH-UMATHEN*, "You are brothers, you (pl.) are agnates"; *NITHNIN DH-UMATHEN*, "They are brothers, they are agnates." In other Berber languages, *UMA* has only one plural form, *AITMA*.

Swithma or Tyumathin (pls. of *utshma* Plain: *uttma* "sister"): sisters. Exactly the same distinction applies as in the case of *AITHMA* and *UMATHEN* above. *Swithma* are sisters of a given individual or individuals, while *tyumathin* are sisters in general, e.g.: *Yinin dh-swithma*, "These are *my* sisters" (suffix *-inu* implied), just as in *YINA DH-AITHMA*, "These are *my* brothers, *my* agnates"; but *Nishnin tyumathin* "We are sisters"; *Kinnind tyumathin*, "You (pl.) are sisters"; and *Nithnind tyumathin*, "They are sisters." The term "sisters" here also, of course, subsumes the notion of female agnates or patrilateral kinswomen.

YINN Derived from *YINA*. "These" (misc. pl.). *YINN* may be translated as "these (of), those (of), the ones (of)." *YINN* is often employed as a denotative prefix to mark the names of lineages e.g., *NISHNIN YINN HAND W-‘ABDALLAH*, "We are those of Hand w-‘Abdallah," Hand w-‘Abdallah representing an apical point (and point of fission) in the genealogy of the lineages of the Aith Turirth subclan; *YIN SI‘AMAR* "those of Si ‘Amar" (a minor Imrabdhen lineage); *YINN ‘AMAR U-SA‘ID*, "those of ‘Amar u-Sa‘id" (a major Aith Hadhifa lineage); etc.

Yissi (pl. of *yiddji* [plain:] *yiddi*): daughters.

DHARWA (pl. of *MIMMI*): sons, children. *DHARWA* is employed collectively to denote the sons and daughters of a given individual, e.g., *DHARWA -INU*, "my children"; *DHARWA-INES* "his children," it is also, like *YINN* and *AITH* (see below), used to denote lineage names, e.g., *DHARWA UFQIR AZZUGWAGH*, "the sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh"; *DHARWA N-‘AMAR W-‘AISA* "the sons of ‘Amar w-‘Aisa."

AITH (Pl. of U- or DHU-): lit. "people of," employed as a denotative marker in many lineage names and in all clan and tribal names: *AITH WARYAGHAR* "people of Waryagharland," sing., *DHU-WARYAGHAR* "person of Waryagharland."

The form U- (or W-), it should be noted, is sometimes used as a marker of filiation, as in *AITH MHAND U-SA‘ID.*" "people of Mhand *son of* Sa‘id;" *‘AMAR W-‘AISA*, "Amar *son of* ‘Aisa: *YINN HAND W-‘ABDALLAH*, "those of Hand *son of* ‘Abdallah." *N-* is equally a marker of filiation, as in *MUHAND N-MHAND, MUH N-SA‘ID, ‘AISA N-MUH AKKUH*, "Muhand son of Mhand, Muh son of Sa‘id, ‘Aisa son of Muh Akkuh"; N- is also employed for filiation of women, e.g., *Fadhma n-BU TAHAR* "Fadhma daughter of Bu Tahar"; *Fattush n-‘AMAR*, "Fattush daughter of ‘Amar": *Minnush n-SILLAM*, "Minnush daughter of Sillam." The grammatical rules governing the use of *u-* or *n-* are not readily discernible (I had no informants who could explain them properly), but would appear to depend on what is easier, in any given filiative context, to pronounce. *U-*, however, is not employed as a filiative marker for women except when a woman's father's name begins with *A-*, which changes to *U-* in a state of construct and thus governs filiation of both women and men—e.g., Fadhma UZZUGWAGH, "Fadhma the daughter of UZZUGWAGH"; ‘AMAR UZZUGWAGH, "‘AMAR the son of Azzugwagh, *but: DHARWA UFQIR AZZUGWAGH*, "the sons of the Fqir (or Afqir) Azzugwagh."

Swith (pl. of *utsh-* [plain:] *utt-*): lit. "women of," e.g., *Swith Waryaghar*, "women of Waryagharland," sing. *utsh* (plain: *utt-*) Waryaghar, "woman of Waryagharland"; *Swith* (or, as they pronounce it, *suxt* or *susht*) *Tuzin*, "Women of Tuzinland," This form is of course simply the feminine form of *AITH* (sing. *U-* or *DHU-*).

AITH ‘AZIZI or AITH ‘AMUMI or IBIN- ‘AZIZITHEN or DHABIN ‘AMMUT agnatic kinsmen in general, lit. "people of" or "sons of the father's brother," and equivalent to Moroccan Arabic *ULAD L- ‘AMM* or *ULAD ‘AMMI*—e.g., *NITHNIN DH-AITH ‘AZIZI*, "They are my agnates" (suffix *-INU* implied); *NITHNIN DH-AITH ‘AZIZI-X*, "They are your agnates"; *NISHNIN DH-AITH ‘AZIZI-X*, "We are your agnates"; *NITHNIN DH-AITH ‘AZIZI-S*, "They are his agnates."

I-----N. A discontinuous morpheme, or prefix plus suffix, one of the standard ways to pluralize a masculine noun, as in *IXNIWEN*, "twins." (sg., *AXNIW*). It is also very commonly used as a lineage name marker. In this context, it has the meaning "sons of. . . ." as in *IHAMMUTHEN*. . ." "sons of Hammu"; *I ‘AISATHEN*, "sons of ‘Aisa"; *I ‘ALLUSHEN*, "sons of ‘Allush." This is also a somewhat derogatory term by which plains Waryaghar refer to their mountain brethren, who reciprocate by calling the latter *AITH BU TKHSAITH*, "People of the squash,"[8] *ISI‘ARITHEN*, "sons of Si ‘Ari" (*Si* being the title of a literate man); *IHADDUTHEN*, "sons of Haddu"; *IQADDUREN*, "sons of Qaddur." There is one double-barreled example of this form of lineage designation among the Aith ‘Ammarth (clan of Aith ‘Abbu): *IMHANDDAWUDEN*, "sons of Mhand u-Dawud."

INDIVIDUAL CONSANGUINEAL KINSMEN (MATRILATERAL)

Yimma Mother

KHARI Mother's brother (Moroccan Arabic and other Berber equivalent: *KHALI*). The plural form *KHWARI* is employed collectively to refer to all matrilateral kin.

Khatshi (plain: *Khatti*) Mother's sister, pl. *Khwatshi* (Moroccan Arabic and other Berber equivalent: *Khalti*).

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[8] The origin of the first nickname is simply that ‘Allush was supposed to have been a stupid mountaineer; the origin of the second, that a plainsman who had never seen a watermelon was asked by the council-members to bring them one to eat. After the watermelon was described to him, he brought a squash instead, and the name stuck.

MMI-S N-KHARI Mother's brother's son, male matrilateral cross-cousin.

Yiddji-s n-KHARI Mother's brother's daughter, female matrilateral cross-cousin.

MMI-S N-Khatshi Mother's sister's son, male matrilateral parallel cousin.

Yiddji-s n-Khatshi (plain: *khatti*) Mother's sister's daughter, female matrilateral parallel cousin.

Comment: Mother's sisters children are usually referred to collectively as *IBINKHATSHITHEN* (plain: *IBINKHATTITHEN*).

INDIVIDUAL AFFINAL KINSMEN: MAN SPEAKING

Dhamgharth (-inu) (my) wife, pl. *dhimgharin (-inu) Dhamgharth*, pl. *dhimgharin*, is also the generalized term of "woman" (although in Igzinnayen the term *dhamttuth*, but pl. *dhimgharin*, is employed).

ADHUGGWAR (INU) 1) Wife's father, 2) wife's brother, 3) father's sister's husband, 4) sister's husband and 5) daughter's husband. (The term is also employed by son's wife's sister to refer to sister's husband's father). The plural *IDHUWRAN* is used to designate all affines collectively. However, Moroccan Arabic *NSIB*, pl. *NSAB* is used as much as *ADHUGGWAR* in order to differentiate all other affines from one's wife's father, who is the *ADHUFFWAR* "proper."

Dhadhuggwatsh (Plain, *dhadhugwatt*) pl. *dhidhuggwarin*—wife's mother, and only wife's mother (unlike *ADHUGGWAR*, it refers to no other female affine). This term never occurs with the suffix -inu "my" as a way of showing respect to one's mother-in-law.

Dhasrifth Wife's sister, pl. *Dhisrifin*

ASRIF Wife's sister's husband. The plural *ISRIFEN* denotes two men who marry sisters, and is employed reciprocally. (Moroccan Arabic has an equivalent, *SLIFI*, and the Rifian term is derived from it.)

Dhasrith (-inu) pl. *dhisrath* or *dhasriwin (-inu)*: literally "bride," but as used affinally: 1) son's wife, and 2) son's son's wife. (Moroccan Arabic equivalent is *slifti*, from which Rifian term is derived.)

Comment: Consanguineal kin terms are all always the same, irrespective of the sex of the speaker. This is not the case for affinal terms, however, and there are significant differences in the latter if the speaker is a woman.

INDIVIDUAL AFFINAL KINSMEN: WOMAN SPEAKING

ARGAZ (-INU) (my) husband. *ARGAZ*, pl. *IRGAZEN*, is also the generalized term for "man."

Dhaxna (-inu) pl. *dhaxniwin (-inu)* or *dhashrixth (-inu)*, pl. *dhashrixin (-inu)*—(my) co-wife, in the event of a polygynous husband. The first of these two terms is closely related to that for "twins"; *ixniwen*, sing. *ixen*, fem. *dhixniwin*, sing. *dhixent*. The latter means in fact "female associate" and is the Rifian version of Moroccan Arabic *shrika*.

AMGHAR (-INU) (my) husband's father, although it literally means "older man" and, specifically, "tribal councellor" as well. (Moroccan Arabic *SHAIKH* has the exact same meanings.)

Dhamgharth (-inu) (my) husband's mother. As mentioned above, the normal meanings of *dhamgharth* are both "woman" and "wife," but in this context it refers to "older woman."

ARWUS (-INU) pl. *IRUWSAN (-INU)*—(my) husband's brother (from Moroccan Arabic *LUS*, pl. *LWAS*).

Dharwust (-inu) Pl. *dhiruwsin (-inu)*: (my) husband's sister (derived from Moroccan Arabic *lusa*, pl. *lwais*).

Dhānūtt (-inu) Pl. *dhinudhin (-inu)*: (my) husband's brother's wife. The plural denotes the wives of two brothers and the homologous term, man speaking, is *ISRIFEN*, husbands of two sisters.

STEP-PARENTS, STEP-CHILDREN, HALF-SIBLINGS AND STEP-SIBLINGS

Dhamgharth n-BABA Father's wife

ARGAZ N-yimma Mother's husband

ARBIB (*-INU*) Pl. *IRBIBEN* (*-INU*)—(my) step-son (with speaker of either sex. The word is derived from Moroccan Arabic *RBIB*, pl. *RBAIB*).

Dharbibth (-inu) Pl. *dhirbibin (-inu)*—(my) step-daughter (with speaker of either sex. The word is derived from Moroccan Arabic *rbiba*, pl. *rbibat*).

MMI-S N-Yimma Pl. *DHARWA N-Yimma*—Mother's son.

Yiddji-s n-yimma Pl. *yissi-s n-yimma*—mother's daughter

MMI-S N-BABA Pl. *DHARWA N-BABA*—father's son.

Yiddji-s n-BABA Pl. *yissi-s n-BABA*—father's daughter

Comment: Collectively, *DHARWAN-yimma* are mother's children, and *DHARWA N-BABA*, father's children.

OR

UMA ZI-BABA brother through the father, pl. *UMATHEN ZI-BABA*

UMA ZG-Yimma brother through the mother, pl. *UMATHEN ZG-Yimma*

Utshma ZI-BABA sister through the father, pl. *swithma zi-BABA*

Utshma zg-yimma sister through the mother, pl. *swithma zg-yimma*

ARBIB N-BABA-S pl. *IRBIBEN N-BABA-S:* step-brother through the father.

ARBIB N-yimma-s pl. *IRBIBEN N-yimmas-s:* step-brother through the mother

Dharbibth n-BABA-S pl. Dhirbibin n-BABA-S: step-sister through the father.

Dharbibth n-yimma-s pl. *Dhirbibin n-yimma-s:* step-sister through the mother.

UMA-S ZG-ubbish (from *abbish*, "breast") pl. *AITHMA-S ZG-ubbish:* foster brother.

Utshma-s zg-ubbish pl. *swithma-s zg-ubbish:* foster sister.

Ayujir pl. *iyujiren*—orphan (f. *dhayujitsh*, pl. *dhiyujirth*): the term may refer as well to a child with only one deceased parent.

SPOUSES OF CONSANGUINEAL KINSMEN OR KINSWOMEN

ARGAZ N-X husband of X

Dhamgharth n-Y wife of Y, as follows: *Dhamgharth w-UMA*, brother's wife; *dhamgharth n-'AZIZI*, father's brother's wife; *dhamgharth n-MMI-S W-UMA*, brother's son's wife; *dhamgharth w-AYYAW*—1) father's sister's son's wife; 2) sister's son's wife; 3) father's brother's daughter's son's wife; 4) brother's daughter's son's wife and 5) daughter's son's wife (but not son's son's wife, who is *dhasrith*, as in son's wife); *dhamgharth n-KHARI*, mother's brother's wife. Cf. also *ARGAZ N-Khatshi*, mother's sister's husband. Children of one's mother's brother are *DHARWA N-KHARI* (or simply *KHWARI*), and of one's mother's sister, *DHARWA N-Khatshi* (or *IBINKHATSHITHEN*). Husbands of women who are *dhayyawin* (pl. of *dhayyawxth*) are *IDHUWRAN* (sing. *ADHUGGWAR*) or affines, by definition; but their children are *DHARWA N-Tayyawxth*. And finally, children of one's wife's brother (whose wife is *dhamgharth w-UDHUGGWAR* are *DHARWA W-UDHUGGWAR*: and those of one's wife's sister, *DHARWA N-Srifth*.

TERMS FOR WIDOWED AND DIVORCED INDIVIDUALS

idjiff—divorced man
thidjiff—divorced woman
dh-ajjar—widower
thajjatsh—widow

TERMS OF ADDRESS

The above terms of reference that denote consanguineal kin, either patrilateral or matrilateral, are also all employed as terms of address, with one exception: in the plain of al-Husaima only, and not in the Jbil Hmam, older brothers are addressed as *‘AZIZI* (lit. "father's brothers") and older sisters as *aradda*, pl. *swith aradda* (Jbil Hmam *araddja*, lit. "lady," from Moroccan Arabic *lalla*), a term also used to address wives of agnates older than the speaker. Kinsmen of the same generation and of the succeeding or descending one are generally addressed by name, while uncles and aunts, both patrilateral and matrilateral, are addressed by the appropriate kinship terms plus their names. *AYYAWEN* of any category are generally addressed by that kin term.

With affinal kin, however, this generalized correspondence between terms of reference and terms of address undergoes marked changes. Husbands and wives generally address each other by name when nobody else is present; otherwise the form of address is simply "you" (m. *shik*, f. *shim*). Uncles and aunts by marriage, for example, are addressed by the nearest uncle or aunt term to the speaker. Should they be members of a lineage, clan, or tribe that is either closer to or that of the speaker, they are addressed as *‘AZIZI* (shortened usually to *‘AZZI*, plus the man's name) or *‘andi*, and should they be members of a lineage, clan or tribe that is either that of the speaker's mother or not related in any way, they are addressed as *KHARI* or *khatshi*. Generally, if the person so addressed is a fellow tribesman or tribeswoman, the patrilateral designation is used; if he or she is not, the matrilateral one is then employed.

A man's wife's father must never be addressed by his term of reference, *ADHUGGWAR (-INU)*, although a brother-in-law may be; indeed, as stated above, a man's father-in-law is the *ADHUGGWAR* "proper" and the only person falling within the classificatory range of this particular kin term who may not be addressed as such. He is addressed, rather, as *‘AZIZI* or *KHARI*, according, again, to whether or not he is a fellow tribesman. An even stronger prohibition is that a man's wife's mother must never under any circumstances be addressed as *dhadhuggwatshinu;* the shame that her son-in-law must exhibit in front of her is greater than that shown to any other kinsman or kinswomen, affinal or consanguineal. She must always be addressed rather as *‘andi* or *khatshi* (according once again, to the degree of relationship between her own clan and that of her daughter's husband).

The same terms of address are used, in part, for step-parents. One's step-father, *ARGAZ N-Yimma*, is addressed as *‘AZIZI* or *KHARI* according to whether his relationship to his stepchild is closer patrilaterally or matrilaterally (i.e., according to whether he is or is not of the same clan as the latter). One's step-mother (i.e. any of one's father's other wives) is addressed as *araddja* (plain: *aradda*, "lady"); the same term is used in the plain for an older sister, and in the Jbil Hmam for the wife of any agnate who is noticeably older than oneself. Half-siblings and stepsiblings are addressed by name (for the latter, no kin term exists in any case). But foster-children address the women who have suckled them as *yimma*, "mother," and their husbands as *KHARI* or *‘AZIZI* according to degree of relationship.

If the speaker is a woman, the terms of reference employed for her husband's parents, *AMGHAR (-INU)* and *dhamgharth (-inu)*, are not in any sense terms of address, even though they both imply great respect. A woman addresses her husband's father as *‘AZIZI* if he is from her own clan, or as *KHARI* if he is not. Similarily, she addresses her husband's mother as *‘andi* or *khatshi.*

We shall consider the question of behavior towards kin, both ideal and actual, after the analysis of the formal kinship system itself.

ANALYSIS OF THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

As noted in the beginning of this chapter, the existence of the crucial term *AYYAW* and its feminine counterpart *dhayyawxth* changes the Aith Waryaghar kinship system, which might otherwise qualify as "Sudanese," into one that may be called "modified Omaha." It is termed "modified" because only four of the six criteria of a "pure" Omaha system, as

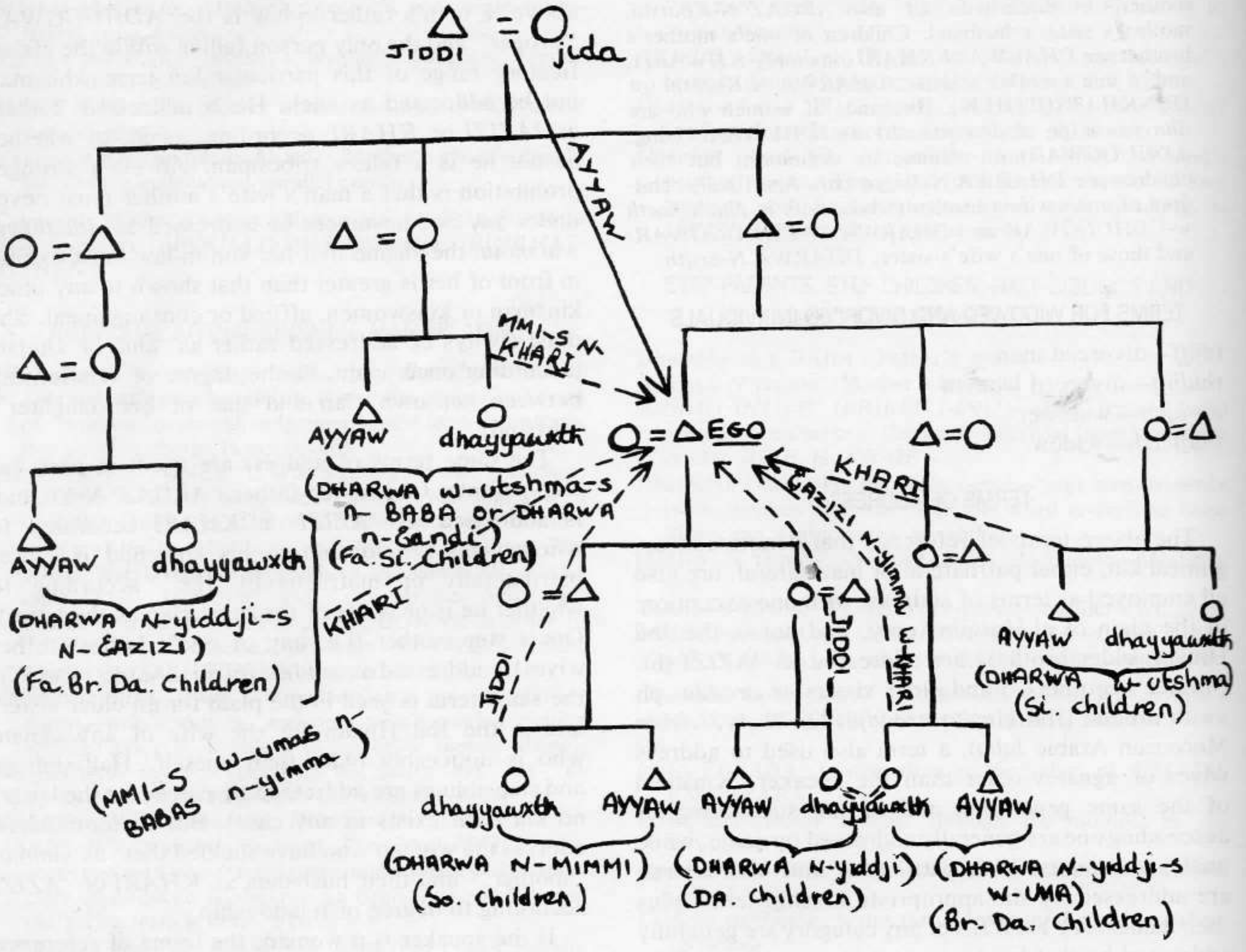
JIDDI
jida
AYYAW
MMI-S N-KHARI
AYYAW
dhayyawxth
(DHARWA w-utshma-s n-BABA or DHARWA n-Gandi)
(Fa. Si. Children)
EGO
AYYAW
dhayyawxth
(DHARWA N-yiddji-s N-GAZIZI)
(Fa. Br. Da. Children)
KHARI
KHARI
GAZIZI N-yimma
JIDDI
JIDDI
KHARI
(MMI-S BABAS w-umas n-yimma)
dhayyawxth
AYYAW
(DHARWA N-MIMMI)
(So. Children)
AYYAW
dhayyawxth
(DHARWA N-yiddji)
(DA. Children)
AYYAW.
(DHARWA N-yiddji-s w-UMA)
(Br. Da. Children)
AYYAW
dhayyawxth
(DHARWA w-utshma)
(Si. children)

Fig. 8.2: Usage of Classificatory Kin Terms *Ayyaw* and *Dhayyawxth*

elaborated by Hoebel,[9] are satisfied, to wit:

1. Sister's daughter and father's sister's daughter are lumped together (as are sister's son and father's sister's son).
2. "Mother's brother" extends to "male of my mother's patrilineage"—for the plural form *KHWARI* covers all uterine kinsmen.
3. "Sister's daughter" extends to "daughter of a female of my father's patrilineage."
4. "Sister's son" extends to "son of a female of my father's patrilineage."

The two other criteria of a "pure" or "classical" Omaha system are not met, however, by the Aith Waryghar:

1. Mother and mother's brother's daughter are not lumped together.
2. "Mother" does not extend to "woman of my mother's patrilineage."

AYYAW and *dhayyawxth,* then, are the son and daughter, respectively, of any woman of the speaker's patrilineage or agnatic lineage and this holds true for all generations—whether ascending, the same, or descending. Furthermore, the terms are self-perpetuating in that children of any kinsman called *AYYAW,* and of any kinswoman called *dhayyawxth,* are themselves automatically *DHARWA W-AYYAW* or simply *AYYAWEN* in the first case, and *DHARWA N-tayyawxth* or simply *dhayyawin* in the second. Furthermore, *AYYAW* and *dhayyawxth* also mean grandson and granddaughter. It is entirely within the logic of the system that they should refer, respectively, to daughter's son and daughter's daughter, given the fact of relationship through any female member of the lineage (and the same logic holds for the father's brother's daughter's children and brother's daughter's children); but when we consider that they refer equally to son's son and son's daughter, we find here a plausible asymmetry in detail (one that genuinely puzzled me for ten years), which would seem to stand in glaring contrast to the other kinship categories denoted by this pair of highly classificatory terms. Here, in this one instance, the principle of kinship through a patrilateral kinswoman has certainly been flagrantly violated. In Reader's idiom, one's father's sister's child, sister's child, and daughter's child all stand in a similar kin relationship to one, while one's son's child stands in a different relationship.[10]

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[9] E. Adamson Hoebel, *Man in the Primitive World,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958 p. 362.

The real answer to the problem just posed, however, resides elsewhere: in the polar relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. Since grandparents themselves (*JIDDI* and *jida*) are *not* differentiated terminologically according to whether they are patri- or matrilateral (i.e., since bifurcation, so characteristic of uncle and aunt terms, does not exist at the grandparental level), neither are grandchildren so differentiated, which is to say that there is a reciprocal lack of terminological bifurcation in the case of grandchildren and grandparents. Thus the asymmetry that *does* indeed exist at one level of abstraction is entirely resolved (or canceled out) at another, when one realizes the full implications of the two basic meanings of the term: (1) the child of any patrilateral kinswoman of whatever generation (even though in speech, as in the above kinship term listings, the exact kinship category of the *AYYAW* under consideration usually emerges through further explanatory use of a descriptive kin term, such as *MMI-S n-'andi*, "father's sister's son," or *MMI-S w-utshma*, "sister's son"); and (2) any grandchild (or great-grandchild). It is also entirely possible that the existence and the distribution of the term *AYYAW* as described here serves both to point up the sexual irrelevance of grandchildren[11] on the one hand, and the reservation of terms of bifurcation for the "effective" generations (for there are always two such, depending on how one looks at it) on the other.

In my view, these facts clearly establish and justify the contention that Rifian cousin and kinship terminologies are of a "modified Omaha" type. Now: what of Murdock's other typological criteria, and to what extent does the Rifian kinship system satisfy them?

As to types of terms, the Aith Waryaghar of course show elementary terms (irreducible words that cannot be analyzed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings—e.g., *BABA*, *yimma*, *'AZIZI*, *'andi*, *KHARI*, *khatshi*, *MIMMI*, *yiddji*[12]); descriptive terms (combining two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative—e.g. *yiddji-s n-'AZIZI*, *MMI-S N-KHARI*); denotative terms (applying only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex, and genealogical connection, and referring either to one person, e.g., *BABA*, or to more than one person, e.g., *UMA*, *utshma*, *MIMMI*); and classificatory terms (applying to persons of two or more kinship categories, as these are defined by generation, sex, and genealogical connection—e.g. *JIDDI*, *jida*, *AYYAW*, *dhayyawxth*). There are a minimal number of derivative kin terms in Rifian; these are terms compounded from an elementary term and another lexical element that does not have primarily a kinship meaning. These include the terms incorporating *AMQQRAN* (fem. *tamqqrand*) "great," as in *BABA AMQQRAN* (lit. "great father"), as used in the plain for *JIDDI* "grandfather," and in the terms for "great-grandfather," etc., listed previously under *JIDDI* and *jida* "grandmother." Similarly, terms incorporating the word *abbish* "breasts," as in *UMA-S zg-ubbish* "foster brother" or *utshma-s zg-ubbish* "foster sister," are derivative terms.

As to Murdock's now famous nine kinship criteria, the Aith Waryaghar recognize the six major ones: generation, sex, affinity, collaterality (but not merging), bifurcation, and polarity. Bifurcation is ignored in the grandparent terminology, but most emphatically is not in avuncular and aunt terms—e.g., *'AZIZI 'andi* (agnatic uncle and aunt), *KHARI khatshi* (uterine uncle and aunt). In this latter respect, the kinship terminology of the Aith Waryaghar, like that of all Berber and of all Arab groups, is bifurcate collateral. Generation is ignored effectively only in the terms *AYYAW* and *dhayyawxth*; sex is never ignored, nor is affinity. Perhaps the only examples that show polarity (which produces two kin terms for each kin relationship, one by which each participant can denote the other—e.g., *JIDDI AYYAW*, *KHARI AYYAW*,[13] *'AZIZI MMI-S W-UMA*, etc.) are two affinal terms: (1) *ASRIF*, employed reciprocally by two men who have married (two) sisters, and (2) *dhanutt*, employed reciprocally by two women who have married (two) brothers.

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[10] D. H. Reader, *Zulu Tribe in Transition*, Manchester University Press, 1966, p. 121. Another useful notion in the same work is that of "order of kinship distance," in which for example, father's (1) brother's (2) daughter (3) is considered to be "third-order kinship distance" (ibid., p. 123).

[11] It is tempting in this connection to think of other plausible parallels with certain neuter nouns in German, e.g., *das Kind*, *das Madchen*, in which cases the existence of the neuter gender implies, at least semantically, sexual ineffectiveness (although whether this is so in fact is entirely a different matter).

[12] *UMA* and *utshma*, brother and sister, are exceptions in this case, Cf. notes 6 and 7.

[13] For both *AYYAW (-INU)* and *dhayyawxth (-inu)* the reciprocal kin terms are *JIDDI*, *jida*, *KHARI* and *khatshi*.

Of Murdock's three remaining minor criteria, relative age and speaker's sex are both recognized, while decedence is not. The recognition of relative age, however, is a feature of the kinship system of the lowlanders of Waryagharland, who vary from the highlanders in this one respect; in the plain, a younger brother or sister addresses an older one as *'AZIZI* or *aradda*, but this is not done in the Jbil Hmam. Speaker's sex, as a criterion, exists primarily in terms for affines—e.g., a man calls his wife's brother *ADHUGGWAR*, his wife's sister *dhasrifth*, and his wife's sister's husband *ASRIF*, while a woman calls her husband's sister *dharwust*, her husband's brother *ARWUS*, and the latter's wife *dhanutt;* the polarity of these two sets of terms is also to be noted. Decedence, involving the usage of different kin terms for living and dead relatives, is not recognized at all.[14]

To push Murdock's classification still further, we may add and summarize the following about the social structure of the Aith Waryaghar: (1) descent is patrilineal or agnatic; (2) cousin terms (and thus, in Murdock's view, the whole kinship system) are "(modified) Omaha";[15] (3) residence is patrilocal and in any event virilocal; (4) clans exist (though perhaps rather by my definition than by Murdock's), demes do not; (5) other kin groups, lower down on the ramifying segmentary ladder (of which Murdock, in the work under discussion, was unaware) are segmented patrilineages; (6) as for exogamy and other extensions of incest taboos, there is in fact no unilineal or bilateral extension of incest taboos beyond secondary relatives (including *ARBIB* and *dharbibth*, spouse's son and spouse's daughter by a previous marriage); (7) as for marriage, nonsororal polygyny, even though it is a cultural ideal, shows an incidence of only about 20% or less; (8) as for family, there are patrilocal or virilocal extended families as well as fraternal (patrilocal) "joint families"; (9) aunt terms are bifurcate collateral, with distinct terms for mother, mother's sister, and father's sister; and (10) niece terms are again bifurcate collateral, with distinct terms for daughter, brother's daughter, and sister's daughter.

There is, however, considerably more to the analysis of the Aith Waryaghar kinship system than this, quite apart from any attempt to use Murdock's notions about "historical reconstruction" in order to give a temporal priority to the "Sudanese" system as opposed to the "Omaha" one—a criterion which I consider to be purely typological in any case. Some of Murdock's criteria are indeed relevant, but others are either trivial or totally irrelevant. There are at least three other extremely important factors that the "cross-cultural approach" does not even touch upon in the analysis of kinship systems. The first of these is what is here called terminological collectivization. In agnatic societies, at least, it seems to be quite normal for collective terms denoting agnatic, uterine, and affinal kin in general to exist; the Aith Waryaghar responses when asked for these terms are: *AITHMA* or *AITH 'AZIZI* (agnates), *KHWARI* (uterine kinsmen), and *IDHUWRAN* (affines). In this sense, the Aith Waryaghar "lump" as much as sophisticated anthropologists do. But following the severely agnatic orientation of the society, although there is only one term each for the last two categories of kin, *AITH 'AZIZI*, designating agnates, is simply a terminological *primus inter pares*. Most of the other synonyms (i.e., *IBIN 'AZIZITHEN, AITH 'AMUMI, DHABIN 'AMMUT*, etc.) have already been commented upon above, but it seems useful to reiterate here a feature peculiar to the Rifian system (but not found in other Berber kinship systems): the fact that *UMA*, "brother," has two plurals, *AITHMA* and *UMATHEN*. Both of course refer, as well, to agnates, but the first invariably refers to the agnates of a particular person or persons, and the second, to agnates in general. The crucial point here in this context is the speaker in conjunction with the particular (or general) group of agnates referred to. All of these collective terms are quite common in everyday speech, more so (perhaps naturally) than some of the more precise (or compound) descriptive terms, particularly those containing, for example, three or more discrete elements. Finally, they are all key terms in the wider contexts of kinship *vis-à-vis* territoriality, i.e., those of lineage, clan, and local community. Some, (such as *U-*, pl. *AITH*) are even key terms in nonkinship contexts (e.g., *utharbi'in*, pl. *aitharbi'in*, "council member," and a word which in the Rif, as we have pointed out elsewhere,[16] has nothing to do with the notion of "forty"); *amghar*, pl. *imgharen*, with the same meaning, its secondary meaning only being a term of reference employed by a woman for her husband's father; *bab*, "owner," pl. *aithbab*, as in *aithbab n-taddarth* or *aithbab n-dudhrin*, "owners of houses"). These are only a few examples; others could be given. They of course point up another wider issue: that kinship terms are linguistic phenomena that cannot be divorced from a linguistic context, and that key terms oftener than not have more than one meaning, or several extended meanings.

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[14] There is, however, a collective term, *R-KHRIFTH*, pl. *R-KHRUFITH* which refers to any living agnatic or uterine (but not affinal) kinsmen.

[15] G. P. Murdock, op. cit., 1949, p. 224: "Fa Si Da and Mo Br Da called by different terms and terminologically differentiated from sisters and parallel cousins, but Fa Si Da is terminologically classed with Si DA and/or Mo Br Da with Mo Si." My comment: Fa Si Da with Fa Si, yes; Mo Br Da with Mo Si, no.

[16] Hart, op. cit., 1962. *Aitharbi'in* is an elided form: *aith* + *tharbi'in*.

The second major point in our analysis reverts to one discussed earlier, and in detail: the highly classificatory usage of the term (or set of terms) *AYYAW/dhayyawxth*, with the apparent asymmetry of the term in one context (son's son) resolved in another, through the polar relationship between grandchild and grandparent, and the lack, at these two generational levels, of the bifurcation that is so crucial at the effective level(s) in between them.

The third major point involves the distinction of speaker's sex in affinal terms of reference, as also the fact that whereas *IDHUWRAN* refers to affines in general, its feminine singular form *thadhuggwatsh* refers only to one's wife's mother. (*IDHUWRAN*, to a woman speaker, are of course *iruwsan*, and the brother and sister of a woman's father-in-law, her *AMGHAR*, are *ARWUS* and *dharwust;* of her mother-in-law, her *dhamgharth*, they are *UMA-S tmgharth (-inu)* and *utshma-s n-tmgharth(-inu)*. The latter's husband is *ASRIF N-tmgharth(-inu))*. There is also a polar relationship between men who are *ISRIFEN* to each other (e.g., who have married sisters) and women who are *dhinudhin* to each other (e.g., who are married to brothers); but the correspondence between *dhasrifth* (wife's sister's husband, man speaking) on the one hand, and a) *ARWUS* (husband's brother, woman speaking) b) *dharwust* (husband's sister, woman speaking), and c) *dhanut* (husband's brother's wife, woman speaking) is not complete, although such incompleteness is hardly great enough to be labelled "asymmetrical"—even to the apparent extent that the crucial kin term *AYYAW* may be labelled "asymmetrical," which in fact it is not.

In short, as far as the Rifian kinship system as manifested in Waryagharland is concerned, I would submit that Murdock's scheme, although it provides certain valuable pointers, hits around the structural target rather than directly on it: the existence of the crucial kin term *AYYAW* and its modifications of the "pure" Omaha system. Perhaps it could be argued, here as in other areas of analysis, that only some and not all of the relevant criteria need to be satisfied. But one could also argue that if a given typology is too iron-clad to admit a kinship system that does not entirely conform to it, then it is *eo ipso* the typology that should be modified.

The Waryaghar kinship system, to be sure, recognizes most of Murdock's categorizations. However: (1) it collectivizes (or even lumps) different categories of kin in a kind of convenient (and indeed sophisticated) shorthand way which Murdock, given his overwhelming interest in individual kin terms, does not account for; (2) it has, perhaps, a deeper affinal recognition not only of speaker's sex, but of listener's sex and status, than his scheme would allow (numerous observers seem to be agreed that Murdock's work often overlooks the essentially dyadic nature of kin terms in general); and (3) above all, it transcends an apparent terminological asymmetry between, and lumping of, the children of one's patrilateral kinswomen and one's own son's children in a terminologically equitable grandchild-grandparent relationship, while bifurcating, terminologically, at the levels of the active and effective generations.

BEHAVIOR TOWARD KIN

We shall now complement the formal analysis of the kinship system with a discussion of the behavior, both ideal and actual, of all three categories of kin (agnatic, uterine, affinal) toward each other and toward outsiders.

The overriding criteria in all behavior toward all kin are age and sex. Furthermore, lineal kin are invariably treated with greater respect, if they are older, than are collateral kin. However, the most respectful treatment of all, amounting to "great shame" (*r-hya attas*) and even to avoidance, must be shown by a man to his wife's mother, *dhadhuggwatsh*—a term of reference which, as we have noted, must never under any circumstances be employed as a term of address. He must greet her by quietly saying only the politest formulae of greeting, and by kissing her head. After greeting her, if they should both be present at a marriage or a name-giving ceremony, for example, he must then ease away as unobtrusively as possible, keep the hood of his jillaba over his head, and not sit anywhere near her. In her presence he may never smoke, never sing *ay-aralla buya* couplets, never speak of marriage, never use words deemed in any way improper, never joke or perform any actions considered even mildly reprehensible. All of this holds particularly true if she is still relatively young or in early middle age, for obvious reasons: because she may still be both sexually attractive and active. Near al-Husaima and among the Ibuqquyen, there were, even in 1959, signs that some of this traditional behavior was beginning to break down, but not in the Jbil Hmam, where in respects such as these, the creeping influence of urban behavior and "modernization" had as yet taken no hold. *Dhidhuggwarin* are perhaps the most striking of all examples of the overriding importance of age and sex as determinants of behavior toward kin. I was told that some mothers-in-law "do not have much shame," but if so, this was certainly the exception rather than the rule.

The above strictures also apply, in principle, to a man's wife's father, although here there is not necessarily a question of avoidance involved; they also apply to a man's wife's sister, if she is markedly older than he is. (Similarly, a woman must show very great respect and deference to her husband's parents, again amounting to avoidance, as much as possible, in the case of her husband's father). The strictures do not apply to a man's wife's brothers, with whom he may laugh and joke freely.

The same great respect applies to a man's own parents (although perhaps slightly less than to his wife's mother). A father rules his household with an iron hand. Among Berbers generally, for example, if a father and son both happen to be present, and someone else inadvertently brings up the subject of marriage or makes an inappropriate remark, the son will quickly and quietly get up and leave the room; I saw this happen on numerous occasions when I myself unintentionally committed the *faux pas* in question, by inquiring, say, about preferred marriage. A father, may however, use the vilest possible language to his son until the latter reaches puberty, at which point such language ceases: for the son will soon become a man. The mother-son relationship is one of the greatest possible respect on the son's part, and the father-daughter relationship follows the same rule; in both cases the "shame" (*r-hya*) factor exists here because of the opposite sex of the parent. However, if the father is not present, a daughter may talk of marriage to her mother and even use bad language in front of her, because another very important point about shame is that it is considered essentially a male concern: men must keep their women under virtual lock and key in order to maintain a maximum of honor and a minimum of shame. Beyond the respect shown, there is no special cross-relationship of mother-son or father-daughter, because in any case sons count for twice as much as daughters in the theory of inheritance, and because, today, sons will become wage-earners while daughters will not. Both eldest sons and eldest daughters are also accorded more respect than younger ones, even though there is no primogeniture nor any preferential treatment for them in inheritance. it will be recalled that in the event that a man's heirs opt to leave the property in indivision, the eldest son acts as *na'ib* or property administrator.

The respect due elder brothers and sisters by younger ones is implicit in the terms of address used in the plain: *'AZIZI* and *aradda*, elder brother and elder sister, respectively. Grandparents, also greeted by head-kissing, are owed great respect, but somewhat less than that owed parents. Unlike many societies, North African Muslim peoples have nothing resembling joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren. Among no Berber groups, in fact, can joking relationships be said to be institutionalized. However, among younger men who are friends, whether related or not, jokes, often dirty ones, and horseplay are standard items of behavior. All such jokes are oriented, in the idiom of Stephen Potter, toward "one-upmanship," and the Aith Waryaghar mountaineers, who have a highly developed sense both of humor and of the ridiculous, excel at it. Age-mates kid each other unmercifully and this seems to be a trait that sharply differentiates Rifians from any neighboring Arabic-speaking groups. Men and women may also joke with any younger relatives of the same sex, save for their own children.

Any older woman who is addressed as *araddja* or *aradda* must be respected, but not so much as one's own father and mother. One can speak to her of love and marriage, which one can never do with one's own mother, if one is male, or of course with one's own father.

Uncles and aunts, both patrilateral and matrilateral, are not shown any outstanding degree of respect in terms of how one may behave in front of them; the relationship between a man and his mother's brother, however, often carries a good deal of affection and indulgence—certainly more, in practice if not in theory, than that between a man and his father's brother. Aunts, however, because they are women, are shown "shame," and so are sisters. A sister must of course reciprocate by showing even more "shame" in front of her brother.

Along with the aforementioned respect shown by younger siblings toward the elder ones, there is often jealousy felt by the latter toward the former. Order of birth is the determining factor in order of marriage: an older son or daughter always wants to get married before a younger one. In 1954, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, there was a case of the reverse, of a younger daughter getting married first. I was unable at the time to find out why this happened, for it is indeed very rare, but the upshot was that the older daughter committed suicide by throwing herself off a cliff—and suicide is even rarer, for it is condemned in Islam.

Jealousy is of course expected among half-siblings[17] and step-siblings, as well as among co-wives, each of whom naturally favors her own children over those of her husband by other wives. A first wife always deeply resents a second one, and vice versa, but if a third wife is taken, it is not unusual for the first and third to “gang up” on the second. In any case, even though it is regarded as “bad form,” a husband may beat his wife or wives with impunity. Those who do so are in the majority—I have often seen my host leave the guest room and then heard him inflict drubbings with a stick in the courtyard, with the resulting screams from the woman. On one occasion a good friend of mine had to break up a fight between his eldest (married) sister and his third wife: he sent the former to bed with no supper, and then proceeded to beat the latter black and blue. He could not have beaten up his married sister, for that would have been her husband's prerogative. In any event, since his sister had picked up an axe and his wife a billhook, he told me that they would have murdered each other had he not intervened. The tendency to use a “hey you” form of address to one's spouse, mentioned above, again reinforces the whole dichotomy between the sexes, and reinforces segregation; many husbands eat alone rather than with their wives and children.

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[17] I ran into only one exception; an early teen-age boy of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass (Aith Turirth), who adored his twin baby sisters by his father's co-wife.

The taboo on intermarriage of half-siblings and foster-siblings[18] mentioned above does not apply to stepsiblings, but even so it is very rare for the latter to marry each other. I do not know of a single case. The same basic mutual dislike and distrust seems to prevail here as it does, for example, in the relationship between stepchildren and stepparents. One man of the Imjjat lineage in l-ʿAss (Aith Turirth) had a step-son (R. *arbib*) from another Aith Turirth lineage, Itufaliyen in Bulma. When I was last in the field in 1965, the man was treating his stepson very well, but the latter was still distrustful since he knew that the stepfather wanted his land. The stepfather in question is in fact no less than the fifth husband (through both divorce and widow-inheritance) of the mother of this young man, although the young man's guardian (*na'ib*) before his marriage was his own step-father's male patrilateral parallel cousin, whose own father had, in turn, previously assumed this duty during his lifetime. As it had happened, in 1962, the boy's guardian wanted either to see him married off or to get back for him some property which was rightly his in the lineage of Aith ʿAru Musa, whence his mother and one of her previous husbands had come; but it was precisely his mother who had an interest in this property and did not want to see her son take it over either. The stepfather was merely waiting in the side lines. The young man married a girl of Aith Uswir in 1964 but the property issue was still unresolved when I left the field for the last time.

The consideration of stepchildren leads us naturally to that of orphans (*iyujiren*) and of adoption. In Rifian parlance, an orphan is any child who has lost one or both parents. He remains with his father's brothers or, if there are none, with any other close collaterals. Should he (or she) have no close relatives, the government appoints a member of the *jmaʿth* as his *na'ib* or guardian, who must feed and clothe him. When he (or she) is fifteen years old, the guardian must then select him (or her) a suitable spouse. It often happens, I am told, that an orphan is also a foster-sibling of the children of his guardian and of the latter's wife, and if this be the case, a Qur'anic injunction prohibits intermarriage between them. According to the stipulations of the Shariʿa, a male orphan receives all his father's inheritance; a female orphan receives half of the inheritance (in theory), and the rest goes to her father's agnates, of whom her guardian is one, although he has no special claim on it merely by virtue of being her guardian but must share it equally with his remaining agnates. I have never known any orphans personally, and thus cannot vouch for practice as opposed to theory; however, I would surmise that in fact they are anything but well-treated (having seen some of them in Moroccan households elsewhere), and that in the case of female orphans, their father's agnates generally do their level best to take *all* their inheritance.

Adoption is said to be of two kinds—*wasiya* or *isiggamith* (again I have no personal knowledge of it). The first term, which also refers to any document drawn up by a grandparent stipulating that his grandchild may inherit, is used in this context also: it states that man X who wishes to adopt child Y (almost always a boy and almost always an orphan), has signed the document in front of a *qadi* and two *ʿadul*, and that the document is now legal. The adopted child then inherits as if he were the man's own son. This is adoption pure and simple.

The second version (*isiggamith*)[19] is quite different, and occurs when a child's own parents are, for economic reasons, unable to care for him. It is a kind of long-term loan or “farming out” of the child as opposed to the outright *wasiya* type of adoption. The child (again, generally a boy) grows up under the roof of a wealthier individual, and eventually becomes his *amxari* and herds his goats. He may even eventually marry one of his adoptive father's daughters as well, for there is no taboo against this. But he does not stand to inherit, and in any case his own parents are still alive.

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[18] A situation involving foster-children (*aithma-s g-ubbish*) may arise when a lactating mother dies or can no longer breast-feed the child. Any other woman in the community who happens to be a nursing mother at the time may become this child's foster-mother: this is a completely unpaid service.

[19] Waryaghar say *aharmush-a isiggamith* or *dhaharmusht-a issiggamit*, “this boy is adopted (farmed out)” or “this girl is adopted (farmed out).”

9. MARRIAGE PATTERNS, FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

THE VARIATIONS IN "PATTERNS" OF MARRIAGE

There is no single pattern of "preferential" marriage in Waryagharland, a fact that the Aith Waryaghar themselves often point out. Still less is there a pattern of "preferential" parallel cousin marriage,[1] which the Aith Waryaghar predict is apt to terminate in divorce (although this is by no means always so). There is of course a set of incest taboos given in the Qur'an and the Shari'a, all of which are very explicit, flat, and unalterable.[2] After these are observed, in theory one may marry any Muslim women. However, in practice one marries a woman either (1) of one's own lineage (i.e., a true or classificatory parallel cousin—this is not common, although it tends to become less rare in larger lineages that have shown a marked increase both in membership and stabilization over the course of several generations); (2) of one's own subclan or clan (most common); (3) of one's own tribe (next most common); or (4) of a tribe bordering one's own (least common). One tends not to marry a woman of any of the various despised occupational groups (musicians, who are all mule breeders, blacksmiths,[3] butchers, market weighers, criers, and ticket collectors, almost all of whom originate from the Axt Tuzin and who will be discussed in detail in Chapter 12), or of certain lineages (such as Ihawtshen of the Aith Turirth) that are considered to be low-class because their members never engaged in feuding, and buried the dead of those who did. Nonetheless, one is left with a considerable range of choice.

Although I shall return to this whole question and shall consider the actual statistical implications of these four marriage categories further on, I merely state here that to leap to conclusions and to regard those forms of Waryaghar marriage that are statistically most frequent as examples either of "lineage exogamy" or of "clan endogamy" seems too rigid: if any "pattern" can be spoken of at all in this connection, it is, rather, one in which women are provided or received in marriage, more or less around the generational network, among the constituent lineages of a given clan or subclan. In such a context, extraclan and, of course, extratribal marriages can mean only one thing: alliance. The way women are handed around among the lineages of a given clan, or outside it, emphasizes the fact that they are passive instruments of policy, even political pawns, and that they serve to reinforce continually the links in an ongoing chain of alliances. In such a context, wife-providing and wife-receiving lineages[4] are in theory (if not always in practice) about equal, or at least approximately equal over the course of three or four generations. It should also be remembered that although Aith

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[1] S. Biarnay, "Notes sur les Chants Populaires du Rif," *Archives Berberes*, I, 1, 1915, pp. 22-39, gives a translation (p. 38) of a Rifian song, sung by women, in which one of the couplets (*izran*) refers to "Oh Muh! Oh my parallel cousin!" But this is at best only an indication that parallel cousin marriage is just one permissible form among several or many.

[2] These are as follows: no man may marry 1) his mother, 2) his mother's sister, 3) his father's sister, 4) his father's wife (e.g. his stepmother), 5) his daughter, 6) his full sister, 7) his sister through his father only (e.g. his half-sister), 8) his sister through his mother only (e.g. his half-sister) 9) his brother's daughter, 10) his grandmother (paternal or maternal), 11) his grandmother's sister (paternal or maternal), 12) his grandfather's sister (paternal or maternal), 13) his *dhayyawxth* of any kinship category (e.g. his sister's daughter, his daughter's daughter, his father's brother's daughter's daughter, his son's daughter, and his brother's daughter's daughter) save his father's sister's daughter, 14) his son's wife, 15) his foster-mother, 16) his foster-sister, 17) the daughter of his spouse by a former marriage (e.g., his step-daughter), and 18) his wife's sister.

Foster brothers, or "milk brothers" are also prohibited from marrying their foster, or "milk" sisters, even if otherwise unrelated. Step-siblings may, however, marry, as there is no actual blood relationship between them, but they do so only very rarely, as in general they are apt to detest each other cordially. A man may marry his wife's sister, his brother's wife, or the wife of a paternal or maternal uncle only after his own wife or his brother or the uncle in question has died. The first two instances point up, of course, both the taboo on sororal polygyny and the existence of both the sororate and of widow-inheritance. If two men have married sisters (i.e., if the men are *isrifen* to each other) and the two sisters should die after each has left a daughter, each widower may then marry the daughter of the other, of his *asrif*. I know of two cases of this (in Aith bu 'Ayyash and in Aith Turirth) and of one (in Aith Turirth) where a father and son married sisters and are thus *isrifen* to each other.

[3] Despite the generalized prohibition, one blacksmith, 'Amar n-Bahida, who plied his trade in the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, received the protection of a powerful lineage in Bulma of Aith Turirth, Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh, and was able to marry into it. He was very poor and thus he obtained his inheritance from his wife, as he had almost none. Other poor men, though not blacksmiths or members of any of the despised professions, have done the same and "married into" the clan, in this fashion. To this extent, at least, the system may be considered an "open" one.

[4] These convenient terms, as well as those of "membership" and "incorporation," are borrowed from Reader, op. cit., 1966, pp. 83-84.

Waryaghar invariably say that the Aith X lineage or clan "gave" a woman to the Aith Y lineage or clan as wife, the term "gave" is not strictly accurate, for bridewealth is always paid. Another observation to be made here is that although cross-cousin marriage is of course permissible and exists, it is in fact statistically vary rare and is almost totally submerged in a wider context of local lineage exogamy: without the required genealogical information and given the highly patrilineal structure of the Waryaghar naming system, it is difficult to "spot" cross-cousins at a glance, whereas with patri-parallel cousins, who are of the same lineage group, their identification is immediate.

The first point to be established is the status of the out-marrying women themselves: are they members of their fathers' lineage groups or of those of their husbands? The Aith Waryaghar state quite categorically that since a married woman's duties are to her husband (and to her children), she must count as a member of her husband's lineage group when the chips are down and if there should be a rift or even a feud between the two groups in question; for it was, after all, her husband's father who paid the necessary bridewealth to her father. Nonetheless, the question is not quite as simple as this; what Holleman and Reader refer to as the "dual conception regarding female agnates" definitely exists.[5] Among the Aith Waryaghar, this means that a female agnate is looked upon both as a member of her father's (or of the "wife-providing") lineage group throughout her lifetime, and as having been incorporated into the ("wife-receiving") lineage group of her husband on marriage. The difference between membership and incorporation is made manifest in the following way: although a woman on marriage generally leaves her own patrilineage group to join that of her husband, she nonetheless continues to maintain relations with the lineage group into which she was born, and the male members of her own lineage group are of course now affines to her husband's lineage group, and are allied to it. She has only departed physically from her patrilineage group, and has in no sense severed her structural connection with it, despite the implications of the Waryaghar categorization above. On the other hand, what incorporation implies is that a woman's work and her reproductive capacity are turned over to her lineage group of incorporation for as long as the marriage lasts, and this group therefore adopts a kind of semi-agnatic relation towards her. Given these facts, it would thus appear that the criteria of lineage-group incorporation for Waryaghar women when they marry are territorial, reproductive, and economic, while the criteria of lineage-group membership are structural and patrigenital.

Indeed, seen in this deeper context, the Aith Waryaghar view that a married woman is for all intents and purposes a member of her husband's lineage group (whose living members will bury her with the deceased of that lineage group when she dies) takes on a new light, not only emphasizing the absolute authority of a man over his wife, but also underscoring the severely patrilineal orientation of the total society.[6] It is only in the event of impotence in a husband that a wife can initiate divorce proceedings (I knew of one such case), and thus here as well, male authority remains virtually absolute—although the "divorce rate," the incidence of which will emerge in the statistics to follow, is in fact not as high as might be expected. Hence the divorced wife's ties with her father's lineage group are again resumed, as far as the husband is concerned, forever—as he sends her packing.

The great majority of Aith Waryaghar are monogamous through economic necessity if not entirely by choice. Although they realize fully that polygyny can also be a source of dissension in the home, it nonetheless remains an ideal, given the notion that a man must be master in his own house. But by and large it is only those individuals who are better off (e.g., tribal authorities and other notables, *qaids*,[7] *shaikhs*, and *mqaddimin*) who are apt to have more than one wife. I have known a number of individuals, mostly tribal notables, who have had two and even three wives, but only two—one of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and another of the Timarzga—who had the full complement of four at one time as permitted by the Shari'a. Other men I have known or heard of have had, for example, a total of five wives, but not all at the same time, as death or divorce kept the number within the permitted range. Death and divorce are also responsible for the rather common feature of successive marriages, whether serially monogamous or, more rarely, serially polygynous. The Aith Bu 'Ayyash man mentioned above was also pointed to as exemplifying a widespread Berber belief, which has absolutely no foundation whatsoever in the Shari'a, although Rifians nonetheless insist that it has: the notion that a man may have as many wives at a time as he wishes provided that every fifth wife is a black. In fact, on my genealogical evidence, this man's third wife (not even his fourth) was a Negro woman from the Iqar'ayen in the Eastern Rif, and he had no children by her. I pointed this out to other informants who were proponents of the "fifth wife must be black" theory, and they refused to believe me.

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[5] Reader, op. cit., 1966, p. 83, citing J. F. Holleman *The Pattern of Here Kinship*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, no. 17, 1949, p. 44. Reader's analysis of this for the Makhanga Zulu parallels the Aith Waryaghar situation very closely in this respect, although Aith Waryaghar fathers do not generally give their daughters parting gifts on marriage, as Reader says Makhanga Zulu fathers do.

[6] This is underscored in numerous other ways as well. In relating his genealogy to the investigator, a man always starts with his agnatic kin, of whom he can generally give a far fuller account than he can of either his uterine kin or his affines. The factor of male dominance, too, comes out when he lists all male children first, before any female ones, regardless of order of birth, which is difficult to obtain unless one stipulates that this is the way the data should properly be recorded. Usually, surprise is expressed at the need to mention any women at all!

[7] I refer here to the protectorate period when the *qaid* was a member of the tribe, not the post-independence period in which the same title was given (generally) to a non-local functionary of the Moroccan Ministry of Interior.

As in other facets of Waryaghar social life, an absolute egalitarianism in treatment must prevail in polygynous households. Any man who has more than one wife must sleep with each one in turn, spending a night (or a 24-hour period) with each one in rotation. He must treat each wife absolutely equally and give each one exactly the same amount of clothing as he gives the others; this means that if he buys them clothes in the market, he must spend an equal amount of money on each. The same principle of equality applies to the division of food and to the division of labor among co-wives. Each wife, with her children, must also be lodged in a separate room, if not a separate house, from the others.

In 1954 a young friend of mine from the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth had three wives, two from other Aith Turirth lineages and one from the Timarzga. He was his late father's only son (among four daughters), and the father had been *mqaddim* of Aith Turirth until his death in 1946. The boy was only fifteen when his father died, but his mother acted very promptly and married him to a girl three years older than himself. His father had built a second house in r-'Attaf beside the upper Nkur river, about 5 kilometers below the ancestral houses of the lineage of l-'Ass, and he installed his wife there. Given his social position, as well as the fact that he was an only son, his mother obtained him a second wife in 1950; she was installed in the part of the ancestral house that he had inherited in l-'Ass. A third wife, whom he married in 1954 in an exchange of sisters with another young man from Asrafil in Timarzga, was installed in another room in the house in r-'Attaf. This third wife in 1954-55 did no work outside the house; she cooked and washed, but did not fetch water or bring in brushwood; this was the province of the other two wives, who not only fetched brushwood, water, grass, and wood, but also helped his *akhammas* in minor ways, cared for his goats, milked them and his cows, washed the clothes in the Nkur river, and milled the flour.

He had children by all three wives, but by 1957 he had divorced the second, whom he suspected of trying not only to alienate his affections from the other two, but, when that failed, of trying to poison him. After the divorce, the first wife was moved up to the ancestral house in l-'Ass, but she died of diabetes in 1965. As of 1967, the third wife was thus the only one left, and the man was contemplating taking another; the third wife (the one for whom he had always had the greatest affection) was furiously jealous, doing her best to thwart him in every way she could.

Polygyny must, by Shari'a regulation, be nonsororal,[8] although a man may simultaneously have two wives from the same lineage, provided they are not actual sisters. I knew one such case in which a man of the Aith Turirth had married, first, a classificatory parallel cousin, and then a true one. But this case should be considered exceptional.

Some women do not mind marrying men who are married already, but most do, and prefer to marry single men. With widows or divorcees, the situation is of course different. A first wife invariably resents the intrusion of a second and the second invariably resents the intrusion of a third. When there are three wives (as in the Imjjat instance above), the first and third wives tend to make an uneasy truce—and to gang up on the second. Sometimes, as might be imagined, they gang up on their husband, particularly if he has not brought them enough presents or clothing (this did not happen in the case cited above; here the co-wives were quarreling exclusively among themselves). If a man lodges his co-wives in different houses, rather than in different rooms of the same house, this of course is more conducive to tranquillity. Each co-wife occupies herself exclusively with cooking for and cleaning up after her own children—for no co-wife trusts another.

As of 1963, there were in the Aith Turirth only nine men with two wives apiece (counting the two cases cited above), while my friend was the only one who had had a third wife; there were two men in the Aith 'Arus with two wives, and only one in the Timarzga (the same young man who married my friend's sister: when he did so, he divorced both his two previous wives).

Coon[9] wrote of the "levirate" as existing in the

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[8] One informant stated that a man could in fact marry two sisters at once if he kept them in widely separate houses, but he also added that this has never been practiced in the Rif.

[9] Op. cit., 1931, pp. 120-142; and E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Holt, 1942, pp. 311-12.

Rif, but this was before Evans-Pritchard[10] had refined the distinction between true levirate and widow inheritance. In the former, as practiced both by the ancient Hebrews and by the Nuer, a man marries his deceased brother's wife and continues to raise seed to her in the name of his dead brother. This is most emphatically not the case among any Arab or Berber groups, in all of which a man marries and bears seed to his dead (elder) brother's wife in his own name, not in that of his deceased brother. This is widow inheritance (*yarrit w-uma-s*, "she returned to his brother"), and in Waryagharland it is common. The sororate (*iwi dhasrifth ines*, "he married his wife's sister") also occurs, but is less common. A consideration of the factors underpinning both these institutions is now in order.

Contrary to Coon's assertions about the matter,[11] my informants unanimously said that the foundations of widow inheritance were not to be sought in the bloodfeud. The idea that wives of brothers or kinsmen killed in the feud had to be provided for may be a magnanimous and charitable explanation, but it is also a wrong one. The explanation of the institution lies rather in the domain of inheritance and of property. Widow inheritance, first of all, is in no way obligatory (I knew of one woman in the Aith Turirth who refused to be inherited by the brother of her late husband simply because she did not like him, and she married someone else. Should a woman refuse to enter into a widow inheritance marriage, she takes her one-eighth share of her late husband's inheritance and the bridewealth she received from him originally, and goes away to marry whoever should want her. However, most widows do opt to be so inherited, at least in the Jbil Hmam. It is to a surviving brother's advantage to marry his deceased brother's widow, because he can then claim the latter's inheritance more easily. All property concerned will thus remain in the hands of the agnatic lineage; the widow of the deceased will not lose status by marrying an outsider, nor will her children, if she has any, be brought up by an outsider. A sister of the woman mentioned above was scheduled to be married, and her husband-to-be died on the very day she was lifted up on the mule, to be taken as a bride to his house. Two or three months later she married his brother, as the bridewealth had already been paid; if he had had no brother, this would have been just bad luck, for under such circumstances the bride's father or agnates are under no obligation to return the bridewealth (although they may return a portion of it).

Inheritance and property considerations do not enter into the question of the sororate, and this may be why it is less common than widow inheritance. The sororate in Waryaghar terms is predicated upon two assumptions: that a man's wife's sister will take care of his children by his deceased wife, and that for this reason he will continue to remain on good terms with his affines.

Both widow inheritance and the sororate are conceptualized as *'urf*, custom, rather than as *din*, religion, or *Shra'*, law. In a sororate case, full bridewealth must be paid if the deceased woman's sister is a virgin (which in fact she almost always is). In a case of widow inheritance it is always greatly reduced, more so than under any other circumstances. But even if it should be only one franc, it must be paid, as it renders the marriage legitimate.

It seems useful now to distinguish between "pure" widow inheritance and sororate, as described above, and "classificatory" or "applied" widow inheritance and sororate, although the latter may of course be structurally assimilated to the former. The "applied" versions of these occur simply when a widow is remarried to any one of her deceased husband's agnates, in default of an actual brother (widow inheritance), or when a man marries any one of his deceased wife's patrilateral kinswomen (sororate). This mild structural distinction is exactly at the same order of abstraction as that, say, between marriage with a true parallel cousin (father's brother's daughter) or with a classificatory parallel cousin (father's father's brother's son's daughter); both are members of the same agnatic lineage, and are thus terminologically apt to be lumped together. In the same way that Waryaghar might speak of a true parallel cousin marriage when genealogical evidence reveals it in fact to be classificatory, they might speak of a case of pure widow inheritance when, again, genealogical evidence reveals it to be applied. (It should perhaps be added that no divorcee is ever remarried to the brother of her previous husband, and likewise a man who divorces his wife can never marry her sister, although he may marry another woman of her lineage. It goes without saying that there would be very strained relations indeed between any man who opted to marry his brother's divorced wife, and that brother.)

A fact that certainly deserves comment is a real refinement on widow inheritance, that of successive widow inheritance, which I discovered in no less than two cases, both in the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth. One was true successive widow inheritance and one mixed successive widow inheritance.

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[10] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*, Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. 112-ff.

[11] Op. cit., 1931, p. 142; and Chapple and Coon, op. cit., 1942, pp. 311-12.

The first is an old but very spry woman, still living, Fatima Umrabit 'Ari (a sister of the two Aith Turirth women mentioned above, one who refused to be widow inherited and the other whose husband-to-be died on her wedding day, after which she married his brother). She is the daughter of a *sharif* (but a *sharif* of a very ordinary kind) from Dwaiyar in Igzinnayen who had settled in Kinnirth near l-'Ass. She was married first to Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh (when she was 14 and he was 35). When he was killed in a feud about 1920–21, just before the rise of 'Abd al-Krim, his younger brother 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh inherited her. Thus far we have simple (or true) widow inheritance. But when 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was in turn killed in 1925 in the Rifian War (by a bomb dropped from a Spanish plane, which hit him as he was saddling up his mule for returning home from the Tuesday market of Azraf in the Axt Tuzin), she was then married to the youngest brother, Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, and thus this case of true widow inheritance was repeated. Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was a *qaid l-miya*, (of 100 men) under 'Abd al-Krim and later became *mqaddim* of Aith Turirth under the Spaniards; he made the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1938, and died in bed in 1946. His wife, still living, survived all three husbands and had children by all of them.

Maryim n-Muh ("yighidh") nj-Hajj Am'awsh, of the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud lineage of Bulma, was married first to Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh, who, like his father before him, was killed in a feud (the mere fact of his having been named for his father indicates that he was born after his father's death). Because his uncle Mzzyan Uzzugwagh had taken over the inheritance of Muh Uzzugwagh on the latter's death we have here a case of mixed widow inheritance: Maryim n-Muh nj-Hajj was then married to Hmid n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, Mzzyan's oldest son. On Hmid n-Mzzyan's death, she was inherited in marriage by his full brother, Muh Akkuh n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh. She produced children only by her last two husbands. Muh Akkuh n-Mzzyan married next his own patriparallel cousin, and finally a woman from Timarzga; whether these marriages were before or after her death I do not know.

Both these cases clearly illustrate the very real expediency of widow inheritance in this society, as well as the desire to retain both property rights and status or "face" in the hands of the lineage concerned, at all costs. They also illustrate clearly that the cause of an elder brother's or an elder agnate's death is, in this connection, essentially irrelevant. (I know of no parallel cases of "successive" sororate in this sense but this is not to say that they may not exist.)

There is no special term to describe the veritable institution of marriage by exchange of sisters, discussed above; it is merely referred to as *msimraxin jarasen*, "they marry amongst themselves."[12] It is not technically a true exchange, for this, according to the regulations of the Shari'a, is *haram*, forbidden. Each party must pay bridewealth to the other, and the one who marries first always pays a somewhat higher price than the second party.[13] In the event of eventual divorce by one party or the other, no reclamation can be made, and the above also applies in the case of two brothers (or in two cases that I knew of, in the Aith Turirth and in the Timarzga, a father and a son) who marry sisters.

THE CIRCULATION OF WOMEN IN MARRIAGE AND ITS STATISTICAL INCIDENCE

At the beginning of the previous section, it was noted that the four possible choices in marriage were: (1) within the lineage, (2) within the subclan or clan, (3) within the tribe (i.e., outside the clan), and (4) outside the tribe (and almost invariably with a person from a neighboring tribe). It was also noted that of these, (2) is the commonest, (3) second, (1) third and (4) the least common. Before discussing their statistical incidence, some general remarks will be made on the nature of each type, particularly as it occurs in the Aith Turirth and in the highlands of the Jbil Hmam.

Patrilateral parallel cousin marriage does indeed exist, both in its true form (i.e., with actual father's brother's daughter) and in its classificatory form (i.e., with any other female of one's own agnatic lineage), in which cases it is subsumed under the wider rubric of lineage endogamy; but it can hardly be termed "preferential." The statistical materials do not validate the assertion made by a good many Waryaghar that parallel cousin marriage is apt to terminate in divorce: in saying this, these individuals are merely expressing their own personal aversion to it as a marriage form. In the statistically-oriented commentary to follow, account will be taken both of *actual* endogamous marriages within lineage groups as compared to *possible* endogamous marriages (or a reasonable facsimile thereof), and of endogamous marriages within the same lineage groups as compared to two measures that I have labeled Total Marriages (as recorded in any given genealogy, and including outmarrying female members of the lineage), and Lineage Member Marriages (excluding these same women, and therefore representing a smaller sample). It will be appreciated that the criteria for both types are extremely important, for different reasons. In these respects, as in others, the data from the subclan of the Aith Turirth will be highlighted through comparison with random samplings made in other clans of the tribe and lumped together.

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[12] Cognate terms: *rmrix* (m.) "married," *thmrixth* (*f.*).

[13] In 1954, when they exchanged sisters in marriage, the young man from Timarzga paid the young man from Aith Turirth 8,500 ptas., and the latter, on his own marriage, then paid the former 8,000 ptas. There was thus 500 ptas. difference, which satisfied all legal requirements.

On the predominance of the localized lineage exogamy in which women are passed around in marriage in a somewhat circular fashion, over the generations and among the lineages of a clan or subclan, the commentary will speak for itself.[14] Aith Waryaghar have no particular label to give to this prevailing mode of marriage other than *msimraxen gi r-rba'*, "they marry within the [sub] clan."

Some specific observations on this endless process of providing and receiving women within the subclan of Aith Turirth will be made here and verified in the commentary below. A high degree of outmarriage in the internally divided, but politically very powerful, stranger lineage of Imjjat in l-'Ass may be compared and contrasted with a somewhat higher degree of endogamy among the older, more established, "autochthonous" lineages of the subclan, e.g., those of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (in Bulma), Aith Uswir, Aith 'Aru Musa, and Aith Mhand u-Sa'id (in Ignan). This would appear to be entirely natural, given the fact that these lineages are both larger and, in Waryagharland, senior to Imjjat, for its founder in Aith Turirth, the Fqir Azzugwagh, can be said to represent Level I genealogically, as the point, both of fission and of scission—whatever he may have represented in the pre-existing Imjjat lineage in Hibir of the Igzinnayen. Furthermore, there has been much intermarriage between Imjjat and these older, longer-established Aith Turirth lineages, and between Imjjat and certain lineages of Timarzga, notably with Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim (in the community of Aith Yusif); in the present generation, there has been one case (noted above) of marriage by exchange of sisters between Imjjat and Yinn 'Amar w-'Aisa (in the community of Asrafil). On the other hand, only one woman entered Imjjat from the Aith 'Arus subclan, although other Aith Turirth lineages show a somewhat higher percentage of Aith 'Arus wives than they do Timarzga wives. (A more common pattern in the Timarzga is that of women going as wives into the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen, and upon this I shall comment below.)

The Imjjat lineage has been primarily a wife-receiving lineage, receiving women from other lineages in the subclan. An example of a wife-providing lineage—and a stranger lineage as well (though one considerably senior to the Imjjat)—has been that of Iznagen[15] (in the community of Tigzirin), who also originally came from the Igzinnayen. Members of other Aith Turirth lineages widely assert that Iznagen women are held high in local repute because of their beauty, a claim which in my opinion is by no means unsubstantiated. The Iznagen also feuded only sporadically, not continually, and exclusively among themselves; and in a very vendetta-torn corner of the Jbil Hmam they were unique in being able to preserve good relations with virtually all their peers. (It has only been since Moroccan independence, however, that they have really achieved any political prominence; one of their number is the present *shaikh* of the Aith Turirth—his predecessor, under the Spaniards, was an Imjjat man.)

In the context of the widest degree of out-marrying as defined above, there is one problem of special interest: that of the wider cross-tribal marriage links between the highland Waryaghar subclans, that of the Timarzga in particular, and the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen on the south. These links run today, and ran in the past, almost exclusively in a one-way direction: the Aith Waryaghar (and Timarzga) are wife-givers, and the Igzinnayen, wife-receivers. (There are of course a few exceptions. Of these, the most notable is that of the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhwwanen in the Igzinnayen, an unsuccessful rival of 'Abd al-Krim, who "gave" one of his daughters to a Timarzga man, still living in the lineage of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim. Because this man naturally sided with his wife's father in the duel for power between Biqqish and 'Abd al-Krim, which Biqqish unequivocally lost, he rose to a position of considerable political preeminence under the Spaniards, that of *khalifa* to the *qaid* of the Nkur Qaidate.) One informant attributed this fact to what he considered to be a higher percentage of spinsters in Waryagharland than in the Igzinnayen (and both spinsterhood and bachelorhood are the reverse of being cultural ideals). Perhaps this may be a secondary contributing factor, and this even though Waryaghar as well as Igzinnayen women are by and large considered both very good-looking and in essence virtuous: but the primary reason must be sought elsewhere. It is undoubtedly because bridewealth in Igzinnayen is today, and has apparently always been, approximately twice as high as in Waryagharland.

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[14] Whether the circulation of women among the lineages of a given clan or subclan in Waryagharland (as among, and only to a slightly lesser extent, the Aith 'Atta of the South Central Atlas) can be considered as local "equivalents" to the "prevalence" of father's brother's daughter marriage elsewhere in North Africa and the Middle East is a moot point. The query is prompted by Germaine Tillion, *Le Harem et les Cousins*, Paris: Editions de Seuil, 1966, a work which, for all its emphasis on parallel cousin marriage in North Africa, never once discussed actual rates of such marriage.

[15] The group name Iznagen (M. A. Znaga) is one which crops up here and there all over Berber North Africa, even as far south as the Spanish Sahara and Mauritania, as well as in the oasis of Figig. And Adhrar Uznag in the Jbil Hmam is the mountain which borders Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin and Igzinnayen, east of the Upper Nkur.

As of 1962-63, average total bridewealth payments in the highlands of Waryagharland ran from 50,000 to 150,000 frs., (averaging around 100,000 frs.), whereas in Igzinnayenland at the same time it ran from 150,000 to 250,000 frs. (averaging around 200,000 frs.) twice that of the Waryaghar figure. Thus Waryaghar men, as a rule, simply cannot afford to have Igzinnayen wives, much as they might like to; apart from this, each tribe is aware of what its members consider to be the defects in the women of the other.[16] Aith Waryaghar, furthermore, seem to have no explanation for the higher bridewealth of their neighbors to the south, other than the fact that it has always been "custom" (*qa'ida*). It may be linked to greater population density and lesser wealth in Waryagharland, but it is certainly not linked to any considerations of prestige, good looks, or other similar desiderata, at least as far as I could determine. The fact remains that from independence until 1967, not one single Aith Waryaghar man had taken a wife from the Igzinnayen, although prior to this period, and over several previous generations, there were 24 such cases in the Aith Turirth and 14 in the Timarzga, in the genealogies that I recorded.

A final observation on cross-generational marriages, which are much commoner than Aith Waryaghar themselves realize: there is certainly no marked preference in such a case, whether it be endogamous (within the lineage) or exogamous (within the subclan or clan), for a husband to belong to a generation either above or below that of his wife. The whole issue revolves entirely around the availability of a spouse of suitable age, and in this connection my own tabulations of possible cousin marriages as opposed to actual cousin marriages, for example,[17] may be too high.

Statistics on Waryaghar marriages are given below; the majority of the figures apply to the period 1953-54 for the lowland clans and 1954-55 for the highland ones, unless otherwise indicated. Clans and subclans sampled include the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the Aith 'Ari, and the Aith 'Abdallah for the lowlands, and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus for the highlands. The Aith Turirth materials, on which my data are by far the most complete, are thus presented against a background of those of the remainder of the Aith Waryaghar (shown as "General Aith Waryaghar") and are hence highlighted by them. In the computation of the overall figures, those pertaining to the Aith Turirth have also been averaged in. Detailed data on specific lineages are not included here, but relevant individual cases are cited in the comments.

Comments on (1) Lineage Endogamy

a) Although not given as such in Table 9.1, the Aith Turirth subclan is, by my reckoning, only slightly above that of the total tribal sample as a whole. It is kept down to this level by the Imjjat lineage of l-'Ass (with 3 actual CM as opposed to 16 possible CM before 1955, and, as of 1965, 6 actual CM as opposed to 21 possible CM) and by three minuscule stranger lineages (including that of the despised and reputedly endogamous Imziren "blacksmiths," who have received the protection of the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud sublineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah of Bulma and who have married women from them). High scores, above 50 percent, are attained by the Aith 'Aru Musa (with 13 actual CM out of 18 possible), the *imrabdhen* or holy lineage of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud (among whom, in contrast to lay tribesmen, endogamy is a stated ideal, with 7 actual CM out of 10 possible), and by the Ihawtshen (looked down upon as noncombatants, whose women were not sought after by the feuding lineages, and with 13 actual CM out of 24 possible). There is thus a considerable differentiation on this score among the component lineages of a given subclan, and the reasons that may be invoked may also be different in each case: Imjjat, for instance, as an expanding and proliferating lineage, wanted to seek wives for its members

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[16] A proverb regarding tribal exogamy in the Central Rif and attributed to the legendary saint from Fez, Sidi 'Abd ar-Rahman al-Majdub, is as follows (though it seems highly dubious that Sidi 'Abd ar-Rahman would have learned Rifian!); loosely translated: "Whoever marries a woman of Aith 'Ammarth will marry a woman who works hard in the house (and saves money); whoever marries a woman of Igzinnayen will marry a woman who is like himself (i.e., like a man, as a woman of Igzinnayen is reputed to have much *thafantazith* or bravado); whoever marries a woman of Aith Waryaghar will marry the emptying-out of his house (i.e., she will eat him out of house and home and leave him poor); and whoever marries a woman of Axt Tuzin will marry a light in his house (i.e., she will bring light and joy to the house)."

I leave the accuracy of these Rifian value-judgments to the reader to determine.

[17] Following Emanuel Marx, *Bedouin of the Negev*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, p. 227, which follows, in turn, a suggestion by E. L. Peters. My overall results in this exercise for the Aith Waryaghar are very significantly lower than those of Marx for the Negev Bedouin: 34% as opposed to 60%.

TABLE 9.1

Incidence of Various Forms of Marriage among the Aith Turirth and among All the Aith Waryaghar

	Aith Turirth			All Aith Waryaghar		
	No.	% TM†	% LMM†	No.	% TM	% LMM
Total Marriages	669			1625		
Total Lineage Member Marriages	448	66.97		1116	68.68	
1. Lineage Endogamy						
Cousin Marriage	100	14.95	22.32	198	12.18	17.74
Parallel C. M.	100	14.95	22.32	198	12.18	17.74
Classificatory	75	11.21	16.74	151	9.29	13.53
True	25	3.74	5.58	47	2.89	4.21
2. Lineage Exogamy, Clan Endogamy						
Female	160	23.92	(35.71)	318	19.57	(28.49)
Male	239	35.72	53.35	565	34.77	50.63
3. Clan Exogamy, Tribe Endogamy						
Female	22	3.29	(4.91)	120	7.39	(10.83)
Male	65	9.71	14.51	242	14.89	21.68
4. Tribe Exogamy						
Female	39	5.83	(8.71)	71	4.37	(6.36)
Male	44	6.58	9.82	111	6.83	9.95

†TM figures and percentages, both here and in the tables to follow, represent total marriages recorded in all recorded genealogies, including those of out-marrying women. LMM figures and percentages represent only those of male agnatic members of the lineages in question. For this reason female LMM percentages in Forms 2–4 are listed purely optionally and in parentheses, for the sake of completeness, as the LMM criteria do not apply to out-marrying women.

from other lineages nearby, and once the limits of its expansion had been reached, the number of cousin marriages was doubled in a ten-year period (1955–1965). That these later cousin marriages were in fact contracted in order to heal a long-standing split through feud between the Imjjat sublineages is, for the moment, beside the point. Finally, that the overall Aith Turirth average is only slightly higher than the overall tribal average would indicate that much the same factors were at work in the other clans.

It is also entirely possible that had I personally known all the cousins listed as possible spouses, the tally on this score would have been further reduced because of considerations of their relative ages and because of intralineage differences of opinion or quarrels that would act as automatic bars to marriage, of which I was unaware.

b) An Aith Waryaghar claim that is often heard, incidentally, is that parallel cousin marriages are apt to terminate in divorce. This claim I found to be essentially without foundation: out of 112 parallel cousin marriages recorded in the Aith Turirth, I found that only 5 ended in divorce, and that out of 217 parallel cousin marriages recorded among all the Aith Waryaghar, only 10 ended in divorce. Both of these figures give a result of 4 per cent, a negligible percentage indeed, although it is possible that I overlooked the recording of divorces in some of my Aith Turirth samples.

c) If we compare the incidence of parallel cousin marriages to total marriages recorded in the genealogies and to marriages of lineage members, we note at once that the figures are higher and the percentages lower in the former than they are in the latter. The percentages are also very much lower in both cases, i.e., half again as low or less, than they are in comment (a) above, although once again the Aith Turirth figures are somewhat higher than the total tribal mean. Indeed, the Aith Turirth figures are here just enough above the mean to change slightly, the "normal" order of marital choice from (2), (3), (1), (4) to (2), (1), (3), (4). I have worked out these various comparisons in order to highlight the fact that the importance of a structural phenomenon such as parallel cousin marriage is entirely relative to the context in which it occurs.

d) If we now compare the incidence of true and classificatory parallel cousin marriages to total marriages recorded in the genealogies and to marriages of lineage members, we find that marriages between classificatory parallel cousins (i.e., marriages that are not between true parallel cousins but that are nonetheless endogamous within the lineage) outnumber those between true parallel cousins by exactly three to one in the Aith Turirth,[18] and they do so by a somewhat greater margin in the total tribal average. The two forms, true parallel and classificatory parallel cousin marriages, taken together, form the second most common of the four possible marriage choices, but this choice of lineage endogamy is nonetheless far behind that of lineage exogamy, or of clan or subclan endogamy as discussed in comment on (2) Lineage Exogamy, Clan Endogamy below. The total number of marriages is consistent with and shows the same ranges, here as in the tables to follow, as the marriages of male agnatic members of the lineages concerned.

e) It may be worth recording, as an afterthought, an incidental comment on the infinitesimal frequency of cross-cousin marriages as compared to total lineage member marriages: for the Aith Turirth, 4 out of 336, giving an average of 1 percent, and for all the Aith Waryaghar, 14 out of 847, giving an average of 2 percent.

Comment on (2) Lineage Exogamy, Clan Endogamy

With respect to lineage exogamy within the clan or subclan, the Aith Turirth are once again only very slightly above the total tribal mean, both in terms of women marrying out, as calculated against the total number of marriages in the lineage genealogies, and in terms of women coming in, as calculated against the total number of marriages of agnatic male lineage members only. As noted, the last-mentioned category includes in an absolute sense slightly more than half of the total marriages of male lineage members, to the point where we can say that lineage exogamy (or clan or subclan endogamy) is the predominant marital form.

Comment on (3) Clan Exogamy, Tribe Endogamy

If we now compare the incidence of marriages outside the clan or subclan (but within Waryagharland) to, once again, the total marriages recorded in the genealogies and to the marriages of lineage members, we note that the figure for women marrying out of the subclan of the Aith Turirth may be slightly low, because my genealogical data are not complete for the lineages in the local community of l-Wad or for those in the community of Tigzirin (Iznagen and Ihawshen). Even so, in view of the tallies for the other Aith Turirth lineages for which the data are sufficient, it is doubtful whether there would be an appreciable difference. All of the evidence serves to show that the women of the Aith Turirth circulate in marriage within the Aith Turirth. The mass of the data from the Aith Turirth, furthermore, lead one to believe that the random sample tallies on this score from other Waryaghar clans would probably have been, if anything, lower if the samples had been higher: the Aith Yusif w-'Ari figure, for instance (with 30 women marrying out of the clan, out of a total of 115 marriages, or 26 percent) is far higher than any of the rest.

As to the number of male clansmen taking wives from other clans, the Aith Turirth show themselves to be more in line with, though again just slightly below, the overall Waryaghar range. Clan exogamy, in general, is far behind lineage exogamy (which shows 37% TM and 52% LMM) as one of our four basic choices in marriage, and that it just barely exceeds endogamy within the lineage (clan exogamy: 17% TM and 24% LMM, while lineage endogamy: 12% TM and 18% LMM). In the Aith Turirth, however, this trend is reversed (with lineage endogamy at 16% TM and 24% LMM, while clan exogamy is 12% TM and 15% LMM).

Comment on (4) Tribe Exogamy

In this, the final of our four categories of marriage choices,[19] and the final one in order of frequency as well, the figures not only from the Aith Turirth but from the whole of Waryagharland in general are remarkably uniform. Even though Waryaghar women command a lower bridewealth, for example, than do those of the Igzinnayen, the Aith Turirth and Timarzga[20] figures are fully consistent with the overall mean. It is thus reasonably safe to assume that the majority of extratribal marriages are made first and foremost for the establishment of cross-tribal links of political alliance between individual Aith Waryaghar lineages and individual lineages in the Igzinnayen, Aith 'Ammarth, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, or Ibuqquyen, as the case may be. The usual tendency is naturally for any Aith Waryaghar clan or subclan with any proportion of members taking wives from outside the tribe to do so from whatever tribe (almost invariably one of the above five tribes) immediately borders their own.

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[18] For the purposes of this analysis, the Aith Turirth subclan subsumes the following lineage-groups: 1) the Imjjat of l-'Ass; 2) the Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari of Kinnirth; 3) the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah of Bulma, with sublineages of (a) Itufaliyen, (b) Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud, or Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh, (c) Yinn Bil-Lahsin, (d) Ibutaharen n-Bulma, and (e) r-Mquddam; 4) the tiny "stranger" lineages of Bulma, (a) Imziren and (b) Dharwa n-'Aisa Mzzyan; 5) the Aith Uswir, with sublineages of (a) Itarbiwen, (b) Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar, and (c) Dharwa n-'Amar Hand u-Sa'id; 6) the Aith 'Aru Musa, with sublineages of (a) Aith 'Aru Musa "Proper," (b) Aith 'Aru Musa "Indeterminate," or Iburdwaharen, and (c) Dharwa N-'Ari Muhand Uqshar; 7) the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id of Igann, with sublineages of (a) Ibutaharen n-Ignan and (b) Aith Mhand u-Sa'id "Proper"; 8) the local community of l-Wad, with lineages of (a) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand, (b) Aith Ufaran, (c) Ihammuthen, (d) Dharwa Umrabit 'Amar, (e) Yin Hand u-Misa'ud, and (f) "Other"; 9) the Iznagen of Tigzirin, with sublineages of (a) Iwsa'idhen, (b) Yinn nj-Mqaddim, (c) Idawdawen, and (d) "Indeterminate"; 10) the Ihawtshen of Tigzirin; and 11) the holy lineage of Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, resident *imrabdhen*.

[19] There is still a further choice: marriage outside the Rif entirely. In at least one lowland genealogy I ran across several cases of lineage members who had gone to Tangier, and who had settled down and married there (almost always with women of Waryaghar descent, we should note); and in the Aith Turirth, one individual (from the Imjjat lineage) went to Meknes well before Independence and married there, while another (from the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id Proper) went to Paris, married a Frenchwoman and at last report, was running a garage. Such cases, however, are so few and far between as to be hardly worth considering.

* * *

A recapitulation at this point of the statistical order of importance of the four possible types of marriage choices discussed above (*1*—lineage endogamy; *2*—lineage exogamy and clan or subclan endogamy; *3*—clan or subclan exogamy and tribal endogamy; and *4*—tribal exogamy), for each of the Waryaghar clans and subclans in my limited sample will help to provide a componential dimension to the previous "General Aith Waryaghar" data, and gives us the following:

TABLE 9.2 (A)

Numerical Incidence of Total Marriage Forms Within Aith Waryaghar Clans and Sub-Clans, Including Out-Marrying Women

	Marriage Form				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	100	399	87	83	669
Timarzga	14	67	39	23	143
Aith 'Arus	7	21	28	5	61
Aith 'Abdallah	2	15	14	4	35
Aith Yusif w-'Ari	7	50	58	5	120
Aith 'Ari	31	112	95	42	280
Aith Bu 'Ayyash	37	219	41	20	317
All Aith Waryaghar	198	883	362	182	1625

TABLE 9.2 (B)

Percentage Incidence of Marriage Forms Within Aith Waryaghar Clans and Sub-Clans, Including Out-Marrying Women (percent of TM)

	Marriage Form (see Table 9-1)				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	14.95	59.64	13.00	12.41	669
Timarzga	9.79	46.86	27.27	16.08	143
Aith Arus	11.47	34.43	45.90	8.20	61
Aith 'Abdallah	5.71	42.86	40.00	11.43	35
Aith Yusif w-'Ari	5.83	41.67	48.33	4.17	120
Aith 'Ari	11.07	40.00	33.93	15.00	280
Aith Bu 'Ayyash	11.67	69.09	12.93	6.31	317
All Aith Waryaghar	12.18	54.34	22.28	11.20	1625

TABLE 9.3 (A)

Numerical Incidence of Marriage Forms Within Aith Waryaghar Clans and Sub-Clans, Excluding Out-Marrying Women

	Marriage Form				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	100	239	65	44	669
Timarzga	14	46	30	14	143
Aith 'Arus	7	9	18	3	61
Aith 'Abdallah	2	13	11	2	35
Aith Yusif w-'Ari	7	27	28	3	120
Aith 'Ari	31	60	55	29	280
Aith Bu 'Ayyash	37	171	35	16	317
All Aith Waryaghar	198	565	242	111	1625

TABLE 9.3 (B)

Percentage Incidence of Marriage Forms Within Aith Waryaghar Clans and Sub-Clans, Excluding Out-Marrying Women (percent of TM)†

	Marriage Form (See Table 9.1)				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	14.95	35.72	9.71	6.58	669
Timarzga	9.79	32.17	20.98	9.79	
Aith 'Arus	11.47	14.76	29.51	4.92	
Aith 'Abdallah	5.71	37.15	31.43	5.72	
Aith Yusif w-'Ari	5.83	22.50	23.33	2.50	
Aith 'Ari	11.07	21.43	19.64	10.36	
Aith Bu 'Ayyash	11.67	53.95	11.04	5.05	
All Aith Waryaghar	12.18	34.77	14.89	6.83	1625

† Hundred percent totals are to be obtained by adding across Marriage Forms 1–4, in each case, in Table 9.3 (B) plus those, in each case, of Marriage Forms 2–4 in Table 9.3 (D).

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[20] In Timarzga, 9 women marrying out of Waryagharland, out of 171 TM, hence 5%, while 14 women came in from other tribes (notably Igzinnayen) out of 171 TM and 118 LMM, hence 8% of TM and 12% of LMM. In the Imjjat lineage, there are two cases (or 4 out of 38 LMM, i.e., 11%) of successive widow inheritance: one of pure successive widow inheritance and the other of classificatory successive widow inheritance.

TABLE 9.3 (C)

Numerical Incidence of Female Lineage Exogamy in Marriage Form, by Clan/Sub-Clan, Including Only Out-Marrying Women

	Marriage Form			
Clan/Sub-Clan	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	160	22	39	669
Timarzga	21	9	9	143
Aith ʻArus	12	10	2	61
Aith ʻAbdallah	2	3	2	35
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	23	30	2	120
Aith ʻAri	52	40	13	280
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	48	6	4	317
All Aith Waryaghar	318	120	71	1625

TABLE 9.3 (D)

Percentage Incidence of Female Lineage Exogamy in Marriage Form, by Clan/Sub-Clan, Including Only Out-Marrying Women (percent of TM)†

	Marriage Form (See Table 9.1)			
Clan/Sub-Clan	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	23.92	3.29	5.83	669
Timarzga	14.69	6.29	6.29	
Aith ʻArus	19.67	16.39	3.28	
Aith ʻAbdallah	5.71	8.57	5.71	
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	19.17	25.00	1.67	
Aith ʻAri	18.57	14.29	4.64	
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	15.14	1.89	1.26	
All Aith Waryaghar	19.57	7.39	4.37	1625

†Hundred percent totals are to be obtained by adding across Marriage Forms 1–4, in each case, in Table 9.3 (B) plus those, in each case, of Marriage Forms 2–4 in Table 9.3 (D).

TABLE 9.4 (A)

Numerical Incidence of Marriage Form Within Lineage Member Marriages, by Clan/Sub-Clan, Excluding Out-Marrying Women

	Marriage Form				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	100	239	65	44	448
Timarzga	14	46	30	14	104
Aith ʻArus	7	9	18	3	37
Aith ʻAbdallah	2	13	11	2	28
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	7	27	28	3	65
Aith ʻAri	31	60	55	29	175
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	37	171	35	16	259
All Aith Waryaghar	198	565	242	111	1116

TABLE 9.4 (B)

Percentage Incidence of Marriage Form Within Lineage Member Marriages, by Clan/Sub-Clan, Excluding Out-Marrying Women (percent of LMM)

	Marriage Form (see Table 9.1)				
Clan/Sub-Clan	1	2	3	4	Number
Aith Turirth	22.32	53.35	14.51	9.82	448
Timarzga	13.46	44.23	28.85	13.46	
Aith ʻArus	18.92	24.32	48.65	8.11	
Aith ʻAbdallah	7.14	46.43	39.29	7.14	
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	10.77	41.54	43.08	4.61	
Aith ʻAri	17.71	34.29	31.43	16.57	
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	14.29	66.02	13.51	6.18	
All Aith Waryaghar	17.74	50.63	21.68	9.95	1116

TABLE 9.5

Frequency Ordering of Marriage Forms by Clan/Sub-Clan

1. Total Marriages (Table 9.2 (A))

Clan/Sub-Clan	Ordering (most to least frequent)			
Aith Turirth	2	1	3	4
Timarzga	2	3	1	4
Aith ʻArus	3	2	1	4
Aith ʻAbdallah	2	3	1	4
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	3	2	1	4
Aith ʻAri	2	3	4	1
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	2	1	3	4
All Aith Waryaghar	2	3	1	4

2. Female Lineage Exogamy (Table 9.3 (C and D))

Clan/Sub-Clan	Ordering (most to least frequent)		
Aith Turirth	2	4	3
Timarzga	2	3/4	
Aith ʻArus	2	3	4
Aith ʻAbdallah	3	2/4	
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	3	2	4
Aith ʻAri	2	3	4
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	2	3	4
All Aith Waryaghar	2	3	4

3. Lineage Member Marriages (Table 9.4 (A and B))

Clan/Sub-Clan	Ordering (most to least frequent)			
Aith Turirth	2	1	3	4
Timarzga	2	3	1	4
Aith ʻArus	3	2	1	4
Aith ʻAbdallah	2	3	1/4	
Aith Yusif w-ʻAri	3	2	1	4
Aith ʻAri	2	3	1	4
Aith Bu ʻAyyash	2	3/1		4
All Aith Waryaghar	2	3	1	4

A final comment on the internal breakdown of the (2)-(3)-(1)-(4) sequence as shown here is again needed in order to clarify the issue. The (2)-(1)-(3)-(4) sequence in the Aith Turirth, for example, is as it is because of the presence of two lineages, one holy (Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud) and one despised (Ihawtshen), which are largely endogamous—the first in order to keep its genes pure and the second because nobody else will marry into it. The Timarzga sample, on the other hand, is essentially the same as that of the tribe as a whole, with what one might call a total egalitarianism of lineage segments, while the much smaller Aith 'Arus sample (only 44 TM and 27 LMM, as opposed to 171 TM and 118 LMM for the Timarzga) is the only one in which choice (3) predominates over choice (2). It can only be speculated as to whether this would still have held true had the Aith 'Arus sample been larger—quite possibly not. The Aith 'Abdallah, Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, and Aith Bu 'Ayyash samples all reflect the overall tribal norm for LMM, but for TM, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash sample parallels the results from the Aith Turirth.

With regard to the samples of outmarrying women, based on those of total marriages, a similar overall pattern emerges. Choice (1) is obviously eliminated entirely from this series, as it involves lineage endogamy; but the general (2)-(3)-(4) sequence is the same. The Aith 'Arus, Aith 'Ari, and Aith Bu 'Ayyash samples all retain this sequence, as does the Timarzga one, although in the latter (3) and (4) have the same frequency. In the Aith Turirth, choice (2) retains its supremacy, but the order of choices (3) and (4) is reversed, (4) having greater frequency than (3), and hence possibly indicating a slightly more conscious attempt to create outside alliances. In the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Yusif w-'Ari samples, however, choice (3) is the most frequent, followed by choices (2) and (4). In general, however, choice (2) predominates (with wife-providing and wife-receiving lineages within the clans or subclans existing in roughly equal proportions), and it is followed, albeit at some distance, by choice (3) (clan exogamy within Waryagharland). On this evidence, considering the total range of choice, it is clear that any question of "preferential parallel cousin marriage" is quite beside the point.

FREQUENCY OF ADDITIONAL MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN LINEAGE MEMBER MARRIAGES

Eight further sets of statistics are ancillary to the principal sets discussed above. It should be made clear that somewhat lower TM and/or LMM figures both for the Aith Turirth and for "General Aith Waryaghar" indicate that for certain lineages in each case my information was, regrettably, incomplete and that hence no tabulations could be made.

Cross-generational marriages, both endogamous within the lineages and exogamous within the clans or subclans (insofar as known), based upon total marriages of male lineage member (MLMM): what is here meant by "cross generational" is that a man of lineage X might belong to generational level IV in that lineage (counting down from the effective lineage ancestor, or point of fission), and his wife, of the same lineage or a different one, Y, might belong to generational level V; the cases might be reversed, there might be two, three, or even four generational differences between the spouses (although the last is highly unlikely). In such cases, there may be a greater than usual difference in the ages of the spouses. Also, in polygynous marriages the offspring of an elderly man by two or three wives might range in age from adults to small children, and these siblings could hardly be expected to marry within the same generation.

1. The Aith Turirth average is 15% percent (with the highest rate of polygynous marriages in the

TABLE 9.6

Frequency of Additional Marriage Patterns in Lineage Member Marriages

	Aith Turirth			All Aith Waryaghar		
Marriage Pattern	No.	%LMM	No. LMM†	No.	%LMM	No. LMM†
Plural Marriage	44	9.82	448	134	12.01	1116
Secondary (Successive) Marriage	42	9.37	448	50	4.48	1116
Divorce	24	5.36	448	31	2.78	1116
Widow Inheritance[20]	33	7.36	448	47	4.21	1116
Sororate	5	1.11	448	9	0.81	1116
Sister Exchange	23	5.13	448	28	2.51	1116
2 Brother-2 Sister	17	3.79	448	27	2.50	1116
Cross-Generation	131	35.89	365	189	19.97	961
Endogamous	30	8.22	365	59	6.44	961
Exogamous	101	27.67	365	130	13.53	961

†Total number of Lineage Member Marriages used to calculate percentage in this category.

stranger lineage of Imjjat, which has 13 plural marriages out of 38 LMM, or 35 percent, spread over only four generations) as compared with an 11 percent overall tribal average. These figures are sufficiently high to indicate that plural or polygynous marriages are indeed a cultural ideal, one which the tribal rank-and-file can seldom attain.

2. The Aith Turirth average of 11 percent (again with Imjjat in the lead, with 14 secondary marriages out of 38 LMM, or 37 percent) is significantly higher than the overall tribal average of 5 percent. These figures reflect both death and divorce of spouses.
3. The Aith Turirth at 6 percent (with the Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari lineage having 4 divorces out of 14 LMM, or 29 percent, a very high figure) slightly exceed the tribal mean of 4 percent.
4. The Aith Turirth again exceed the tribal mean (the Itufaliyen sublineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah has 4 cases out of 10 LMM, or 40 percent, and the Imjjat has 11 cases out of 38 LMM, or 29 percent, including two cases of successive widow-inheritance, one pure and one classificatory). The Aith Bu 'Ayyash sample in the latter, yielding 3 percent (4 cases out of 272 LMM), and the Aith Yusif w'Ari and Aith 'Ari samples also yielding 2 percent each (for the former, one case out of 59 LMM, and for the latter, 3 cases out of 175 LMM), prove the truth of the highland Aith Waryaghar assertion that widow inheritance is significantly more common in the Jbil Hmam than it is in the plain. This is so for reasons of inheritance, since considerably less land has been sold in the Jbil Hmam than in the plain, and as a result, there are still several extended families in the Aith Turirth living in a state of property indivision (although, as previously indicated, the great majority have in fact divided).
5. The Aith Turirth mean and the overall Aith Waryaghar mean are each 1 percent. As suggested above, widow-inheritance is both of greater statistical and of greater structural significance than the sororate.
6. The Aith Turirth, with a 6 percent average (with the holy lineage of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud in the forefront, with 4 cases out of 13 LMM, or 31 percent), doubles the overall tribal average of 3 percent.
7. The Aith Turirth, with a 4 percent average (again with the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud in the lead with 5 cases out of 13 LMM, or 38 percent, followed by the Ihawtshen of Tigzirin, with 6 cases out of 24 LMM, and by the miscellaneous sublineages of l-Wad, with 2 cases out of 8 LMM—or 25 percent apiece), again doubles the overall tribal average of 2 percent.
8. The Aith Turirth endogamous average of 9 percent (led by the Yinn Aisa w-'Amar sublineage of the Aith Uswir, with 6 cases out of 27 LMM, or 22 percent) and exogamous average of 29 percent (led by the Imjjat of l-'Ass, with 27 cases out of 38 LMM, or 71 percent, a remarkably high figure) both surpass the overall tribal averages of 7 percent for endogamous cross-generational marriages and 15 percent for exogamous ones, and in the latter instance the margin is considerable. That the exogamous figures should surpass the endogamous ones in an absolute sense is of course natural, given the fact of the formation and proliferation of lineages within the clan at different periods and at different rates. It is also quite evident that if complete evidence on the generational depth and on all interlineage marriages of a cross-generational character could have been obtained, the discrepancy between the endogamous and the exogamous percentages would be considerably greater.

THE *NUBTH* AND "COMPLEMENTARY FILIATION"

Nubth is conceptually one of the most important words, indeed very much a structural key-word, in the Rifian and Aith Waryaghar vocabulary. It literally means "turn," and it refers both to irrigation turns among the members of a lineage or lineages using a particular irrigation ditch, and to turns of nourishment for the *fqih* or Qur'anic schoolmaster of the community mosque, provided every day in rotation by every nuclear family head in the local community.[21] Thus the most crucial concept embodied in the word *nubth* is that of the nuclear or elementary family itself, and this is precisely the third and most important meaning of the term.[22] To the Aith Waryaghar, any

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[21] During the Protectorate (effectively, 1926–1956), also, the *nubth* had an additional function: payment of the *tirtib* tax collected annually by the Spanish military *interventor* in the name of the Makhzan, from the *jari-s* of all the local communities in a "fraction." The *Tirtib* (which had been initiated in Morocco as early as 1902 by Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz as a result of dwindling revenues from other sources) was a variable according to the specific grains, vegetables, heads of livestock and the quantity of all of them, on which it was levied. In 1961, King Hasan II abolished it entirely by Royal Decree. Even so, the Aith Waryaghar were still in arrears over previous payments for the next three years, and did not complete their final payment of *tirtib* until 1964–65.

[22] In the Aith 'Ammarth and in the Igzinnayen, the word *dhigh-argharth*, and in the Central Atlas the word *takat*, refer to the nuclear family: both mean "hearth." In Waryagharland, the former

man constitutes a *nubth* as soon as he is married, and in time the *nubth* comprises not only himself and his wife or wives, but all his unmarried children as well. At his death, the name of the *nubth* changes to that of his eldest unmarried son, who then forms a new *nubth* with his widowed mother in order to take the place of that of his deceased father. Thus the *nubth* stands at a kind of midway point between the two modes of the elementary family as known to anthropologists, that of orientation and that of procreation.

The *nubth* or elementary family is the irreducible social unit, as it is elsewhere, and it is not only the basic economic unit and the basic unit of production, but the unit of sacrifice: at the time of the *'Aid l-Kbir*, the Great Feast in the last month of the Muslim year, every married man and household head must slaughter a sheep ritually, but a single man may do this only if he forms a *nubth* with his widowed mother. Furthermore, the *nubth* can in this last sense be considered as the unit of provision, in the way that, in the Rif as elsewhere, a husband provides for his wife and/or wives, and a father for his wife and/or wives and his unmarried children. After a son marries, it then eventually becomes his turn to contribute to the provision of his parents in their old age.

When one asks Aith Waryaghar about the composition of a given lineage group or of a given local community or *dshar*, which almost always encompasses more than one single such lineage group, they will quietly count up and in minute or two, reply that it has X number of *nubath* (pl. of *nubth*). These *nubath* fluctuate over time, in numbers and in size: in 1955 the *dshar* of l-'Ass in the Aith Turirth had 13 *nubath*, of which 10 were of the Imjjat lineage (in 5 houses, although one *nubth* consisted of a young unmarried man and his mother and sisters, resident not in l-'Ass but in Bulma, and one of the five houses was not in fact located in l-'Ass, but in r-'Attaf, down by the Nkur River) and 3 were of the sublineage of the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa of the Aith 'Aru Musa.[23] In 1964, however, the total *nubath* were 14, of which 12 were of Imjjat (by this time the young unmarried man referred to above had married; an old man had died, his second eldest son had married, and his third son, still unmarried had constituted a *nubth* with his mother; the eldest son of another man had married; and the stepson of a third was about to marry) and only 2 were of Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa (here one man had died, and his younger unmarried brother, who had previously formed a *nubth* with his mother, now married his deceased brother's wife in widow inheritance). By late 1965, the Imjjat had acquired yet another *nubth* through marriage (and the third unmarried son of the old man above also now constituted a de facto *nubth* through his marriage), totaling 13. The two marriages of that year were both between classificatory parallel cousins.

The above is sufficient to indicate how *nubath* fluctuate in number through marriages and through deaths, and it provides us with certain insights on how some lineage groups increase at the expense of others: in 1955, for example, the Ihammuthen, the oldest lineage group in the Aith Turirth, had only 9 *nubath*. One of its members had died by violence in Spanish times, for the *jari* or Spanish-appointed headman of the local community of Aith 'Aru Musa had found this man in bed with his wife and had killed him with an axe (drawing only a token jail sentence of six months as a result). By 1960, the *nubath* of the Ihammuthen were reduced to 8 with the death of another member (the full brother of the one mentioned above) in an automobile accident.

A point of cardinal importance about the *nubth* is that even though today it is emerging as perhaps the social unit of greatest significance, mainly through labor migration (for a migrant laborer must provide, primarily, for his own wife and children), it still exists, and has always existed, as a capsule "nested" within the larger framework of the agnatic lineage. Although discussion of the lineage context is reserved for the next chapter, the point is worth mentioning here: this framework of encapsulation of smaller units within larger ones, from the *nubth* right up to the *dhaqbitsh*, the whole of the tribe, is precisely the idiom in which the Aith Waryaghar express their own socio-territorial structure.

We now discuss briefly a situation that often arises in *nubath* composed of widowed mothers with unmarried sons: an essentially nonfunctional version of what Fortes has (in my view, not entirely appropriately) termed "complementary filiation."[24]

Filiation in Waryagharland, of course, normally follows the patriline, and the widespread Berber practice, followed all over the Rif and the Central Atlas

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term means only "hearth" and nothing more, while the latter term is used in the singular in the Anti-Atlas, but with the plural form *kanun*, which oddly enough, is the Moroccan Arabic singular term with the same meaning.

[23] For all statistical purposes, the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa sublineage of the Aith 'Aru Musa has been counted as an integral part (which indeed it is) of the Aith 'Aru Musa proper; its members are merely separated spatially from their lineage-mates by some 10 km.

[24] Meyer Fortes, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist*, N. S. Vol. 55, 1953, pp. 17–41, reprinted in Simon and Phoebe Ottenberg, Eds., *Cultures and Societies of Africa*, New York: Random House, 1960, pp. 163–189.

(and also noted and discussed by Peters for the Bedouins of Cyrenaica[25]), of naming boys not after their fathers but after their paternal grandfathers[26] has the effect of keeping the same names in more or less the same positions vis-à-vis each other at any point in time on the lineage genealogy. (It is also largely responsible for the fact that lay observers have often been struck by a quality of "sameness" about Rifian—and Arab—names, and that there always seem to be more members of a given lineage at any one time than there are names with which to label them individually: a kind of nomenclatural poverty.) However, under certain very definite conditions, a man may be locally called by his mother's name, even though he is officially known by that of his father: Muhand n-Sa'id may be known at home as Muhand n-Fattush, Sha'ib w-'Aisa as Sha'ib n-Minnush, 'Amar n-Bu Tahar as 'Amar n-Fadhma, and Mhand n-'Abdallah as Mhand n-Taimund. Further examples, at another level, are Muh n-Ta'rusth (with a mother from the Aith 'Arus subclan), Mzzyan n-Tgzinnaith (with a mother from the Igzinnayen), and, outside Waryagharland, Hajj 'Allush n-Twaryaghatsh (the ancestor of a lineage segment of the Aith 'Ammarth, whose mother was from the Aith Waryaghar).

We now examine the conditions for "complementary filiation" both at the individual level and beyond, where such names transcend this level to crystallize, in time, into permanent names of lineages. At the outset it should be stated that this kind of "filiation" is simply a device for identifying and classifying agnates under the special conditions enumerated below; it does not by any means imply any specific rights or obligations on the distaff side.[27] The conditions themselves are essentially three in number:

1. Orphandom (from *iyujiren*, "orphans"), in the sense of children without a father: this refers to children whose fathers die either before they are born or early in their childhood, leaving their mothers widowed. This is the most important of the three conditions, and produces names such as Muhand n-Fattush, Sha'ib n-Minnush, etc., by which these individuals are known and addressed locally, within their own lineage groups or communities. Cases of this sort, restricted to the individual level, are very frequent.
2. Mother of a different subclan, clan, or tribe from that of the father, particularly in instances involving polygynous marriages: this is virtually self-explanatory, although here it is not simply a convenient device to distinguish between children of the same father but of different mothers, as recorded by many anthropologists in other parts of Africa. Rather, the two factors tend to operate in conjunction with each other, and it is only very rarely that the fact of different mothers is in itself used as a distinguishing criterion. A man named Sha'ib who has a younger paternal half-brother Mimun, by a woman who comes from the Aith 'Arus, addresses this half-brother as "Mimun n-Ta'rusth"; in this particular case, Mimun and his still younger full brothers by their Aith 'Arus mother all grew up after the death of their father, as well. Similarly, a Mhand n-Tgzinnaith is so called by his half-siblings, and indeed by all and sundry in his local community, because his mother is from the Igzinnayen, a fact which is known to everyone.
3. The tendency of uterine kinsmen (*khwari*) to employ this device of "complementary filiation" in order to emphasize their own uterine or matrilateral connections with the individual referred to: a grandmother may thus call her maternal grandson Muh n-Arhma-inu, "Muh son of my [daughter] Arhma," and a maternal uncle may call his uterine nephew 'Abdallah n-Ariqiya-nnagh, "'Abdallah son of our Arqiya," the Arqiya in question being his own sister. This final point leads to the more obvious general one that agnates always employ patrilateral connections in their terms of address, whereas uterine kinsmen always employ terms that stress their uterine connections.

But there is more to the phenomenon than this, for it is raised up a notch and perpetuated when it transcends the level of the individual to reach that of the lineage. In Aith Waryaghar terms, it works the other way around: the standard examples are those embodied by lineages, while the individual examples may well be eradicated with time, with genealogical blurring, and with the all-pervasiveness of the concept of patriliny. Here I posit a mild refinement on the concept as originally proposed by Fortes, to distinguish between true complementary filiation and pseudo-complementary filiation.

As applied to names of lineages, true complementary filiation refers to names in which there is only one referent, and that a female one: Yinn 'Ayyada and Dharwa n-Tahra, both in the local community

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[25] E. L. Peters, "The Proliferation of Segments among the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 90, Part 1, 1960, pp. 29–53.

[26] Examples: Hammadi n-Mhand n-Hammadi, Muh n-Sha'ib n-Muh, Bu Tahar 'Aisa Bu Tahar, 'Amar n-Muhammadi n-'Amar, and Mhand u-Sa'id u-Mhand, in which the Rifian filiative particle n (sometimes *u* or even *w*-, as the case may be: 'Aisa u-Sa'id w-'Aisa—and in other contexts not present at all) is the equivalent of Arabic *bin*, "son (of)."

[27] I am indebted to Dr. John Beattie for focussing my attention on this crucial aspect of the problem.

TABLE 9.7
***Nubath* Households**

	Total Households	No. Married Men	No. Single Men with Widowed Mothers	Total Population of Households
Aith Turirth	131	304	15	827
All Aith Waryaghar	402	686	36	2057^{+}

of Maru, and Aith Triyant (fem. of man's name Riyan—as in the name of the local community of Iriyanen in the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash) in that of Shiqran, in the Aith 'Arus; Aith Tmuimind, in the community of Asrafil, and Yinn Thaimund u-Sa'id, of the Yinn 'Abdallah lineage in the community of Mahrath, in the Timarzga; the subsublineage of Iwa'arithen of Aith Uswir (i.e., 'Aisa n-Twa'arit and his descendants) in the Aith Turirth; Aith Ta'rafth ("people of the Arab woman") in the community of Isufiyen in the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and Aith Tgharbith ("people of the 'Western' [i.e., Moroccan and non-Rifian] woman") in the Aith Zara' lineage in the community of Ajdir in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari.[28]

As applied to lineages again, pseudo-complementary filiation refers to names in which there are two referents, a man plus his mother, but in which the real and ultimate referent is the man himself: Dharwa n-*Bu Tahar* Yamna in the Aith 'Arus; Aith *Mhand* n-Yamna and Yinn *Muhand* n-Mimuna, a sublineage of the Yin 'Abdallah (and both in the local community of r-Maqsuridh), and Dharwa n-*Mhand* Taimund, in the Timarzga; and Dharwa n-*Mhand* n-Zahra in the community of Thizimmurin, in the Aith Turirth.[29]

True complementary filiation hovers around 2 percent for the total number of lineages in Waryagharland, while pseudo-complementary filiation is about 1.5 percent on the same scale. The total for both is thus a maximum of 3.5 percent, and it should be noted that this is concentrated very largely in the three highland subclans of the Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus. Hence complementary filiation, as manifested in Waryagharland, is an interesting structural phenomenon, but it can hardly be considered to be a functional one (other than as a device for identifying and classifying agnates), nor even a very significant one.

ANALYSIS OF *NUBATH,* AND ANALYSES OF HOUSEHOLD TYPOLOGIES

We provide herewith a total enumeration of households, *nubath* (both those consisting of married men, and those consisting of single men with widowed mothers), and approximate population, first, for the Aith Turirth subclan, and then for the Aith Waryaghar as a whole. Here again, the figures apply, for the lowland clans, to the period 1953–54, and for the highland clans and subclans, including the Aith Turirth, to the period 1954–55.

Comment: The above are merely the condensations and lump-sum listings of *nubath* in relation to houses occupied. Household typology and composition actually covers a much wider range than the four marriage choices listed earlier. I have isolated and distinguished the following nine types of households: (1) simple nuclear or elementary family households; (2) extended family households, which include two or more married men, father and married son(s) (each of whom counts as a *nubth*), living under the same roof; (3) polygynous family households, distinguished from (1) above, in that the household head has more than one wife, and, possibly or probably, unmarried children by each wife (although during his lifetime he and his wives and unmarried children count as a single *nubth*); (4) extended polygynous family households, in which types (2) and (3) are combined in a single household; (5) fraternal joint family households, in which two or more married brothers live with their wives and children under one roof; (6) fraternal joint extended family households, which could be a combination of types (5) and (2), in which two or more married brothers with wives and children also have married sons living under the same roof—although so many people living in one house would render things quite unmanageable, and so this is usually a case of two or more married brothers with a widowed mother; (7) fraternal joint polygynous family households, a combination of types (5) and (3), in which one or more of the brothers has more than one wife; (8) joint extended polygynous family households, a combination of types (2) and (3) in which two men who are agnatic kin but not actually brothers (e.g., fathers' brothers' sons, paternal uncle and nephew) are both married and live under the same roof; and (9) fraternal joint extended polygynous family households, the final combination of types (2), (3), and (5), in which, again, the factor of extension usually refers to the presence of a widowed mother, while one or more of her sons may have more than one wife. Type (1) constitutes one overall category, types (2), (3), and (4) a second, and types (5) through (9) a third. It will be readily seen that each type grades into another one, and that all, save perhaps type (1), are essentially variations on a single theme, and that marriages and deaths can change overnight the way a given household is classified.

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[28] There are also two examples from the Aith 'Abbu clan of the Aith 'Ammarth, Ifattushen and Ifattumathen, as well as one from the Igzinnayen, Dharwa n-Tawunza, in the lowland clan of the Asht r-Udha near Aknul.

[29] In the Aith 'Abbu clan of the Aith 'Ammarth, again, the lineages of the Dharwa nj-*Hajj 'Allush* n-Twaryaghatsh, mentioned above, as well as that of the Dharwa n-*'Amar* n-Tmuimind, may be considered further examples of pseudo-complementary filiation.

We provide herewith a gross breakdown on household composition, along the lines just indicated, first for the Aith Turirth, and then for the rest of the tribe.

TABLE 9.8

Frequency of Household Types (percentage of total households)

Household Type	Aith Turirth			All Aith Waryaghar		
	No.	%		No.	%	
1	43	33	33	187	48	48
2	17	13	nucl.	59	15	
3	3	2	17	16	4	22
4	3	2	ext	10	3	
5	28	21		68	18	
6	20	15		26	7	
7	4	3	50	7	2	30
8	4	3	frat	5	1	
9	9	8		10	3	
Number of Households	131			388		

Comment: In both the Aith Turirth and the Aith Waryaghar as a whole, type (1), nuclear or elementary family households, clearly predominated over all other types, with 33 percent in the Aith Turirth and 48 percent overall. Next is type (5), fraternal joint family households, with 21 percent and 18 percent respectively. In the third instance, there is a discrepancy: in the Aith Turirth type (6), extended family households, and type (2), fraternal joint extended family households, are virtually on a par, with 15 percent and 13 percent respectively; while in the overall tribal average, the order is reversed, 7 percent for type (6) and 15 percent for type (2). In the Aith Turirth, types (3) and (4), polygynous family households and extended polygynous family households, are equal at 2 percent each; but in the overall tribal average, each is higher, type (3) at 4 percent and type (4) at 3 percent. Type (7), fraternal joint polygynous family households, are similar, 2 and 3 percent, in both the Aith Turirth and in the overall tribal average; on the other hand, types (8) and (9), joint extended polygynous family households and fraternal joint extended polygynous family households, are both somewhat higher in the Aith Turirth than they are in the overall tribal average—3 percent and 8 percent respectively, as opposed to 1 percent and 3 percent respectively.

CONCLUSIONS: DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Household typologies provide data only on residence patterns, not on residence rules. Residence in Waryagharland, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, is as unequivocally patrilocal or virilocal as descent is patrilineal or agnatic. There are only two instances that might under certain conditions be considered as uxorilocal residence. In the first, an *adhrib*, a man who has been exiled from his own clan or tribe for murder, and who has had to flee, eventually settles in his new clan or tribe of adoption and marries there a women whom his new protecting group has "given" him. In the second case, a poor and propertyless stranger (or an equally poor and propertyless member of one of the despised occupational groups, to be discussed in Chapter 11) wanders in to look for work as an *akhammas* (or to ply his special trade and give his services to the community at large); he is taken pity upon, and is given a little land and a woman (generally a poor one of inferior social status) as wife by that community. Instances of the first sort were much commoner than instances of the second, owing to the generalized prevalence of the bloodfeud; in these cases, the woman "given" (after payment of *sdhaq* or bridewealth, of course) to the *adhrib* as wife was fully his social equal. An *adhrib* was indeed welcomed in his new clan or tribe if, for example, on being eventually unable to pay the requisite bloodwealth to his victim's agnates and/or the requisite fine to the council, he now counted as one more strong right arm and one more rifle in the group which had received him.

In the Aith Turirth, the most striking instance of the first sort is the case of the Fqir Azzugwagh, founder of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass, who came as an *adhrib* from Hibir in the Asht 'Asim clan of the Igzinnayen to the Aith Turirth about 1850. There he was taken in by the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah lineage of Bulma, who "gave" him a wife (Yamna n-Muhammad nj-Ahsin of their own sublineage of Yinn Bil-Lahsin) at a bridewealth rate of 100 *mithqals* (over half of it paid on the spot, and the rest in subsequent installments), and some land, in 1853.[30] But seventeen years later, in 1870, after the birth of all his sons and his one daughter, the Fqir Azzugwagh decided to move up-mountain and buy land in the better watered community of l-'Ass, going shares with a younger man, 'Amar w-'Aisa of the Aith 'Aru Musa lineage, to whom he "gave" his only daughter as wife. The land in question was bought from Musa u-Haddush Misa'ud, of the Ihammuthen lineage, as well as from his wife Arhma n-Makhrufth of that of the Aith 'Aru Musa, consisting of the property she had inherited, in land, trees and water, for 30 *mithqals*.[31] As aforementioned, before its purchase by the Ihammuthen, the land of l-'Ass had belonged to the Igzinnayen: it now reverted to an Agzinnay with Waryaghar "nationality" who had now decided to establish a neolocal residence. It will be recalled that, a century ago, the population was considerably less dense than today, so Aith Waryaghar say, and more land was available. Hence in this case several structural processes were at work: (1) flight as an *adhrib* from tribe of birth, and resulting scission of an incipient lineage; (2) entry into new tribe and establishment of new ties there through marriage, and temporary uxorilocal residence; and (3) second removal to a new locality, through purchase of land, in the territory of the same subclan, and establishment of new and neolocal residence there.

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[30] Aith Turirth Document No. 31.

[31] Aith Turirth Document No. 28.

The most striking example of the second sort of uxorilocal residence, again in the Aith Turirth, is that of a poor and propertyless blacksmith (*amzir*) from the Axt Tuzin who moved to Bulma, for his services were needed at the Wednesday Market; he did so at the request of the powerful Hajj Am'awsh of the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud lineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, and a competitor of the Fqir Azzugwagh, above. This blacksmith, 'Amar n-Bahida, was a fortunate man indeed, for the Hajj Am'awsh "gave" him one of his granddaughters to wife (and in this case bridewealth must have been minimal, given the groom's poverty) and a small plot of land. This is one of only two cases that I know in which a blacksmith (or indeed any member of the despised occupational groups) married exogamously—this man's son later did so as well. Generally the members of these groups are entirely endogamous, and I was unable to discover why this particular blacksmith was so favored by the head of a powerful lineage.

Cases of this sort—and the latter is certainly one of uxorilocal residence—are the exceptions that prove the virilocal rule, just as the nonfunctional type of "complementary filiation" discussed earlier underscores the severe patriliny of the whole system. The problem of individuals or groups that "scission off"—generally as *idhriben* [pl. of *adhrib*], but sometimes for other reasons as well—to other clans or tribes is one that falls properly under the rubric of tribal politics. To understand it correctly we must first understand how the segmentary and territorial systems work, and it is to them that we now turn.

10. THE SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEMS: TRIBE, "FIFTH," CLAN, SUBCLAN, LINEAGE AND LOCAL COMMUNITY

LOCALIZED AND STRANGER LINEAGES, AND THEIR ORIGIN TRADITIONS

In Chapter 1, we considered some of the general characteristics of Moroccan tribal systems, with special emphasis on the segmentary features of tribal organization: for segmentation is recognized by tribesmen themselves as the feature that dominates the whole system. However, this is by no means always the whole story, as the Aith Waryaghar system—or how it relates to classical segmentary theory, perhaps—will show; for as Peters has said about Cyrenaican Bedouins, Arab or Berber tribesmen are not social anthropologists and are not capable of sociological analysis.[1] That the segmentary system is not in fact the sole determining factor will be fully demonstrated in Chapters 11 and 12: suffice it to say here that in Waryagharland the overall system of tribal alliances that the people themselves conceive of as following the segmentary system in fact cuts across it at certain significant points—although this is not necessarily the case in all other Central Rifian tribes, notably, for example, in that of the Aith 'Ammarth.

We shall start here from the generalized premise of segmentary systems comprising a series of encapsulated or "nested" units (whether these be primarily social, political or territorial in character), in a descending order of encapsulation, for such is indeed the Aith Waryaghar model of their own system; and we shall see, further on, that of the two "classical" principles underlying segmentary systems, i.e., those of balance and of opposition between segments, the weight in Waryagharland is decidedly upon the latter principle. But other factors must be considered first.

In terms of composition of segments, all Rifian segmentary systems are based upon what in Chapter 2 I label as the **principle of heterogeneous clans** (as opposed to that of common ancestorship); and that of the Aith Waryaghar is no exception in this respect. Although Caro Baroja's suggestion (for the Ghmara) that population density stands in inverse ratio to the density of the lineage system[2] is debatable as far as the Central Rifian tribes are concerned, there would on the other hand seem to be little doubt that the Rifian tribe or *dhaqbitsh* (and North Zone tribes in general) represents in essence a kind of specialized adaption of the generalized Arab *qabila* concept to a mountainous environment. The same kind of adaptive response would seem also to hold good for the sedentary agricultural tribes of the Western Atlas, the Sus Valley, and the Anti-Atlas; and the Rif and the Sus are both "vieilles régions humaines"[3] in which at least one contributing factor is a striking heterogeneity in the clan composition of the tribes concerned. This heterogeneity of clans, however, in no way detracts from their segmentary nature, but is, rather, molded to it.

In this connection it is useful to consider the percentages, in all six tribes that I have labelled as "Central Rifian," of autochthonous, home-grown lineages and/or clans which to this day are recognized as "strangers" (*ibarraniyen*, sing. *abarrani*) because their ancestors came in "from the outside," be that outside only so much as another bordering Central Rifian tribe. On this score, the average for the whole Central Rif is 49% autochthones only, in the Ibuqquyen, 42%, somewhat below average; in the Aith 'Ammarth ("people of the filling-up") in the sense of accreted lineages from all over the Rif coming in to fill up a territorial gap, and thus an explicit recognition of full-scale non-local origin), 31%, way below average;[4] in the Igzinnayen, only 32%; in the Axt Tuzin, 55%, somewhat above average; in the Thimsaman, 78%, way above average; and in the Aith

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[1] E. L. Peters, op. cit., 1967.

[2] Julio Caro Baroja, *Estudios Mogrebíes*, Madrid, I.D.E.A., 1957, p. 146.

[3] René Raynal, "Quelques Apercus Géographiques sur l'Evolution des Régions Humaines du Maroc," *Hespéris*, 1-2, 1952, extrait, pp. 1-16.

[4] One would, from their name, expect 0% in the Aith 'Ammarth case, given local origin traditions, but these are overstatements of the case.

Waryaghar, 58%, again rather above average. The Aith Waryaghar figure is not only quite representative of the region as a whole, but is based on a very careful analysis of all the genealogical and lineage materials at my disposal; all other figures save that of the Aith ʻAmmarth are based on cursory examinations of the traditions connected with individual lineages or clans.

The above figures refer to what we here call "political agnates" rather than to actual consanguineal agnates, i.e., to local lineages and local lineage membership in bulk as opposed to "stranger" lineages and "stranger" lineage membership in bulk. Figures for actual consanguineal agnatic membership of lineages would, of course, be higher. A further breakdown, on a clan-subclan basis, of the same categories within Waryagharland itself will be helpful, and will also reveal some interesting disparities between the mountain clans and those of the plain.

TABLE 10.1

Frequency of Local vs. "Stranger" Lineages in "Fifth," Clan, and Subclan

Totals	"Fifth"	Clan	Subclan	Percentages
	I	A. Aith Yusif w'Ari:		
			1) Aith Ughir Izan	69
			2) Isrihan	34
			3) Aith Turirth	65[5]
Clan A				56
		B. Aith ʻAri:	1) Tigarth	73
			2) Imhawren	50
			3) Aith r-ʻAbbas	50
			4) Timarzga	100
Clan B				68
Fifth I				62
	II	C. Aith ʻAbdallah:	1) Aith ʻAru Musa	60
			2) Aith Tmajurth	71
Clan C				66
Fifth II				66
	III	D. Aith Bu Ayyash:	"True" 1) Aith Bu Ayyash	
			a) Izakiren	0
			b) Aith Tfarwin	96
			c) Isufiyen and Aith Ta'a	60
			d) Aith Bu Khrif	22
				45
			2) Aith ʻAdhiya:	
			a-1) "True" Aith Bu Qiyadhen	89
			a-2) ar-Rabdha	78
				84
			b) Ighmiren	35
			c) Imnudh	13
			d) Thazurakhth	31
				41
Clan D				43
Fifth III				43

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[5] In the Aith Turirth case, as a mere indicator of the discrepancy in the above sense, between "political" as opposed to consanguineal membership of agnatic lineages, the latter figure, representing adult males who live and are domiciled in the territories of their respective lineages, is 82%.

TABLE 10.1 (*continued*)

Totals	"Fifth"	Clan	Subclan	Percentages
	IV	E. Aith Hadhifa:	"True" 1) Aith Hadhifa	
			a) Aith Bu Jdat	100
			b) Iraqraqen	98
				99
			2) Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen:	
			a) Aith 'Arus	98
			b) I'akkiyen	100
				99
Clan E				99
Fifth IV				99
	V	F. Imrabdhen:	1) Imrabdhen n-Waddai	0
			2) Imrabdhen n-Dara	0
Clan F				0
Fifth V				0
Sub-Clans				62
Clans				59
Fifths				54
Aith Waryaghar				58

Hence, "stranger" lineages and/or subclan and clan accretions amount to 42% for the tribe as a whole.[6]

These figures are sufficient in themselves, on the face of them, to prove two things: 1) the existence of "core" Aith Waryaghar lineages and clans which have always remained somewhat in excess of 2) the "naturalized" Aith Waryaghar lineage and/or clan accretions which came in from outside. The figures themselves are buttressed by the several Waryaghar origin traditions. It is to be noted that the key feature common to all of these is that the Aith Waryaghar point of origin was the massif of the Jbil Hmam; that from this point they very gradually moved northward to the Mediterranean, probably over the course of five hundred years to a millennium; and that, as a result of this gradual migration to the north, we have the resultant twin structural phenomena of territorial discontinuity and reduplication of Aith Waryaghar lineage groups, from south to north. It must be borne in mind that any Waryaghar segment or clan which does not own land in the Jbil Hmam is not considered to be "true" Aith Waryaghar, but, rather, to be a "stranger" group.

I. A Pseudo-Khaldunian Version

As some informants say, Ibn Khaldun would have it that the Rifian tribes of the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya, Marnisa, Bni Slitan (?), and Bni Znasan are all "brothers" and are all Sinhajan Berbers. The apical ancestors of all these tribes, including the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen, were all sons of one Mglata, who was accompanying a Berber named Tattuft. Possibly, one of these informants said, Mglata was Tattuft's son, but "this is not known for certain."[7] The same informant, however, did point out that those who say that these tribes are Berber argue in favor

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[6] In two previous publications (Hart, op. cit., 1965 and 1970), I had estimated these two figures at 56% and 44% respectively. The very minor difference here is not significant.

[7] As an afterthought, another informant also opined that the Aith 'Ammarth, with their near-zero percentage of localized lineages, also fell into this category. This fact, if true, goes at most to point up Berque's contention that "Old Berber" names like Sinhaja, or Masmuda, or Zanata are today only "names on the land," with about as much structural and/or functional significance. It is our opinion that even their historical value is dubious, because it tends to obscure the real issues involved. In any event, the point is that these names are quite meaningless to modern Rifians, and can at best be considered only medieval "residues." Another source would even imply, possibly without realizing it, that the descendents of Mglata (including the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen) as well as those of Marnisa all originate from the Nafzawa of Southern Tunisia, which, if translated into modern terms, sounds almost like an argument for Greater Maghrib Unity. Cf. Pierre Moreau, *Des Lacs de Sel aux Chaos de Sable; Le Pays des Nefzaouas*, Publications de l'Institut de Belles Lettres Arabes, No. 11, Tunis: Imprimerie Bascone et Muscat, 1947, p. 76.

of this particular genealogical point, while those who opt for a Yemeni or Arabian origin say that Mglata was only one of Tattuft's companions. In point of fact the matter is quite academic, although of course Tattuft (or Yittuft) does suggest the Western Rifian tribe of Aith Yittuft—or Bni Yittuft. This tradition can be discounted as quite unverifiable; but what is of far more significance is that the same informant, from the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, who provided it, said that his clan's land was previously located in the Jbil Hmam, and that all the land from the Aith 'Ammarth on down along the east bank of the Ghis River was bought by the Aith 'Abdallah from the tribe of the Aith Yittuft. However, the incorporation of stranger lineages and cementing of political relationships can be seen in the significant fact that those lineages of both the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa clans—the latter having existed formerly only in the Jbil Hmam—that did not originally possess land in the Jbil Hmam still had a right to their share of the clan or tribal *haqq* or fine for murder. It is paradoxical, but in many ways typical, that in the Aith 'Abdallah, one lineage claiming an origin from the essentially "Arab" tribe of the Bni Ulid on the Wargha River had *haqq*-collection rights with its peers, while two communities with the same name, Thariwin in the Aith 'Abdallah and Thariwin in the Asht 'Asim clan of the Igzinnayen tribe, each perhaps unbeknownst to the other, claim to have "come from" the other.[8] This sort of reciprocity in origin traditions is far from atypical of the region as a whole. There are even stronger reciprocal traditions of the same sort between the Ibuqquyen and the Aith 'Ammarth; segments of each say that they "came from" the other, and nobody will ever be sure.

II. A "Companions-Of-The-Prophet" Version

This version was provided by the late Qaid r-Hajj Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the point of it is that each of the "five fifths" or *khams khmas* of the Aith Waryaghar is assigned a definite and eponymous Arab ancestor, from Arabia, who in each case purports to go back to earliest Islamic times. As is well known to all students of North African history, this is yet one more example of a very generalized Berber tendency toward the fabrication of a seemingly more illustrious Arab ancestry. Needless to say, this tradition may be considered to be even more apocryphal than the pseudo-Khaldunian Sinhaja one, although it would seem equally safe to assume that it gained credence and currency through the unquestionably very early Islamization of the Central Rif by the Salihids of the city-kingdom of Nakur, themselves Himyarites from the Yemen.

The version postulates, first of all, that the present-day "fifth" comprised of the "brother" clans of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari is collectively known as Aith Khattab, and that, as such, they are descended from no less a personage than 'Umar b. al-Khattab (ruled 634–644 A.D.), the second of the "rightly guided" caliphs of Islam after the Prophet's death. Here too, of course, is the explanation of 'Abd al-Krim's patronymic *al-Khattabi.* It is no secret that 'Abd al-Krim himself constantly argued in favor of his "Hijazi" and "Arabian" origins:[9] but his claims, on genealogical grounds, have not been entirely substantiated. Some informants placed the "fifth" (and clan) of the Aith 'Abdallah within this same Aith Khattab descent-category, but others debated this, or were not sure.

The Qaid Haddu, however, postulated that the "fifth" of the Aith 'Abdallah are descendants of Sidi 'Abdallah bin Ja'far, who, although he was a genuine historical personage in early Islamic Arabia, may or may not have been a Companion of the Prophet. And the "fifth" of the Aith Hadhifa (including not only the clan of that name but also the two territorially discontinuous subclans of the Aith 'Arus[10] and I'akkiyen), by the same token, would claim descent from Sidi Hudhaifa bin al-Yamani, who was unquestionably an early Islamic figure, one of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab's Arab generals in his wars against the Persians.[11] Nonetheless, Professor Philip Hitti has made it clear that neither 'Abdallah b. Ja'far nor Hudhaifa b. al-Yamani had ever, to his knowledge, had any connections with North Africa.[12] And the alleged ancestor of the "fifth"-cum-clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Sidi Ku'aish, is an individual to whom I have found absolutely no references whatsoever. Given the fact that *'aish* and *'ayyash* are both derived from the same Arabic root ("to live," in its basic meaning), in this case it does not seem to be stretching the point to suggest that a mythical personage was created out of whole cloth as a convenient "dummy," to use Robertson Smith's term, in order to fit in with my informant's genealogical preconceptions and to provide the lineal continuity of which Peters writes in his preface to Robertson Smith's work.[13]

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[8] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19. Another very similar tradition linking the communities of Izkrithen, again in Asht 'Asim of the Igzinnayen, and Aith Zkri, again in the Aith 'Abdallah of Waryagharland, is the following: over five centuries ago, two men, either sons or descendants of the saint Sidi bu Zkri in Meknes, went north to the Rif and, specifically, to the Jbil Hmam. When it came time for them to decide which of them was going to go where, they resolved the matter by lighting two fires. Each would settle where the smoke of his own fire drifted, and so one went south to the Igzinnayen to become the ancestor of the Izkrithen, and the other went north to Waryagharland to become the ancestor of the Aith Zkri.

[9] A typical statement attributed to him on this score (and from an otherwise dubious source) is to be found in J. Roger-Mathieu, *Mémoires d'Abd el-Krim,* Paris: Librairie des Champs-Elysées, 1927, p. 55. It might even appear plausible were it not for the fact that the Ulad Di Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Krim alluded to in the text came, albeit much more recently, not from the Hijaz at all, but from the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen, where this lineage still has documented property holdings. The Aith Waryaghar themselves correctly assess 'Abd al-Krim's role in their history as a *za'im* and a *mujahid,* rather than as the minor *sharif* ascribed him by his Igzinnayen origins.

[10] The Aith 'Arus in Waryagharland are not sure whether they have any connections with the Jbalan tribe of the Bni 'Arus, nor do they know why they bear the Arabic name or nickname *'arus,* "bridegroom." Their neighbors of the Aith Turirth and Timarzga accuse them of being *ayyawen n-tarrumith,* "grandsons of a Christian woman," which infuriates them; but I found an interesting statement in a Spanish *intervención* report dated April 25, 1939, to the effect that they are descended from the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala, but that none of them may ever visit the tomb of the great Jibli saint Mulay 'Abd al-Salam b. Mashish because their ancestor was supposed to have murdered him! The alleged ancestor, for this reason, had to flee his home, with the curses of the lesser saints and the repulsion of the lesser tribesmen. The same tradition also states that whenever a man from the Aith Waryaghar comes to the Bni 'Arus in order to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mulay 'Abd al-Salam, the first question he is asked is to what clan he belongs; and should he prove a member of the Aith 'Arus, he will die by stoning!

= المسيح
= de messias; christian!

The antecedents of the "fifth" (and clan) of the Imrabdhen, who, as their name in Rifianized Arabic indicates, are an intrusive and semi-holy murabitic[14] group whose points of definition and of fission, respectively, are Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj (buried in Fez) and Sidi 'Aisa b. 'Abd al-Krim (buried in the Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa bearing his name, in the Imrabdhen territory of Waryagharland), are of quite a different order: their claim to Idrisid *shurfa*-hood, although genealogically well-founded, is basically unsubstantiated on other, nongenealogical grounds. The questions both of structure and of function of holy lineages or clans are special cases, meriting special attention, and their case is in no way comparable to those of the lay clans above.

III. The Mountain Traditions: The Jbil Hmam As Point Of Origin

No informants know the exact meaning of the tribal name "People of Waryaghar." Some, however, link it up with three toponyms in the Jbil Hmam, the great mountain knot in the southern part of the tribal territory: Dhawragh or Thawragh, said to be either in Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari or near r-Maqsuridh of the Timarzga; Iwraghen in Aith Yusif of the Timarzga; and Adhrar u-Waryaghar ("Waryaghar Mountain") in the Aith 'Arus. *Awragh* is the Rifian, and generalized Berber, adjective for the color "yellow," and some of the same informants thought this to be tied in with the long popular, though geologically quite unfounded, Aith Waryaghar belief that the Jbil Hmam massif was studded with gold mines (and silver deposits).

What is of importance here is the unquestionable and indissoluble linkage of the tribal name in its various forms with the Jbil Hmam: for the Jbil Hmam is Waryagharland par excellence. The "Mountain of Doves" is beyond any doubt whatsoever the point of origin of the tribal name, and the point from which a very gradual tribal "migration," over the course of perhaps a millennium, started in a northward direction to move 60–70 kilometers down toward the plain and Bay of al-Husaima and the Mediterranean. The early Arab chronicles mention the Bab Bni Waryaghal, or Aith Waryaghar Gate, the southern or southwestern gate of the Madinat al-Nakur, as the gate to the Jbil Hmam; and thus, small wonder at the antiquity of the tribal name and why the answers of living informants about it are the merest guesswork. It is not quite the point here that one of the resulting structural consequences of this "migration" was a marked territorial discontinuity and reduplication of Waryaghar lineage and clan groups within and throughout the tribal territory. The point is, rather, that the vague, confused and incomplete origin traditions that informants today relate indicate, without exception, the Jbil Hmam as the Waryaghar *Urheimat*.

Two traditions indicate that the Jbil Hmam was inhabited prior to the first Waryaghar occupants. One of these specifies that these original inhabitants were Susis, who left much treasure buried there (which might possibly account for some of the popular legends about the gold deposits) and who were chased out by a very dense fog lasting for seven days.[15] According to the other tradition, the people who perhaps aided and abetted the fog in chasing out the Susis were called *Imarzgiwen*—the ancestors, at least in part, of the present subclan of the Timarzga. A man called 'Ari from the Eastern Rifian tribe of the Ibdharsen came eventually to live with the Imarzgiwen, where he married a young widow. She had already had a son by her first husband, and this son's name was 'Ayyashi: hence the clan name of Aith Bu 'Ayyash. By 'Ari, she subsequently had three more sons, named Yusif, 'Ari, and 'Abdallah: hence the clan names of Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari (w-'Ari, implied) and Aith 'Abdallah (w-'Ari, again implied).

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[11] Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, trans. by Joem Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann; New York: Capricorn Books, 1960, p. 58.

[12] Personal communication, 1954.

[13] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Boston: Beacon Press Paperbacks BP 233, 1963, Chapter I and preface to the same edition by E. L. Peters, p.v. *Bu 'Ayyash* might possibly also be derived from *dha'ayyashth*, "scalplock," i.e., wearer of a scalplock; but *dhajuttaith* and *dhamzurth* are the standard terms for the old Rifian scalplock in Waryagharland; *dha'ayyashth*, on the other hand, is used in the Igzinnayen.

[14] I use this term in preference to the Franch-derived form "maraboutic," which has so pervaded all the literature on North African Islam, because as it happens the original Arabic form is considerably more precise in meaning than its now all-purpose French equivalent.

[15] For similar traditions in the Sinhaja Srir and the Ghamra, cf. Caro Baroja, op. cit., 1957, p. 147. In one sense such a tradition may not be too far-fetched, as I have myself experienced very dense fog over all the Northern Moroccan littoral and mountains.

It should also be pointed out that Berbers from the Sus have always had a Morocco-wide reputation as sorcerers and diviners of buried treasure, long before they began to discover their hidden talents as urban grocery-store-keepers.

Although this particular tradition makes no mention of an ancestor for the clan of the Aith Hadhifa, or of one for their "brothers" of the Aith 'Arus, it establishes the fact, recognized by most Aith Waryaghar, that the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari are brother clans, and indeed includes the Aith 'Abdallah with them. This provides these three groups with a closer degree of kinship to each other than any one of them has with the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who, according to another tradition, are "brothers" of the Aith Hadhifa and of the Aith 'Arus. The above tradition also implies a matrilateral tie between the above groups and the Imarzgiwen or Timarzga, through their mother. This implication is one that I have not found elsewhere, for in other traditions the Timarzga are considered to be "brothers" and Jbil Hmam allies of the Aith 'Ari in the plain, while the Aith Turirth are equally considered to be the "brothers" and Jbil Hmam allies of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari in the plain. The mountain and plains clans all recognize this fact, but the mountaineers add that the Aith Turirth plus the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and the Timarzga plus the Aith 'Ari, all go back to a single common ancestor, the Amrabit Bu M'awiya, who is buried in 'Ain Zuhra of the Ibdharsen tribe in the east where 'Ari, the ancestor of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, is also supposed to have come from. This 'Ari, was also supposed to have been a descendant of Bu M'awiya. Two further descendants of Bu M'awiya, named 'Amar (a "brother" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) and l-Yazid (a "brother" of the Aith 'Ari) were supposed to have fathered the subclans of the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga,[16] respectively, as in Figure 10.1.

The overall segmentation of the Aith Waryaghar will be given in Fig. 10.3, but it is precisely the clans and subclans enumerated in Fig. 10.1, above, which

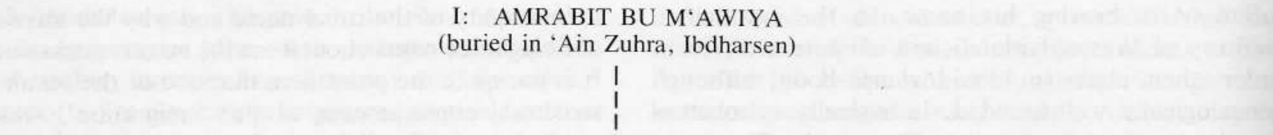

Fig. 10.1: Aith Khattab Genealogy

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[16] The point of origin of all the Timarzga lineages is supposed to have been a place called Bu Ya'aish, where the Friday mosque of the Timarzga is now located. This is according to one tradition; another has it that the Timarzga point of origin is Azru nj-Ahsin.

constitute, *en bloc*, the widest collectivity, referred to by Aith Waryaghar as the AITH KHATTAB. This collectivity, according to the "Companions of the Prophet" tradition, harks back to 'Umar b. al-Khattab—although the Amrabit Bu M'awiya is, if he is buried where he is supposed to be, clearly very much closer to where the point of fission may lie.[17]

The above collectivity is only one of the two widest ones in Waryagharland, the other being that of the AITH BU 'AYYASH, "half-brothers" of the AITH KHATTAB. With no further allusions here to Sidi Ku'aish or to Sidi Hudhaifa b. al-Yamani, they see themselves as follows:

The intrusive and semi-holy "fifth" of the Imrabdhen, of course, do not fit into either of the above genealogical frameworks, which are concerned only with the "true" Waryaghar clans, those that possess land in the Jbil Hmam.

Further origin traditions of a nongenealogical character, complement the two above in that they emphasize the aspect of accretions and of accreting groups filling in territory that up until then was supposedly empty. One of this group of traditions has it that the first six individuals who moved into what is now the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar came from somewhere immediately to the south, probably from what is now Igzinnayenland. As this particular tradition comes from lowland informants, each name of these six individuals corresponds to that of a lineage, or a local community, or a subclan in the plain itself, thus legitimizing the physical (as opposed to genealogical) descent of these individuals to the plain, the r-Udha, from the Jbil Hmam. All of them occupy land that is within the highly discontinuous territory of the "fifth" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari / Aith 'Ari, as follows:

1. *'Abd r-Mumin:* equated with the lineage of *Dharwa n-'Abd r-Mumin* ("sons of 'Abd r-Mumin"), located in the community of Aith Hishim, but genealogically affiliated with the larger Izifzafen lineage of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. The land of 'Abd r-Mumin was originally said to have extended from Aith Hishim to the sea.
2. *Ashshuyi* or *Ishshu:* equated with the lineage of *Ishshuyen*, located in the community of Upper Ikattshumen (*Ikattshumen n-Dara*) of the Isrihan subclan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. The Ishshuyen lineage is one of six in Waryagharland, the other five being in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash,[18] all claiming descent from the "Aith Ya'ra," the Marinid dynasty; its branches of Ijarrayen and Iyihyathen in particular claim descent from Ishshu.
3. *Amzuri* or *Amzur:* equated with the settlement of *Imzuren*, today an administrative post as well as the largest rural market center in Waryagharland. Imzuren is mixed in terms of the clan affiliations of its inhabitants, but it contains elements from the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the Aith 'Ari and the Imrabdhen, the last-mentioned predomi-

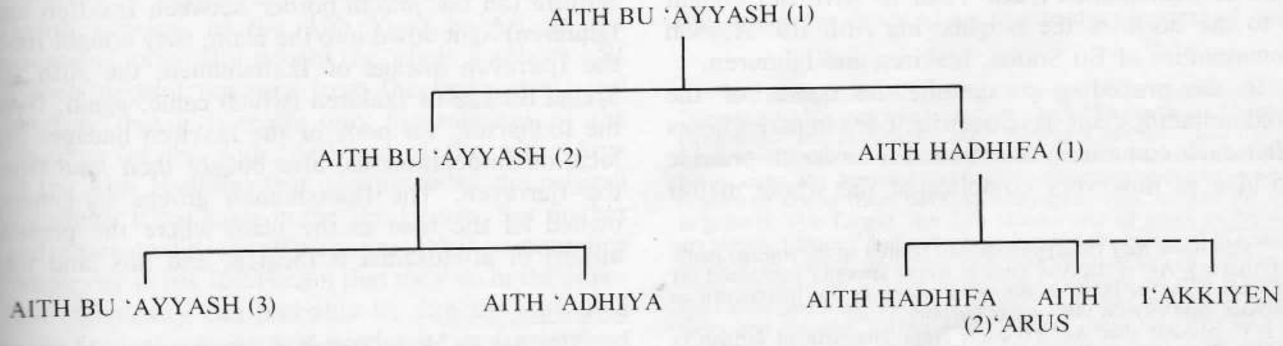

Fig. 10.2: Aith Bu 'Ayyash Genealogy

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[17] Again, the names of Bu M'awiya and l-Yazid recall very suspiciously those of the first two Umayyad caliphs in Damascus: Mu'awiya b. Abi Sufyan (reigned 661–680 A.D.), and his son Yazid (reigned 680–683 A.D.). It was perhaps a tactical error on my part to recall this fact to mountaineer informants from Aith Turirth and Timarzga, for they leaped upon it, saying that these famous figures of the Muslim past were exactly the individuals from whom they themselves were descended, and how very clever I had been to spot this! Needless to say, there was no question of any ability to trace the exact genealogical relationship, any more than there is between the Aith Khattab as a whole and 'Umar b. al-Khattab! It is just one more example of the eternal Berber hunger for illustrious Arab ancestry.

[18] My informant on this was, again, the Qaid r-Hajj Haddu of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who specified the other five Marinid lineages as follows: his own, that of the Aith Wuzghar in the Aith Bu Khrif community of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (c); that of the Aith Bu Stta, also in Aith Bu Khrif, but affiliated with the Aith 'Adhiya; that of the Isi'arithen ("those of Si 'Ali") in Imnudh, also with the Aith 'Adhiya; and those of the Aith Tizi and Aith Fars in Ighmiren, again of the Aith 'Adhiya. *Ishshu* (Ar. *Yusif*) is still a very common Berber name in the Central Atlas and amongst the Ait 'Atta, for instance; but in Waryagharland it survives only in the lineage names of Ishshuyen, above, and of Aith Ishshu, in the local community of Imnush, in the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b).

nating. The land of Amzuri was originally said to have extended from the Monday market site of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash to the sea.

4. *Amhawr:* equated with the *Imhawren* subclan of the Aith 'Ari (again discontinuous, since it has both upper and lower nuclei).
5. *Aqamrawi:* equated with the local community of *Aith Qamra*, which is also very mixed, and today contains lineage-group elements from the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the Aith Hadhifa, and the Imrabdhen, the last-mentioned again predominating.
6. *Am'aru:* equated with the discontinuous and reduplicated lineage of *Im'arwen*, located in both Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and in Tafrasth of the Aith 'Ari, but affiliated genealogically with the larger Aith Ujdir (i.e., Ajdir) lineage of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari.

It should be noted that there are two versions of the above legend. One accounts for only five men ('Abd r-Mumin, Ashshuyi or Ishshu, Amzuri or Amzur, Amhawr, and Aqamrawi) and the other for only four ('Abd r-Mumin, Ashshuyi or Ishshu, Amzuri or Amzur, and Am'aru). Neither one, individually, accounts for all six men, but in this case no harm is done in combining them.

What is important is that all these men both inherited and bought land in the environs of the al-Husaima plain. 'Abd r-Mumin bought it in Azghar (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Aith Hishim (Imrabdhen), and Ajdir (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), as well as having his own inherited land just south of the two first-mentioned communities. Am'aru inherited land just south of Aith Mhand u-Yihya (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Tafrasth (Aith 'Ari), and Imjjudhen[19] (Aith 'Ari), but he acquired additional land in each of these communities through purchase, while all that he acquired in Swani (Aith 'Ari and Imrabdhen) was bought. Half of Amzur's or Amzuri's land in Aith Musa w-'Amar (Aith 'Ari) was inherited and half of it purchased, but all of it to the north in r-'Azib Imzuren (Imrabdhen) and in Bu Minqad (Aith 'Ari) was bought. Ashshuyi or Ishshu inherited land in Ikattshumen (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), but bought it to the north in the neighboring Aith Bu 'Ayyash communities of Bu Srama, Izakiren and Ighmiren.

In the preceding paragraph, the names of the predominating clans have been included in parentheses after each community mentioned in order to provide an idea of how very complicated the whole matter of lineage proliferation and of land tenure in the plain of al-Husaima is to this day, and how and why these complications, involving an unending criss-cross of lands and lineages to the point of complete discontinuity, arose at an early stage in Aith Waryaghar history. That there is, however, a continuity in toponyms may be seen in another tradition: that the people of Ajdir in the plain came from Thajdirth in the Jbil Hmam—the masculine name of the former implies greater size than the feminine one of the latter.

A further tradition which falls very much into the same category is that provided by an informant from Ikattshumen (Aith Yusif w-'Ari: cf. *Ishshuyen* lineage, above). The Ikattshumen are putatively descended from an ancestor named Akattshum, who came from Azru Aqshar in the Igzinnayen. After considerable population increase, over time, in Upper Ikattshumen in the northern foothills of the Jbil Hmam, people moved down toward the plain and all the lineages of Upper Ikkatshumen became reduplicated in what was to become the community of Lower Ikattshumen (*Ikattshumen n-Waddai*). The same thing happened here as with the Aith Ujdir, from Thajdirth in the Jbil Hmam, where one of the oldest historically known Aith Yusif w-'Ari lineages is that of the I'arrasen. Indeed, this same process occurred here and there all over Waryagharland. The Aith Mhand u-Yihya lineage in the mountains scissioned off to form a separate enclave not only in the plain, but by the sea (for the Aith Yusif w-'Ari). This also happened with the Aith Bu Minqad[20] and Iswiqen lineages (for the Aith 'Ari) and for the Ighmiren and Izakiren lineages (for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash). It happened as well for the Aith Ufaran lineage of the Aith Turirth, with its originating nucleus in Tufatsh by the upper Nkur river upstream from Arba' Tawrirt, and with a later scissioning nucleus established in the community of Tazurakhth in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. The list is by no means exhaustive. In the case of Izakiren, for instance, all the lower-lying land that this community now owns, from the Friday women's market at Suftura (on the *jma'th* border between Izakiren and Ighmiren) right down into the plain, they bought from the Ijarrayen lineage of Ikattshumen; the Aith Bu Srama lineage of Izakiren (which came, again, from the Ibdharsen, for none of the Izakiren lineages are local or autochthonous) also bought their land from the Ijarrayen. The Ikattshumen groups in general owned all the land in the plain where the present airport of al-Husaima is located, and this land was purchased from them by the Aith Musa w-'Amar and the Aith Bu Minqad lineages (both of the Aith 'Ari) and by those of Izakiren. The Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa clans, now in western and southwestern Waryagharland respectively, with adjoining territories, also formerly lived only in the Jbil Hmam; when they moved northeast, the Aith 'Abdallah purchased all their land west of the Ghis river from the tribe of the Aith Yittuft.

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[19] This name may be etymologically related to the lineage name of Imjjat in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth, whose ancestor scissioned-off from his home in Hibir of the Asht 'Asim in the Igzinnayen to purchase land in Aith Waryaghar territory.

It is possible that Am'aru come from Thajdirth of Isriban in the Jbil Hmam, where his descendants of Upper Im'arwen are located today.

[20] The Aith Bu Minqad lineage, all told, is made up of not only two but three separate enclaves, all of which are territorially discontinuous from each other: an upper, a middle, and a lower.

Therefore, aside from discontinuity and reduplication of lineage groups, a second principle regarding the movement of Aith Waryaghar lineages in their gradual northward course toward the sea involves, as the above examples make clear, the purchase of land by a lineage or lineages of Aith A from one or more lineages of Aith B. As Aith Waryaghar themselves say, in those days land was abundant and people were few. One informant even added that Waryagharland was emptied and refilled no less than three times by successive waves of people all slowly moving in a general south to north direction, from the Jbil Hmam, and perhaps from the Azru Aqshar mountain in the Igzinnayen as well, right down to the r-Udha or plain. Each time it emptied, the tribal territory turned into *ghaba* or brushwood—until the final time. Nevertheless, the same informant also opined that there were probably far more ancestors of discontinuous and reduplicating lineages who had left their own clans or tribes as *idhriben* or exiles from bloodfeuds, than simply as prospective buyers of land in other nearby localities. Indeed, the descendants of *idhriben* from Waryagharland are to be found as far afield as Tangier, where most of them, not wanting to advertise the fact that they had killed men at home, simply became swallowed up over the course of time by the local urban populations. It is also not beyond the realm of possibility that the original 'Ari, who came to the Imarzgiwen in the Jbil Hmam from his original home in the Ibdharsen, did so because he had killed someone there and was escaping the vengeance of the latter's agnates.

Finally, it need only be mentioned that the Aith Turirth subclan, of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, in the mountains, originally bought the whole southern half of their present territory from the Igzinnayen, and therefore that it is really only the subclans of the Timarzga (of the Aith 'Ari) and of the Aith 'Arus (of the Aith Hadhifa) that occupy today the original Waryaghar tribal lands in the Jbil Hmam. But neither land tenure nor lineage affiliations reach the astounding complexity in the Jbil Hmam that they do in the plain. This complexity can probably be directly attributed to the gradual scission and northward expansion and channelization of important segments of the clans in question, away from their original mountain home.

The intrusive clan of the Imrabdhen complicates the issue still further, and among them territorial discontinuity and reduplication are more marked than among any of the other, lay clans. The reason for this seems to be that the Imrabdhen were allotted or awarded what leftover land still existed when the northward expansion of the other clans was either in process or a *fait accompli.*

It should also be remembered that when in 1889-1890 a house was built on the plain by Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa, an *amghar* of the Aith 'Ari who became *qaid quyad* ("qaid of qaids") of all the Aith Waryaghar, it was the first house there. Until that time there were only dispersed settlements overlooking the plain, which was used exclusively for cultivation through irrigation. By 1908 and the unsuccessful invasion of Waryagharland by Bu Hmara, the second house had been built, by the Hajj Haddu Tahir, also of the Aith 'Ari. After pacification in 1926, houses began to sprout all over the plain like mushrooms, and as of 1962, the settlement pattern of the plain began to be even further distorted by the creation of the al-Husaima resort hotel complex.

THE TRIBE AS AN ENTITY AND AS THE SUM OF ITS PARTS

The tribe, which Rifians call *dhaqbitsh*, is the largest single social or sociopolitical unit and entity in the Rif. The Aith Waryaghar constitute one such unit—the biggest one in the region, by a wide margin—while their eight neighbors constitute other such units, all of varying size, population and degree of segmentation. Each tribe has an identity of its own, and there are identifiable and stereotyped behavior patterns which are said to be characteristic of each of the *dhiqba'ir* (pl. of *dhaqbitsh*).[21]

The process of segmentation Rifians designate by the verbal noun *battu*, "division." Before proceeding to a unit-by-unit analysis of the *dhaqbitsh*, the *khums*, the *ar-rba'*, the *dshar*, the *dharfiqth*, the *jajgu*, and the *nubth* (in descending segmentary order), I wish

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[21] The Ibuqquyen are "untrustworthy," the Igzinnayen are "courageous but unpredictable," the Aith 'Ammarth are "country bumpkins," the Thimsaman are "intelligent but sly," and the Axt Tuzin are "low-class and stupid" mainly because, in the last-mentioned case, the despised and low-class occupational groups which originated among them have, in Waryaghar eyes, tainted the tribe in general. The Targist, the Aith Mazdui and all tribes to the west are simply "Jbala," and as such are beyond the pale, and in addition derided as sexual perverts. The Aith Waryaghar, of course, as these are their own value judgments—combine all that is best in the Rifian character: courage, honesty, sobriety, generosity, hospitality and "shame." They readily admit, however, that they are extremely jealous, exceedingly quarrelsome and very violent-tempered!

to stress two major points that may seem opposite to but in fact complement each other:[22] (1) that the Aith Waryaghar do indeed ultimately think of themselves as a single unit, and that their segmentary solidarity, especially in the face of outside opposition, and based upon an ideology of kinship, is more than just a sentimental identification; and (2) that the various levels of segmentation, which they designate by the terms given above, are anything but conceptually rigid.

A key question regarding the formal structure of any segmentary society, when one looks at the society as a unit, is to what extent it is "monolithic" and to what extent "polylithic": the problem of corporate action and the "massing effect" as opposed to that of autonomy of segments. The answer to this question is entirely situational, and especially so in a case such as that of the Aigh Waryaghar, among whom the top level segments (whether conceived of as *khmas*, "fifths," or as *r-urbu'*, clans) are not infrequently, in terms of absolute size and extent of territory, as large as other whole tribes elsewhere in the region. The autonomy of Waryaghar clans within the overall tribal framework is again underscored when we recall that virtually every one of them has its own market and had its own council members, its own body politic. Indeed, this clan autonomy was further emphasized after the pacification, because the Spanish protectorate authorities, on the suggestion and recommendation of Colonel Emilio Blanco Izaga in 1934-35, divided Waryagharland into three "*caidatos*" or territories controlled by three *qaids* of equal standing, whereas from 1926 to 1934 all of the Aith Waryaghar had been under a single *qaid quyad* or top *qaid*, Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, a bitter foe of 'Abd al-Krim: 1) Uta, the northern one of the three, for the northern plains Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith 'Ari and Imrabdhen; 2) Upper Ghis, the southwestern one, for the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa; and 3) Nkur, the southeastern one, for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the mountain subclans of the Jbil Hmam, i.e., Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus. The group identification of the Aith Waryaghar had become relaxed here to the extent that a mountaineer could speak of a lowlander as belonging to "the lower tribe," and the lowlander could correspondingly speak of the highlander as belonging to "the upper tribe." (There are even corresponding derogatory nicknames of Aith Bu Tkhsaith, "people of the squash," by which highlanders designate lowlanders, and I'allushen, "sons of 'Allush," the country bumpkin with the peasant mentality, by which term plainsdwellers designate mountaineers.) This administrative division has been modified even more since independence, particularly by the creation of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash as a separate administrative entity within the "Cercle des Beni Ouriaghel," which is headquartered now, as in Spanish times, in what was once 'Abd al-Krim's house in Ajdir.

With regard to the question of corporate action, it is essential to appeal to the historical record to find out what happened on occasions of major crisis. No less than three times in their recorded history have the Aith Waryaghar come together as virtually one man in order to resist invasions of their tribal territory by outsiders: (1) in 1908 against the Pretender to the Moroccan Throne, Bu Hmara; (2) in 1921-26 when they formed the core group of 'Abd al-Krim's resistance to Spain and France; and (3) in 1958-59 when they resisted invasion by the Royal Moroccan Army in the most serious tribal uprising since Moroccan independence. The first two instances, at least, involved more tribal groups than the Aith Waryaghar alone: in the 1908 rout of Bu Hmara's cavalry, they were aided and abetted by the Aith 'Ammarth, according to some informants, while the 'Abd al-Krim war, against two modern European armies, brought about not only a mobilization of all the Rifian tribes, but of virtually all of those in northern Morocco as well as of some of those adjoining them in southern Morocco.

THE SEGMENTARY FRAMEWORK AND THE ONOMASTIC FACTOR: DOMINANCE AND RECESSIVENESS OF SEGMENT NAMES

Before we comment further on the segmentary units of the Aith Waryaghar, in descending order, it will be useful to give an overall skeletal presentation of the total segmentary framework of the tribe and then to discuss certain further implications of segment names in the light of an onomastic factor to which we have referred elsewhere as the phenomenon of dominance and recessiveness.[23]

This overall segmentary framework may be diagrammed as follows:

The further segmentation of the clan groupings at Level III will be pursued and commented upon below,

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[22] In the manner of Montagnes's famous remark about *liff* alliances which materialize and project upon the ground the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord. Cf. Montagne, *Les Berberès et le Makhzen*, 1930, p. 216.

[23] Cf. David M. Hart, "Clan, Lignage et Communauté Locale dans une Tribu Rifaine," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, No. 7, 1965, pp. 25-33, and "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Meditérrannée*, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95.

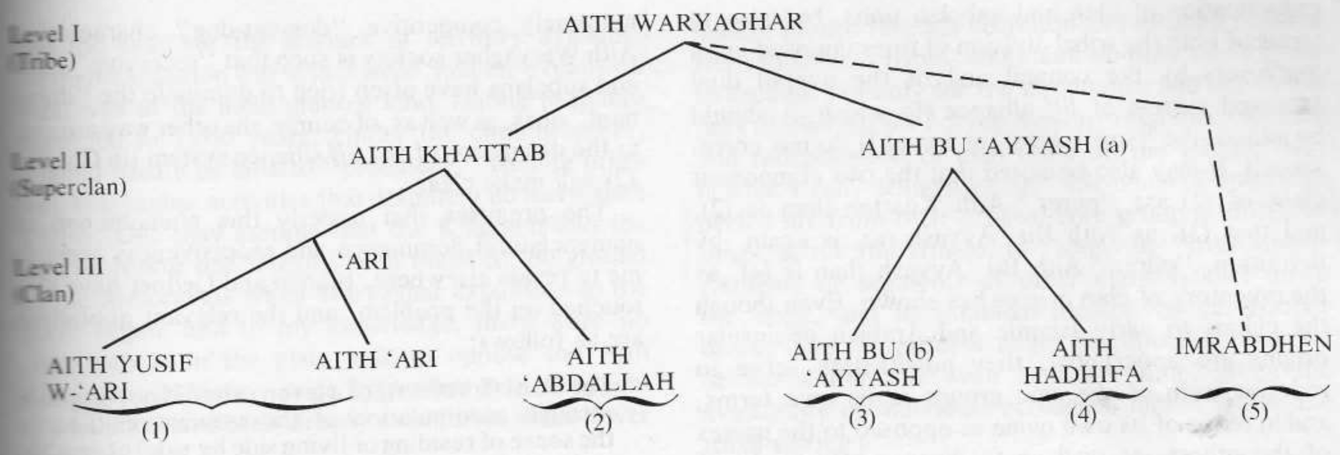

Fig. 10.3: Tribe, Superclan and Clan

but here at the outset several points emerge and must be dealt with. The first is that Level II on the overall genealogy, in Fig. 10.3, which is labeled "superclan,"[24] represents a historical reconstruction only, on the part of some of my eldest informants. Its structural significance is minimal and its functional significance is nil. *Aith Khattab* and *Aith Bu ʻAyyash*, at Level II, merely indicate, in the minds of old informants, an original point of bifurcation between the descendants of supposed half-siblings. The dotted line marking the clan of the Imrabdhen is intended to indicate that it is intrusive into the tribal territory; its claims to genealogical legitimacy will be taken up later in this chapter.

It is at Level III that the units that are meaningful today begin to emerge, and the arabic numerals (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5) mark the *khams khmas* or "five fifths" (sing. *khums*, "fifth") of the Aith Waryaghar as a whole. (1) through (4) are autochthonous and "homegrown," while (5) is intrusive. In the light of this, and in the light of the discontinuity and reduplication of these same primary segments throughout the tribal territory, it would seem that the "superclan" device at Level II served primarily to highlight the claim to primacy that each of these two large clan-aggregates implicitly pushes forward, in opposition to each other and in opposition to the Imrabdhen, by virtue of a (doubtless) largely fictive descent from putative common ancestors who happened to be half-siblings. The above would also suggest that (1) and (2) within the *Aith Khattab* aggregate are more "brothers" to each other than they are to (3) and (4) in the Aith Bu ʻAyyash (1) aggregate, and that these last two are, in turn, more "brothers" to each other than either is to (1) or (2).

It will be recalled that by "clan" we refer to named units whose members say or imply that they are all descended from a given individual or come from a given place, without being able in any way to trace this descent genealogically, on a step-by-step basis. And by "subclan" we refer to the two or more major named units within the clan, as here defined, of which exactly the same is true. In both instances it is a case of: X is our ancestor in the patriline (or: we all come from Place Y), but we cannot prove it. Given this fact, the only difference between the two units is one of size, for the subclan is of course encapsulated within the clan. In Rifian there is no terminological distinction between the two units, both of which are referred to as *ar-rbaʻ*, pl. *r-urbuʻ*. Indeed, it is a very noteworthy feature of not only Rifian social structure, but of the social structure of Moroccan tribal groups in general, that there are considerably more named levels of segmentation than there are terms in the vernacular, to cover them—a fact that underscores the fluidity of the whole system.

A further consideration regarding the overall segmentary framework is the fact that *Khums* (1) at Level III contains two clan units as opposed to only one in each of the clans (or *khmas*) (2), (3), (4), and (5). This will be shown later to have strong repercussions not only in terms of the territorial discontinuity and reduplication of clan and subclan units, but also in terms of both the tribal division of fines imposed upon murderers by the council and of the overall dual factional system of *liff* alliance (to which, it should be added, the "superclans" at Level II do not correspond). It may also be noted that the two component clans of (1) are "purer" Aith Khattab than is (2), and that (3), as Aith Bu 'Ayyash (a), is again, by definition, "purer" Aith Bu 'Ayyash than is (4), as the inventory of clan origins has shown. Even though the claims to early Islamic and Arabian peninsular origins are apocryphal, they nonetheless serve to redefine each of the clan groups in its own terms, and in terms of its own name as opposed to the names of the others, as well as to dispose effectively of any possibility of common ancestry for all five *khmas*—a fact that is in partial conflict with the tradition of descent of all clans, save the Imrabdhen, from half-siblings.

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[24] It could possibly be argued that these are in fact "phratries." I am skeptical about the term "phratry," both at this Level and at Level III, and prefer *khums* or "fifth" for two reasons: the latter term is both structurally and functionally far more descriptive of the unit in question, and the term "phratry" has too many American Indian connotations in the anthropological literature. Even though a "phratry" may be a collection of related or even unrelated clans, these tend to be linked together on essentially non-kinship principles. Between the member clans making up the Aith Khattab and those making up the Aith Bu ʻAyyash, the "brotherhood" bond, loose, conventional and sentimental though it no doubt is, is nonetheless frequently invoked. One is tempted to compare this with Cunnison's "dogmatic mode of segmentation" among the Baggara Arabs of the Sudan: cf. Ian Cunnison, *Baggara Arabs*, Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 188 sq.

Yet a further consideration here is the existence, at the "superclan" Level II, of a major clan-aggregate named Aith Bu 'Ayyash (a) and at the clan or *khums* Level III of a unit (3) within it that has been designated as Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b). Also, to anticipate the further analysis below, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) at Level III, (3), subsegment again at Level IV into the two subclans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (c) and the Aith 'Adhiya. Why, one may well ask, is it that one name, that of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, is preserved at two, and indeed even at three, consecutive levels of segmentation, and that the other, that of Aith 'Adhiya, only appears at the lowest level? This problem in the naming of segments is one that crops up fairly frequently in Moroccan tribal systems, and is one which, borrowing two everyday terms from genetics, we have designated as dominance and recessiveness of clan or segment names. It is also a situation that is particularly apt to occur in tribal groups with clans or segments showing a marked degree of territorial discontinuity and reduplication, as is the case here. It is, however, in no sense a system of ranking, and it must be stated at the outset that the "dominance" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash at different levels, as opposed to the "recessiveness" of the Aith 'Adhiya, is purely onomastic and in no way political. Similarly, the Aith Hadhifa (b) or "true" Aith Hadhifa are "dominant" over the "recessive" Aith 'Arus and I 'akkiyen; the Aith Yusif w-'Ari (b) or "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari are "dominant" over the Aith Turirth; and the Aith 'Ari (b) or "true" Aith 'Ari are "dominant" over the "recessive" subclan of the Timarzga. The phenomenon is equally unconnected with any possible numerical superiority or superiority in force of arms on the part of the "dominant" group. Indeed, the highly egalitarian and extremely competitive "dog-eat-dog" character of Aith Waryaghar society is such that "recessive" clans and subclans have often tried to dominate the "dominant" ones, as well as, of course, the other way around, as the discussion of the *liff* alliance system (in Chapter 12) will make clear.

The premises that underly this phenomenon of nomenclatural dominance and recessiveness seem to me to reside elsewhere. Blanco and Gellner have also touched on the problem, and the relevant quotations are as follows:

> The clans (fractions) of a given tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association (i.e., in the sense of residing or living side by side) of *jma'ths* or local communities, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the new territory already contained three, four or five clans in their previous nomadic (*sic*) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably (Blanco, translation mine).[25]
>
> When a tribe migrates to and/or conquers a new territory, all its forces are required; hence all segments are represented, and hence each segment gets a share in the spoils of the new territory. This means, however, that the old "top segments" stand for relatively small groups in the new place, and in due course the whole lot of them come to be known by the place name and in effect add a new segment, or *one* of the old top segments comes to cover the lot of them in the new place, so that, locally, the other previous top-level names now move down one (notch or level) relatively to it (Gellner).[26]

Both of these observations begin to get to the root of the problem, each in its own way. Blanco's postulation of a prior "nomadic" condition can, for our purposes here, be ignored, as can Gellner's implicit assumption, subsequently articulated more forcefully (and in my view, wrongly) by Sahlins,[27] that a segmentary lineage system can be maintained only through predatory expansion. But the remainder of both hypotheses seems valid. It is entirely true that the Aith Waryaghar, sedentary agriculturists though they are, expanded northward from the Jbil Hmam to the plain and the sea; but the amount of territory available for their expansion was in fact small, and the expansion itself was of the most gradual kind, lasting probably from 500 to 1,000 years. Under the circumstances, it could hardly be labeled "predatory," despite other Aith Waryaghar activities that definitely do merit such a label. One may assume that the Kingdom and the City of Nakur had already been razed to the ground by the Almoravids when Waryaghar expansion to the north began, and to my knowledge, there were no other people in the plain able to oppose the Aith Waryaghar advance—aside from other Aith Waryaghar who may have been already established in the lower foothills.

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[25] Emilio Blanco Izaga, *Conferencia Sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño*, MSS., 1935. Blanco's remarks apply directly, in the context of his work, to the Aith Waryaghar.

[26] Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Sept. 13, 1960, and *Saints of the Atlas*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, p. 58. Gellner's remarks apply specifically to the Ait 'Atta, Ait Yafilman and Ait Sukhman groups of the Central Atlas.

[27] Marshall D. Sahlins, "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, No. 2, Part 1, 1961, pp. 322-345. For a different view, cf. I. M. Lewis, "Problems in the Comparative Study of Unilineal Descent," in Michael Banton, Ed., *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, ASA Monographs No. 1, London: Tavistock, 1965, pp. 87-112. Sahlins' theory fails to account for long-established sedentary tribes such as those in the Rif, which have always had a segmentary organization.

For the purpose of this argument, neighboring tribes hardly matter, as all the tribes in the Central Rif have been able to keep very much the same territorial positions *vis-à-vis* each other over the last millennium: Nonetheless, Blanco has again made telling observations here:

> A curious feature of Rifian society is that the territorial limits of its social units are to a certain extent elastic. An individual or a family, for example, may acquire land in another tribe, and his or their own clan does not appropriate the territory he occupied previously; this remains fixed. But when the properties of an individual or a kin group which become modified are bordering each other, then the *jma'th,* clan or tribe, or rather, its area of extension or of its real jurisdiction follows an analogous variation, improvement or cutting-off, increase or loss, advance or retreat, as the case may be; and such cases bring about not a few quarrels and altercations. This happened in the Ibuqquyen, whose people saw their eastern Aith Waryaghar neighbors creeping into their territory through a gradual purchase of all the good land around the middle course of the Buham River, at which point they became opposed to selling them any more terrain. . . . This territorial elasticity, although it does not bring about great modifications because of the incessant watch which the tribes instinctively keep over their land, also derives, no doubt, from the ancient family concept of opposition to everything which could weaken it; and, as a result, much land returns most often to its tribe of origin through abandonment, new acquisition, or exchange; if it has been alienated. Such elasticity tends to become diminished when tribal and natural frontiers coincide, as, for example, in the middle and upper courses of the Nkur River, separating the tribes of the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Waryaghar; but even so, this play of property has nonetheless modified a good many tribal frontiers as well as having delineated this one.[28]

Barring the reception and integration of stranger lineage groups through accretion and through scission from their own tribes, there can be only one answer to account not only for the dominance and recessiveness of clan names but for the territorial discontinuity and reduplication of clan units on the ground: this is what I call "leap-frogging." Elements of each clan peeled off from their original core group at different times, in the Jbil Hmam, to "leap-frog" over similar elements or segments of other clans further down the slope, and to establish themselves yet further down; then the process might be repeated a second or yet a third or even a fourth time, given the availability of individual ecological niches within the tribal territory.

It is thus that the clans of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari—who both belong to the same *khums,* although they are in opposed *liffs*—each have no less than five discrete blocs of territory, from the mountains right down to the sea, and all within Waryagharland. In the first instance, the four more northerly blocs may be generically labelled as the "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and the fifth bloc, in the Jbil Hmam, as the Aith Turirth; and in the second, the four more northerly blocs may be generically labeled as "true" Aith 'Ari, with the fifth, in the Jbil Hmam, again, as the Timarzga. Although the *khums* of the Aith Hadhifa is more homogeneous territorially than that of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith 'Ari, such homogeneity applies only to the "true" Aith Hadhifa (b); the discontinuous subclans of the Aith 'Arus and I'akkiyen bear the same relation to the "true" Aith Hadhifa (b) as do those of the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga to the "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari (b) and to the "true" Aith 'Ari (b), respectively. The most homogeneous bloc of *khums* territory is that of the Aith 'Abdallah, who have only one local community (I'ayyaden) outside the main group. The *khums* of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) is nearly as homogeneous, territorially, as that of the Aith 'Abdallah, but two local communities (Igar w-Anu and Ighmiren w-Udhrar) of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya are separated spatially from the main body of the latter, while one Aith 'Adhiya lineage (Aith Bu Stta) has infiltrated into the territory of the subclan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (c) and into the local community of Aith Bu Khrif. The intrusive and semi-holy *khums* of the Imrabdhen shows the highest degree of discontinuity of all, with its component elements sandwiched into territory left over by the other "fifths"; two main blocs of territory correspond to the Upper and Lower Imrabdhen and a plethora of individual lineage groups, affiliated with one or another of the above, are scattered at strategic points throughout the length and breadth of the territory of the lay clans. It is these scattered lineages that are more important in the relationships of this "fifth" with the lay tribesmen of the other four "fifths."

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[28] E. Blanco Izaga, MSS., op. cit., 1935. The translation is our own.

THE "FIVE 'FIFTHS'" OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR

We have discussed elsewhere[29] what seems to me to be the postulates underlying any well-defined tribal and segmentary system in Morocco whose members invoke a superordinate organizing principle of *khams khmas*, or "five 'fifths.'" Since this mode of tribal structuring, or perhaps restructuring, is a fairly frequent one among larger Moroccan tribal groups, it appears to be a specifically Moroccan and Berber contribution to segmentary systems. Two points must be made about the phenomenon in general before it is treated in detail for the Aith Waryaghar: (1) optimally, this form of tribal structure always has a corresponding function, and one that is well and sharply defined, although that function may differ radically from one possessor tribe to the next; and (2) it is most characteristically found as a fundamental nexus of articulation between territorially discontinuous and/or reduplicated clans in and of a possessor tribe. As such, it not only facilitates corporate tribal action, but also acts as a brake on other divisive forces within the total sociopolitical structure of that tribe—and in Waryagharland, such divisive forces reached an absolute maximum, probably unparalleled anywhere else in Morocco.

Any elderly Waryaghar informant, when asked about the overall segmentation of his tribe, will invariably say, "*Nishnin zg-Aith Waryaghar gharnagh khams khmas*," "We of the Aith Waryaghar have [i.e., are segmented into] five 'fifths.'" This statement is a major clue to the Aith Waryaghar model of their total society, and they still say it today, long after the whole notion of *khams khmas* has ceased to be operative (the large-scale mobilization of the Aith Waryaghar in the 1958-1959 uprising against the Moroccan Government was not in any sense effected along *khams khmas* lines, but along the more modern lines of administrative "bureaux"). It indicates, specifically, three cardinal points: first, the Aith Waryaghar are divided into five major and basic units, which are conceived to be of equal strength, even though individual informants may sometimes differ as to the composition of these "fifths"; the most reliable and most generally agreed upon version is the (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5) one given in Fig. 10.3. Second, each *khums* forms one-fifth of the whole, and the total strength of all five "fifths," in the segmentary idiom, is a great source of tribal pride and self-esteem. Derogatorily pitying remarks about neighboring tribes that do not have the advantages of being organized in this fashion are quite common: for the notion of "five fifths" has its own built-in ideology, one that does not necessarily obey any logical rules. Third, the *imgharen* (sing. *amghar*), or council members of the *aitharbiʿin*, the council and the body politic, at their weekly meeting, or *agraw*, in the market, levy fines (*haqq* "right," "reason") on a murderer; ideally, these fines are divided five ways equally among the council members of each "fifth." Lines of fine-collection and distribution, then, should ideally follow those of segmentation, and among the Aith Waryaghar this is the specific function of the organization into *khams khmas*. The reason behind these grindingly oppressive fines was that market day was the one day of peace during the normal week of murder, violence, and bloodfeud.

The "five 'fifths'" of the Aith Waryaghar, then, are as follows:

In a previous analysis of a short but penetrating statement by Robert Montagne on the sociopolitical structure of the Aith Waryaghar,[30] I noted the correctness of Montagne's observations regarding (a) the fact that each "fifth" has its principal bloc of territory in the mountains, and enclaves in the plain, or the reverse, and (b) the fact that the Imrabdhen form a "supplementary 'fifth'" dispersed over the whole of the tribal territory. I now propose to discuss the spatial distribution of the Aith Waryaghar "fifths" in some detail, in the light of the two cardinal and complementary principles of territorial discontinuity and territorial reduplication or replication at the levels of the clan and subclan, as well as to explore the question of the degree of correspondence and overlap between the clan and the "fifth." Here the truth of Coon's observation about the seeming paradox of a "fifth" being a larger unit than a "fourth" will also become manifest—for in both Rifian and Moroccan Arabic, the literal meaning of *rbaʿ* is "fourth."[31] The

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[29] Cf. D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1967. Lionel Galand, "*Les Quinquegentanei*," *Buletin de l'Archéologie Algérienne*, 1970, suggests a very respectable age and origin for the structural phenomenon of "five 'fifths'" in the *Quinquegentanei* as "five clans" in the Jurjura Mountains of Algeria who successfully resisted the Roman penetration of what is now Kabylia throughout much of the 3rd Century A.D. Only their Latin name has been preserved, through inscriptions; the original Berber name has unfortunately been lost. The question is also discussed for Kabylia by S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à Travers l'Histoire: Organisation et Indépendance des Zouaoua (Grande Kabylie)*, Algiers: J. Bringau, 1925, pp. 12-15.

[30] Cf. David M. Hart, "Clan, Lineage, Local Community and Feud in a Rifian Tribe," In Louise E. Sweet, Ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*, 2 Vols., New York: Natural History Press, 1970, Vol. 2, pp. 3-75. The passage referred to by R. Montagne is in his *Les Berbères et le Makhzen*; op. cit., 1930, Note 2, pp. 175-176.

[31] Coon, op. cit., 1931, Note 2, p. 91.

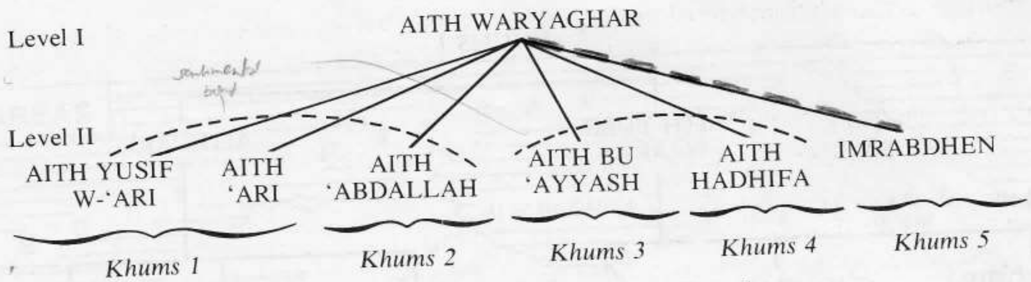

Fig. 10.4: The *Khams Khmas* of the Aith Waryaghar

spatial distribution is necessarily linked to the subsegmentation of the "fifths" into their component clan and subclan units, as follows:

In both Figs. 10.4 and 10.5, the solid lines provide the segmentary connections to "true" Aith Waryaghar "fifths," clans and subclans, while in Fig. 10.4, the dotted line leading to the Imrabdhen (*Khums* 5) is intended to indicate that they are an intrusive group. Furthermore, in the same diagram, the two dotted half-circle lines grouping *Khmas* (1) and (2) together, and those grouping *Khmas* (3) and (4) together, indicate that the members of each of these pairs of *khmas* or "fifths" feel a greater sentimental bond of kinship toward each other than they do toward those of the other pair. In Fig. 10.5, the dotted lines serve a similar but not identical purpose in *Khmas* (1) and (4): to emphasize the greater degree of both spatial and structural distance between the Aith Turirth and the other two "true" subclans of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; and the same for the Timarzga as against the other three "true" subclans of the Aith 'Ari, in *Khums* (1). And in *Khums* (4), the same holds true, at Level III, for the Aith 'Arus and the I'akkiyen, both *vis-à-vis* the "true" subclans of the Aith Hadhifa and *vis-à-vis* each other. Hence in *Khmas* (1) it would be quite legitimate to label Level II as Aith Yusif w-'Ari (a) and Aith 'Ari (a), and in Level III Aith Ughir Izan and Isrihan would be subsumed under Aith Yusif w-'Ari (b), and Tigarth, Imhawren and Aith r-'Abbas under Aith 'Ari (b); in Khams (4), Level II might become Aith Hadhifa (a), while Aith Bu Jdat and Iraqraqen, jointly, might become Aith Hadhifa (b) at Level III. Finally, in *Khums* (3), the labeling of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "(a) or (b)" at Level II, and that of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "(b) or (c)" at Level III, is simply intended to show that the postulated "superclan" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (a), at Level I, can be included or excluded, as the case may be and according to the context. See the clan area map (Map V) for clarification of these territorial aspects.

Aside from the function of the "fifths" structure in the division of fines for murder, it is the territorial aspect of the phenomenon of *khams khmas* that is crucial: the territorial discontinuity implied by Montagne.[32] Territorial divisions tend to crosscut geographical ones, as in a good many other Moroccan tribes; but they do so, in Waryagharland, in a rather special way. We now confront squarely the problem of clan and subclan discontinuity and reduplication on a territorial basis, a feature which, as Montagne again correctly pointed out, characterizes only the Aith Waryaghar, out of all Rifian tribes. Whether or not the Aith Waryaghar are unique in all of Northern Morocco in this respect, I do not know; but to the degree that they do exhibit this two-sided phenomenon, they are certainly unique in the Central Rif.

In this connection it is useful to compare the clan and local community map prepared by Emilio Blanco in 1934 (Map VI, Blanco 1) with the clan area map (Map V). In the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari (*Khums 1*), the subclans of the Aith Ughir Izan and Isrihan are considered closer kin to each other than either of them is to that of the Aith Turirth, hence the dotted line leading to the latter in Fig. 10.5. However, the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari has no less than five discontinuous blocs of territory, when spread out on the ground:[33] (1) a northern one, in which the local communities of Ajdir, Azghar and Izifzafen belong to the Aith Ughir Izan, but in which the community of Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the plain (the lowland reduplication of the original core community of Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountain) is, though in fact a stranger lineage, associated with the Isrihan; (2) a smaller one, to the southwest, Buham, affiliated

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[32] Montagne, op. cit., 1930, note 2, pp. 175–6. We have previously commented upon the irony of the fact that Montagne's short but clear and promising synopsis of Aith Waryaghar social structure is relegated to a footnote whereas his very wrong analysis of Rifian alliance systems, for example, takes up a good many pages of Text. Cf. Hart; op. cit., 1970, especially pp. 13–45.

[33] The "spread-out-on-the-ground" notion is due to Laura Bohannan, "A Genealogical Charter," *Africa*, XXII, 4, 1952, pp. 301–315, and "Political Aspects of Tiv Social Organization," in John Middleton and David Tait, Eds., *Tribes Without Rulers*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, pp. 33–66. We are not, however, deterministic enough to think that these five blocs of territory, in either the Aith Yusif w-'Ari case or that of the Aith 'Ari, are linked in any way to the existence of the "five fifths." Any resemblance in this respect between higher and lower segmentary/territorial orders is purely coincidental.

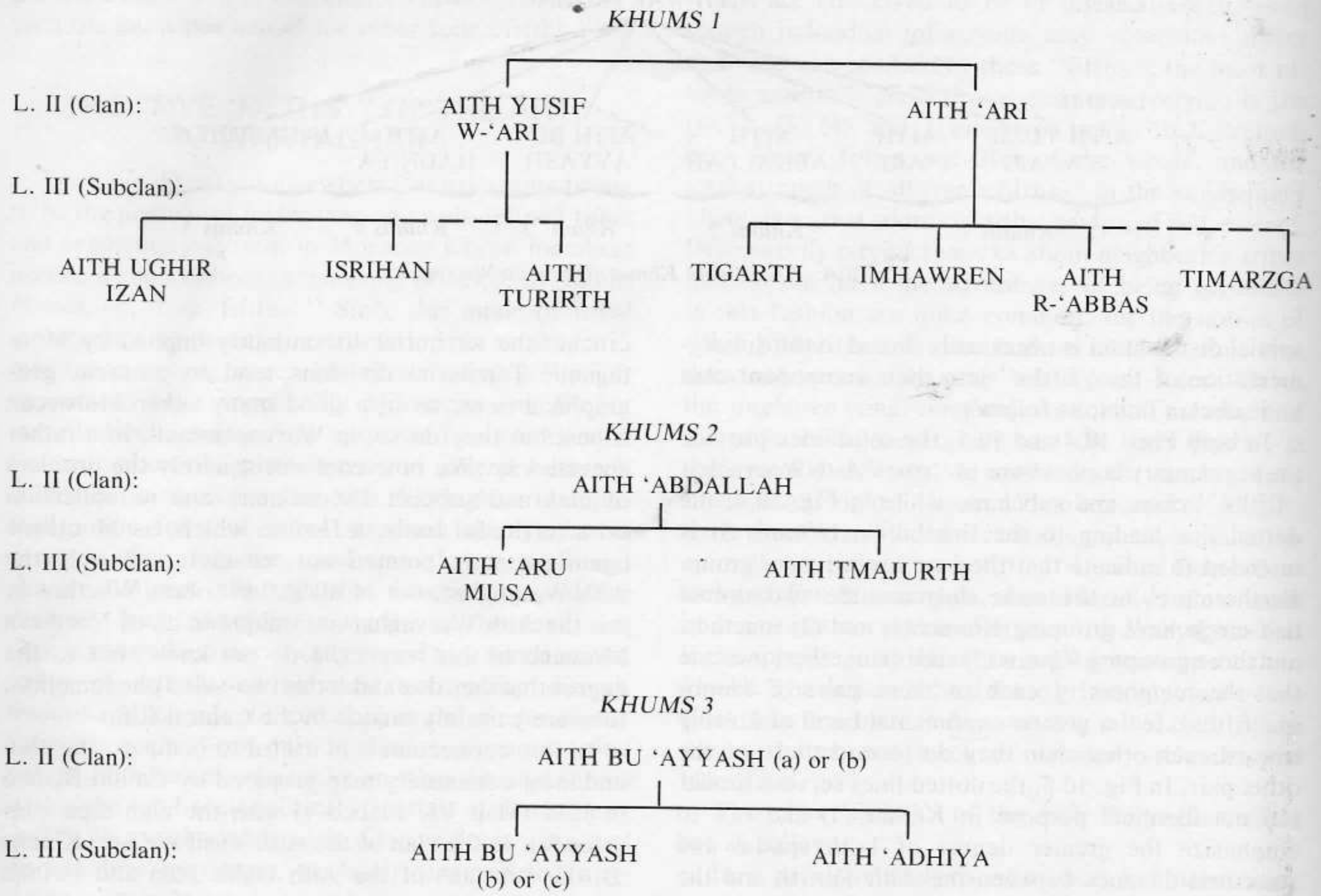
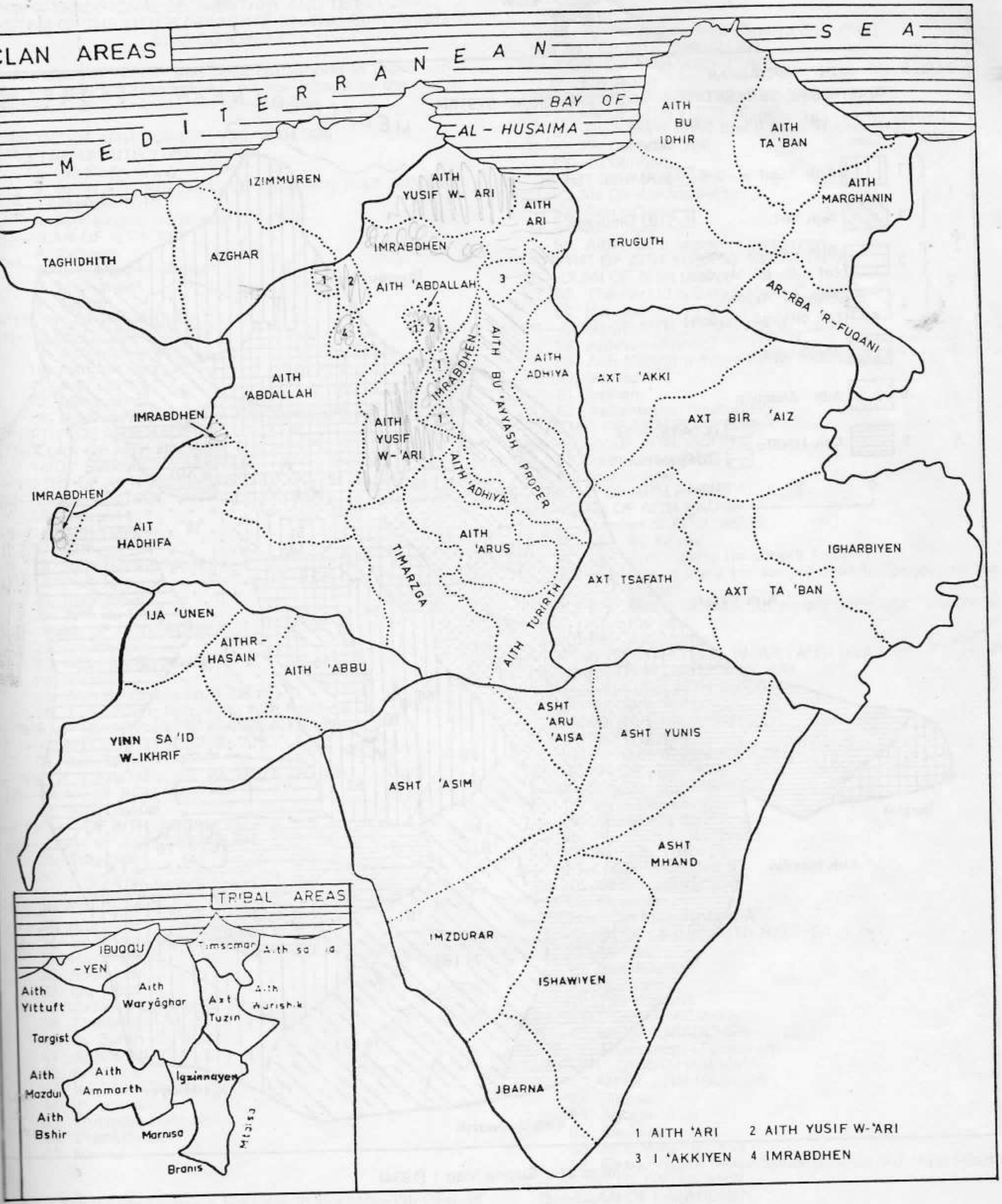
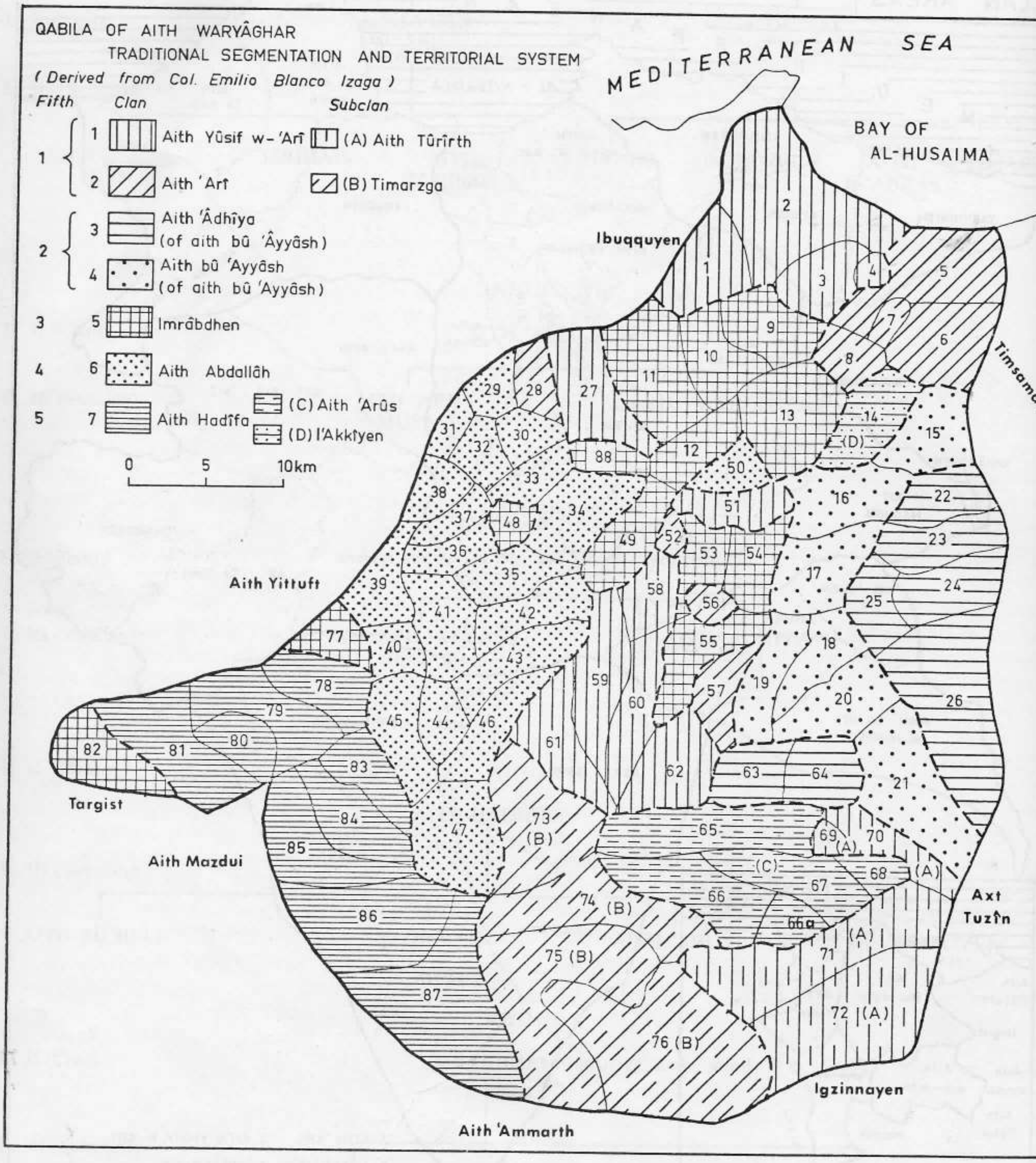

KHUMS 1
L. II (Clan):
AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
AITH 'ARI
L. III (Subclan):
AITH UGHIR IZAN
ISRIHAN
AITH TURIRTH
TIGARTH
IMHAWREN
AITH R-'ABBAS
TIMARZGA
KHUMS 2
L. II (Clan):
AITH 'ABDALLAH
L. III (Subclan):
AITH 'ARU MUSA
AITH TMAJURTH
KHUMS 3
L. II (Clan):
AITH BU 'AYYASH (a) or (b)
L. III (Subclan):
AITH BU 'AYYASH (b) or (c)
AITH 'ADHIYA
L. II (Clan):
KHUMS 4
AITH HADHIFA
L. III (Subclan):
AITH BU JDAT
IRAQRAQEN
AITH 'ARUS
I'AKKIYEN
KHUMS 5
L. II (Clan):
IMRABDHEN (intrusive, and "saintly")
L. III (Subclan):
IMRABDHEN N-DARA
(Upper Imrabdhen)
IMRABDHEN N-WADDAI
(Lower Imrabdhen)

Fig. 10.5: The *Khams Khmas* of the Aith Waryaghar, Indicating Constituent Subclans


CLAN AREAS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
IZIMMUREN
TAGHIDHITH
AZGHAR
AITH YUSIF W-ARI
AITH ARI
IMRABDHEN
AITH 'ABDALLAH
1
2
3
4
AITH BU IDHIR
AITH TA'BAN
AITH MARGHANIN
TRUGUTH
AR-RBA 'R-FUQANI
AITH ADHIYA
AITH BU 'AYYASH PROPER
AXT 'AKKI
AXT BIR 'AIZ
AITH 'ABDALLAH
IMRABDHEN
AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
AITH 'ADHIYA
IMRABDHEN
AIT HADHIFA
AITH 'ARUS
TIMARZGA
AITH TURIRTH
AXT TSAFATH
AXT TA'BAN
IGHARBIYEN
IJA 'UNEN
AITHR-HASAIN
AITH 'ABBU
YINN SA'ID W-IKHRIF
ASHT 'ARU 'AISA
ASHT YUNIS
ASHT 'ASIM
ASHT MHAND
IMZDURAR
ISHAWIYEN
JBARNA
1 AITH 'ARI
2 AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
3 I 'AKKIYEN
4 IMRABDHEN
TRIBAL AREAS
IBUQQU-YEN
Timsaman
Aith Sa'id
Aith Yittuft
Aith Waryaghar
Axt Tuzin
Aith Wurishik
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Aith Bshir
Marnisa
Mtalsa
Branis

Map V: Clan Area Map of Six Central Rifian Tribes


QABILA OF AITH WARYÂGHAR
TRADITIONAL SEGMENTATION AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Fifth
Clan
Subclan
1 Aith Yûsif w-'Arî
2 Aith 'Arî
(A) Aith Tûrîrth
(B) Timarzga
3 Aith 'Âdhîya (of aith bû 'Âyyâsh)
4 Aith bû 'Ayyâsh (of aith bû 'Ayyâsh)
5 Imrâbdhen
6 Aith Abdallâh
7 Aith Hadîfa
(C) Aith 'Arûs
(D) I'Akkîyen
0 5 10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith 'Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Axt Tuzîn

Map VI: Blanco Map 1 (1934)

KEY TO BLANCO MAPS, 1934 (Map VI, and Maps VIII through XII)*—TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those numbered 1–5 and 1–7 respectively, on the legend of the maps, while nos. 1–88 represent local communities.

1—"FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (1)—CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
    - 1. Izifzafen
    - 2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
    - 3. Azghar
    - 4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain
- (2)—CLAN OF AITH 'ARI
    - 5. Tafrasth
    - 6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
    - 7. Imjjudhen
    - 8. Tigarth

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (1)—CLAN OF IMRABDHEN
    - 9. Aith Hishim
    - 10. Aith Misa'ud
    - 11. Aith Qamra
    - 12. Idardushen
    - 13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5—"FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA
- (7)—CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA
    - 14(D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2—"FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH
- (4)—CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH
    - 15. Izakiren
    - 16. Aith Tfarwin
    - 17. Isufiyen
    - 18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
    - 19. Aith Ta'a
    - 20. Iriyanen
    - 21. Aith Bu Khrif
- (3)—CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA
    - 22. Ighmiren
    - 23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
    - 24. Imnudh
    - 25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
    - 26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1—"FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (1)—CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
    - 27. Aith Buham

1—"FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (2)—CLAN OF AITH 'ARI
    - 28. Aith Dawud

4—"FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH
- (6)—CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH
    - 29. Tazaghin
    - 30. Aith Zkri
    - 31. Imarnisen
    - 32. Tizi 'Ayyash
    - 33. Ibunharen
    - 34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
    - 35. Iqanniyen
    - 36. Ikiddaben
    - 37. Uqrishen
    - 38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
    - 39. Thariwin
    - 40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
    - 41. Aith Sa'id
    - 42. Aith Dris
    - 43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
    - 44. Ihwahwahiyen
    - 45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
    - 46. Thimkiliwin
    - 47. Marrui

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (5)—CLAN OF IMRABDHEN
    - 48. Bu Ghardain
    - 49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4—"FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH
- (6)—CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH
    - 50. I'ayyaden

1—"FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (1)—CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
    - 51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)
- (2)—CLAN OF AITH 'ARI
    - 52. Bu Minqad

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (5)—CLAN OF IMRABDHEN
    - 53. Aith r-Qadi
    - 54. Aith 'Aziz
    - 55. Aith r-Qadi (again), I'athmanen

1—"FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (2)—CLAN OF AITH 'ARI
    - 56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
    - 57. Iswiqen
- (1)—CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
    - 58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
    - 59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
    - 60. 'Arnuq
    - 61. Isrihan
    - 62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2—"FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH
- (3)—CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA
    - 63. Ighmiren (again)
    - 64. Igar w-Anu

5—"FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA
- (7)—CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA
    - (C)—Subclan of AITH 'ARUS
        - (C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
        - (C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
        - (C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
        - (C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
        - (C) 68. Aith Juhra

1—"FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI / AITH 'ARI
- (1)—CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI
    - (A)—Subclan of AITH TURIRTH
        - (A) 69. Aith 'Amar
        - (A) 70. Thizimmurin
        - (A) 71. Thigzirin
        - (A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, I-'Ass
- (2)—CLAN OF AITH 'ARI
    - (B)—Subclan of TIMARZGA
        - (B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
        - (B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
        - (B) 75. Thafsasth (Tfsast)
        - (B) 76. Aith Yusif

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (5)—CLAN OF IMRABDEN
    - 77. Kammun

5—"FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA
- (7)—CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA
    - 78. Mishkur
    - 79. Ihadduthen
    - 80. Iharunen
    - 81. Thizimmurin

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (5)—CLAN OF IMRABDHEN
    - 82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5—"FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA
- (7)—CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA
    - 83. Bihban
    - 84. Aghzar 'Aisa
    - 85. Bashkra
    - 86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
    - 87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd I-Qadir)

3—"FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN
- (5)—CLAN OF IMRABDHEN
    - 88. Izarruqen

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*The key for Blanco maps 1–6 (Map VI and Maps VIII through XII) appears only once with Blanco Map 1 (Map VI).

with the Aith Ughir Izan, which also, in good mixed-lineage fashion, contains a lineage called Isrihan n-Buham; (3) Lower Thamasind (Thamasind n-Waddai), just north of the center of the tribal territory and affiliated with the Aith Ughir Izan; (4) the Isrihan bloc on the north slope of the Jbil Hmam, comprising "true" Isrihan—or Isrihan (b), the bloc itself being Isrihan (a)—and two stranger communities, Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountain (as above) and Aghridh, all affiliated with the Isrihan subclan, or Isrihan (a), while another community (this one local), 'Arnuq, is affiliated with the Aith Ughir Izan subclan; and (5) Aith Turirth, in the extreme southeast, in the Jbil Hmam, which constitutes a single and more or less homogeneous entity, even though some of its lineages, one of them a leading one (Imjjat, in the community of l-'Ass, whose founder came from across the tribal border in the Igzinnayen), are strangers.

In the clan of the Aith 'Ari (again, *Khums 1*), the story is the same; the development parallels that of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and there are even more stranger lineages, most of which have come, according to tradition, from other neighboring or nearby Rifian tribes. The Aith 'Ari subclans of the Tigarth ("little field"), Imhawren and Aith r-'Abbas—the "true" Aith 'Ari—all consider themselves closer kin to each other than any one of them does to the Timarzga, and hence again a dotted line leading to the latter in Fig. 10.5. There are five discrete blocs of territory: (1) a northern one, strategically facing the northern communities of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, in which the community of Tigarth (b) is affiliated with the subclan of the same name, in this context Tigarth (a), in which those of Tafrasth ("cultivated land away from the house") and Imjjudhen are affiliated the Imhawren, and in which that of Aith Musa w-'Amar (again, mostly "strangers," as this word is locally construed) with the Aith r-'Abbas; (3) Upper Thamasind (Thamasind n-Dara), in the virtual center of the tribal territory and affiliated with the Tigarth subclan; (4) Iswiqen (once again, strangers), on the northern slope of the Jbil Hmam (but reduplicated as a lineage in the community of Aith Musa w-'Amar in the plain), and affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas; and (5) Timarzga, forming a solid homogeneous bloc of entirely local Waryaghar origin, and dispersed around the crest of the Jbil Hmam. The highest point of the latter, at Sidi Bu Khiyar, is just above one of the Timarzga local communities, Bu Ma'dan. One lineage group of the Aith 'Ari clan, the Aith Dawud, resides today outside the clan territory entirely: although affiliated with or descended from the subclan of the Tigarth, its members are domiciled in the clan territory of the Aith 'Abdallah.

The clans of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari (*Khums 1*) exhibit these features of dispersion and recombination in an extreme form, to be surpassed only by the clan of the Imrabdhen (*Khums 5*). In the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah (*Khums 2*), the whole situation is one of considerably greater homogeneity. Most of the western local communities of this clan, such as Thariwin ("springs"); Aith Zkri, Aith Sa'id and Bu Jnan (all of whom are "strangers" from the Igzinnayen); Iqanniyen ("rabbits"), Uqrishen, and Imarnisen (who are all local and autochthonous),—are affiliated with the subclan of the Aith 'Aru Musa. On the other hand, most of the eastern communities, closer to the Jbil Hmam, such as Aith Ziyyan, Ibunharen, Tizi 'Ayyash, Tazaghin, Dahar n-Zimmurth, Aith Dris, Bu Sarah, Bu Zdur, Ihwahwahiyen, Thimkiliwin, Thirkuzin, and Marrui (though most of the lineages of the two last-mentioned communities are again "strangers" from the neighboring tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth), are affiliated with the subclan of the Aith Tmajurth. There is only one small community-enclave of the Aith 'Abdallah clan, I'ayyaden, located outside the main group, and here the affiliation is with the subclan of the Aith 'Aru Musa.

The clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (*Khums 3*), the biggest in the tribe (and indeed bigger than certain other whole tribes in the Rif) has the same territorial homogeneity as does that of the Aith 'Abdallah, but as a "fifth" it shares an important characteristic with the Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith 'Ari (*Khums 1*, whose alignments in the overall dual factional *liff* system were also reflected in the opposition between the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga): its two subclans of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) or (c) and the Aith 'Adhiya were implacably hostile to each other. The dividing line between them on Map VI (Blanco Map I) is therefore heavy, in order to show this. Of the local communities of this clan, Izakiren (all "strangers"), Iriyanen (partially "strangers"), Aith Tfarwin (entirely local), Isufiyen (again, all "strangers"), and Aith Bu Khrif (partially "strangers") are affiliated with the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) or (c); Ighmiren (or "Ghmara," largely "foreign," with discontinuous communities in the Mountain and in the plain), Igar w-Anu ("field of the well," and largely local), Imnudh, and the various Aith 'Aisa and Aith Ruqman lineage-groups of Tazurakhth (all, again, largely "foreign") are affiliated with the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya. Two of the local communities that form part of this subclan, Ighmiren of the Mountain (Ighmiren w-Udhrar) and Igar w-Anu, are separated from its main body, while one lineage, the Aith Bu Stta, has even infiltrated into the territory of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) or (c), by residing in the community of Aith Bu Khrif. As in Ighmiren of the plain and as in Ikattshumen of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari (*Khums 1*), this lineage and other lineages in the latter communities claim descent from the Marinids.

The clan of the Aith Hadhifa (constituting over half of *Khums 4*)[34] is interesting in that it shows both homogeneity and dispersion. The two subclans of the Aith Bu Jdat and the Iraqraqen ("frogs") constitute the clan of the "true" Aith Hadhifa (b). To the first subclan belong the communities of Bu Jdat (b)—the onomastic dominance of this name is to be noted, Mishkur, Ihadduthen, Bihban, and Aghzar 'Aisa ("'Aisa's River"); to the second belong Iharunen (reduplicated in the subclan of the Aith 'Arus), Thizimmurin, Bashkra, Yinn 'Amar u-Sa'id, and those lineages in Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar that are not Imrabdhen lineages (with the same applying to those of Bashkra). All are entirely local in origin. Again, the subclan of the Aith 'Arus and its "brother" and offshoot subclan of the I'akkiyen occupy the same position with respect to the "true" Aith Hadhifa (b) as do those of the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga with respect to the "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari (b) and the "true" Aith 'Ari (b) (*Khums 1*), respectively (cf. Fig. 10.5), with one difference: they were all in the same overall factional system, or *liff*. The I'akkiyen, who "came from" the Aith 'Arus, are, territorially, even more discontinuous from the latter than the latter in turn are from the "true" mountain Aith Hadhifa (b), whom they themselves "came from."

In the Aith 'Arus, likewise, there are only one or two "stranger" lineages; the rest, as befits the fact that it is in their territory that the Dahar Waryaghar, the Waryaghar Mountain, is located, are autochthonous. So are most of the lineages of the Aith Turirth and all those of the Timarzga (*Khums 1*); it is perhaps in these three highland subclans, the core groups of the Jbil Hmam, that the essence of Aith Waryaghar social structure is most clearly displayed. It is certainly true that the members of each of these three groups can, as a rule, give clearer subsegmentary breakdowns of their respective subclans than can those of any of the clans around the plain. I have even heard mountaineers from these subclans assert that the "five fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar are: Aith Turirth, Timarzga, Aith 'Arus, Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and Aith 'Ari. When, for example, one recalls to them the existence of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash or Aith Hadhifa or Aith 'Abdallah, they shrug their shoulders and say that these are merely "other clans" or "other fifths," also often adding an uncomplimentary reference to lowlanders in general.[35]

It will here be useful to make one or two points about the names of some of the Aith Waryaghar segments, at the various upper levels discussed above. All the clan names, save that of the Imrabdhen (which is ascriptive of status), are names of putative individual ancestors to whom, of course, no ascent can in any single case be actually traced. The same holds for many, although not all, of the subclan names at Level III, at which there is, naturally, still no traceability of ancestors; and at this level, descriptive or ascriptive names, as well as simple toponyms, creep in. Examples of the first are: Aith Ughir Izan (of very uncertain etymology[36]), Iraqraqen, Aith 'Arus ("people of the bridegroom": they hotly deny the allegation of their neighbors of the Aith Turirth and Timarzga to the effect that they had a Christian grandmother), and Timarzga (probably from Imarzgiwen, "bitter people"). Examples of the second are: Tigarth, Aith Tmajurth and Aith Turirth ("people of the hill"). At the level of the *dshar* or local community, however, toponyms come to predominate over anthroponyms almost at the rate of two to one. As almost every physical feature or bloc of terrain in Waryagharland is named, clusters of lineages living in these localities are almost automatically called *aith*, "people (of)," followed by the place name in question. Below this level, when we reach that of the localized lineage-group, the *dharfiqth*, anthroponyms in which the name of a lineage ancestor who is genealogically traceable now start to prevail. And the factors of onomastic dominance and recessiveness have now been considered in full.

All of the foregoing substantiates the oft-repeated claim of the Aith Waryaghar that they originated in the Jbil Hmam and, from there, that they gradually pushed toward the plain and the Mediterranean to the north; the truly startling reduplication of local communities from south to north strongly buttresses their argument. The clans of the Aith Yusif w-ʻAri and the Aith ʻAri (together, *Khums 1*), both existing in territorial blocs from the southern mountain border to the northern sea border, parallel each other all the way through the tribal area in their territorial organization; the clans of the Aith ʻAbdallah (*Khums 2*) and of the Aith Bu ʻAyyash (*Khums 3*), on the median western and median eastern marches, respectively, again show parallels; and in the southwest, the clan of the Aith Hadhifa (*Khums 4*) and their "brothers" (*umathen*) of the subclans of the Aith ʻArus in the Jbil Hmam and of the Iʻakkiyen bordering the plain (both, again, *Khums 4*), fill in yet other gaps. It is something of a patchwork quilt; but it is not without its own internal order and logic.

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[34] This is an integral "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar, and by no means a nominal one, as Coon somewhat lamely suggests. Cf. Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 106–107.

[35] Similar "mistakes" are equally "deliberately" made by other Aith Waryaghar in order to preserve other segmentary models. The lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari, for instance, who have two subclans (excluding the discontinuous highland Aith Turirth) dogmatically state that their neighbors of the Aith 'Ari also have two subclans (i.e. Imhawren and Aith r-'Abbas, and excluding the discontinuous highland Timarzga) in order that the Aith 'Ari correspond to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari "model" that each Waryaghar clan or subclan is subject to binary fission only. The Aith 'Ari, on the other hand, equally dogmatically state that they are an exception to the above model, and that they are segmented not into two but into three subclans (Imhawren, Aith r-'Abbas and Tigarth, again excluding Timarzga). Furthermore, in the highlands, Timarzga informants segmented their neighbors of Aith Turirth into two subclans (Aith 'Amar and Aith Ughzar, "people of the river"), where this does not in fact correspond to the Aith Turirth lineage model. Where the ones say yea, the others say nay.

[36] Possibly "people of the crest (summit) of flies," although some informants suggested that Aith Ughir Izan is a contraction of Aith Ughir u-Mizan, which would turn the meaning into "people of the arm (holding the) scales." The name is in any event an extremely old one, and any etymological reconstructions are hence the purest guesswork. This clearly shows, once again, that names very often long outlive whatever they were originally intended to designate.

It now remains, however, to fit the Imrabdhen (*Khums 5*), a whole intrusive "fifth," into a picture in which it has been estimated that some 42% of the existing lineage groups are considered to be "strangers" (the figure includes the Imrabdhen; if it did not, the stranger-lineage ratio would be down to 31%). It must be stressed that these lineages are regarded as "foreign," despite generations of local residence, and despite the fact that most of them are from tribes that border the Aith Waryaghar or that are located in other parts of the Rif. This kind of loose formation of tribes based on the organizing principle of heterogeneous clans is, it should be added, not only the rule in the Rif, but in many other parts of Morocco as well. Clans are thoroughly heterogeneous in their total make-up, infiltrated as they are by stranger accretions, and descent from common ancestors must be considered as largely fictive. The anthroponyms of clans and subclans are thus, in the Aith Waryaghar case, primarily a convenient classificatory device, for the heterogeneity of these groupings is demonstrable and undeniable. Rifians like to pin labels upon people and things as much as anyone else, and perhaps even more (preferably if such labels are derogatory); since the mountain knot of the Jbil Hmam dominates the tribal area physically, so does it also in contemporary and collective tribal recollections of ultimate "historical" origins. The Jbil Hmam is the bedrock of the overall origin-myth.

THE "FIFTH" OF THE IMRABDHEN

Montagne refers to the fact that the "marabouts" form a supplementary *khums* dispersed over the whole of the tribal territory.[37] Those whom he labels—questionably—as "marabouts" are the fifth and final *khums*, the Imrabdhen. As noted earlier, this name is one of status ascription.[38]

The clan of the Imrabdhen (*Khums* 5) in Waryagharland is segmented into two subclans, with the territorial discontinuity between them that we may now regard as the Waryaghar norm: "Upper" Imrabdhen and "Lower" Imrabdhen. This territorial, as opposed to genealogical, factor is implicit in their names. With the subclan of the Upper Imrabdhen are affiliated the local communities of Aith ʻAziz, Aith r-Qadi, and Aith Zawith n-Sidi ʻAisa (Sidi ʻAisa b. Sidi ʻAbd al-Krim having been the point of fission of the total Imrabdhen genealogy). Discontinuous from the main body of this group are the local communities of Aith Kammun, located between the clans of Aith ʻAbdallah and Aith Hadhifa; Izarruqen, located on the northern border of the Aith ʻAbdallah; Bu Ghardain, located within Aith ʻAbdallah territory; the specifically Imrabdhen lineages of Aith Zawith n-Sidi ʻAbd r-Qadar, between the Aith Hadhifa and the Timarzga, in the southwestern Jbil Hmam; and Bashkra, in the Aith Hadhifa. Affiliated with the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen are the communities of Aith Brahim, Igarrudhen, Aith Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, which is called the "Lower *Zawiya*" as distinguished from Zawith n-Sidi ʻAisa, the "Upper *Zawiya*," even though Waryagharland contains no real *zawiyas* that function as lodges of Muslim religious orders. Other Lower Imrabdhen communities are Aith Misaʻud, Aith ʻAmar u-Shaʻib, Ifasiyen ("those of Fez"), Idardushen, Aith ʻAmar u-Bukar, and the Imrabdhen of Aith Hishim, of whom the most important is the Iziqqiwen lineage, descended from Sidi Mhand u-Musa (who is buried in Aith Hishim), and containing branches both at Swani on the Mediterranean beach, and at Tashtiwin, near Marrui in the Aith ʻAbdallah. The final Lower Imrabdhen community is that of Aith Qamra.

In addition to these two subclans there are little pockets of Imrabdhen, some affiliated with one subclan and some with the other, in a territorial sense, which are scattered over the length and breadth of Waryagharland and even a bit beyond. The most important of these small groups of Imrabdhen are the lineages of (1) Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misaʻud, descended from the Aith Kammun, and located in the community of Aith ʻAru Musa in the subclan of the Aith Turirth; (2) the Imrabdhen of Marrui in the Aith ‘Abdallah, who are affiliated with the Aith Zawith n-Sidi ‘Aisa; (3) those of Iqanniyen, again in the Aith ‘Abdallah, who are affiliated with the Aith ‘Amar u-Bukar; (4) those of Aith Zawith n-Sidi ‘Abd r-Qadar; and (5) the Iziqqiwen n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa of Aith Hishim, as above. Lineages (1) and (5), to be considered presently, are the most interesting.

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[37] Montagne, op. cit., 1930, pp. 175–176, note 2.

[38] *Imrabdhen* is the Rifian plural form of Arabic *mrabit*, meaning any holy man who does not fall into the category of *shurfa* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad); as noted in Chapter 7, in Rifian *imrabdhen* refers both to true *shurfa* and *mrabtin* indiscriminately, even though Rifians themselves are aware of the distinction.

The overall Imrabdhen genealogy is given in Appendix III, but the most salient features of it will be discussed here. The central point of the genealogy is that the Imrabdhen claim to be Idrisid *shurfa*, and can in fact trace their ascent back to the Prophet’s daughter Fatima, both through Mulay ‘Abd al-Salam b. Mashish[39] and through Sultans Mulay Idris I and II. But all three of these saints stand at genealogical points that are even above the point of definition of the Imrabdhen, to say nothing of their point of fission. This point of definition, as distinguished from the actual point of fission, in the overall genealogy of Idrisid *shurfa* occurs at a point 27 generations down from the Prophet’s daughter, at the level of a certain Sidi Ibrahim al-A‘raj, “The Lame.”[40]

The Imrabdhen point of fission, however, only comes eight generations later (and 35 generations from the Prophet), with Sidi ‘Abd al-Krim b. Sidi ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, from whose two sons, Sidi Ya‘qub b. ‘Abd al-Krim and Sidi ‘Aisa b. ‘Abd al-Krim, all the present-day Imrabdhen are descended. Of these two sons, the younger, Sidi ‘Aisa, was far and away the most important in terms of proliferation of the lineage. Only those Imrabdhen at Zawith n-Sidi ‘Aisa, who are not descended from Sidi ‘Aisa but only act as the *mqaddmin* of his tomb, and the descendants of Sidi Hmid Marrui, in the clan territory of the Aith ‘Abdallah, are descended from the elder brother Sidi Ya‘qub—who is buried in Izakiren u-Sasnu in the community of Iriyanen, in the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash. All the rest of the Imrabdhen derive from the line of Sidi ‘Aisa, the younger brother, who is buried in the *zawiya* bearing his name. These two brothers were the first of the Imrabdhen, indeed, to be buried in Waryagharland, for their father, Sidi ‘Abd al-Krim, is buried in Tiqqit of the Ibuqquyen. But the obscurity of both the father and his sons is borne out by the fact that I was quite unable to gather any traditions about them. Renisio[41] records a few minor legends about Sidi ‘Aisa, but they do not present him in any way as a remarkable saint: a highly pious man, it would seem, but no miracle worker.

However, if Maldonado is correct, it is of some interest that Sidi ‘Aisa’s grandfather, Sidi ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. al-‘Abbas (buried in Fez), is credited by legend with giving the Jbil Hmam its name. He himself was nicknamed *l-Ghalbzuri*, from which stems the *Ighalbzuriyen* sobriquet often attached to the Imrabdhen. This name is supposedly derived from a ruin somewhere in the massif known as Ighil Mansur, where he is said to have lived. When his house was abandoned, it became a nest of doves (*hmam*).[42]

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[39] He died in 1227-28, and was buried in the Bni ‘Arus of the Jbala.

[40] Cf. ‘Abd al-Haqq al-Badisi, *al-Maqsad ash-Sharif, wa l-Manza l-Latif, fi Dhifr Sulaha’ r-Rif* (“Vie des Saints du Rif”), trans. by G.-S. Colin, *Archives Marocaines*, XXVI, Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926, pp. 105–109, 201–202. Sidi Ibrahim al-A‘raj came from the clan of “Banu Yammalak” (now non-existent, and the name, which would be pejorative, has in any case not survived) “in the tribe of the Banu Waryaghal.” This tradition—which also gives the saint’s full name as Abu Ibrahim Ishaq b. Mathar al-Waryaghli—ascribes to him, in fact, a local origin which does not sit well with two traditions which I encountered, one stating that he came up to the Rif from Ceuta, and a second, that he came there from Fez, to which city he had previously come from the Sus by way of Marrakesh. He must have spent some time in Fez, however, as he is buried there. In any event, he was certainly the first saint within the precincts of Waryagharland itself, and he supposedly established the Zawiyat al-Qulla at Bu Malik on the banks of the Ghis River in what is now the community of Idardushen. Accounts differ, again, about his lameness: one tradition has it that he sustained a broken leg in a fall from his horse, while the *Maqsad* attributes the same to a wound which he suffered as a result of an attack by bandits, while he was peacefully studying the Qur’an at Siddrata, in the Tadla Plain. The only point on which local tradition and the *Maqsad* both agree, is that he died and was buried in Fez, outside the Bab l-Gisa gate; but the *Maqsad* gives the date of his death as 1284–85 A.D., while a supposed tomb inscription makes it somewhat later, at 1322 A.D. As to the man himself, whose unpretentious tomb is located well outside the Bab l-Gisa in Fez, the *Maqsad* portrays him as very much a Rifian; authoritative, argumentative and irascible, a man who “gave as good as he got,” and who could stand up to sultans with an unflinching eye and an unwavering manner. There seems little doubt that in this sense he established a fine precedent for the tradition of battling Imrabdhen who were to follow him.

It is relevant to mention another point which emerges clearly from Colin’s translation of the *Maqsad*. This is that, on a Moroccan-wide basis of comparison, the great majority of the saints with which this most interesting work deals are characterized by their extreme obscurity. Al-Badisi compiled the work at a time when Sufi mysticism and hagiolatry were gaining ground all over Morocco, at a time when the thaumaturgical exploits of saints of any kind were all being assiduously chronicled by lesser men in voluminous reams of literary Arabic. But: of a total of some 48 saints whose “biographies” are given in the text, Colin could only identify 18, with reference to Northern Morocco in the twentieth century; and of the 30 others, 12 were listed as having been buried in localities which today have either been ruined or profoundly transformed (3 at Ceuta, 8 at Badis and one at al-Muzimma). And only one out of all the 48 saints (neither Sidi Ibrahim al-A‘raj, nor the very first saint with whom the *Maqsad* deals, Abu Dawud Muzahim, known today as Sidi Bu Dawud and supposedly ancestral to the Aith Bu Dawud lineage in the Thimsaman, where he died in 1182–83 A.D. and where he is buried) is specifically listed as a *sharif*. Colin adds that this is not to say that the other 47 were not *shurfa*; but it does underscore the essential obscurity of Rifian saints. To this obscurity the Imrabdhen of Waryagharland were no exception.

[41] A. Renisio, *Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et du Sanhaja de Serair*, Paris: Leroux, 1932, pp. 225–227. The three sons attributed to Sidi ‘Aisa in these traditions, furthermore, correspond neither in name nor in number to those in my own genealogies.

[42] Eduardo Maldonado Vazquez, pseudonym Et-Tabyi (*tabji*, “artillery-man”), “Los de Imerabten,” in *Retazos de Historia Marroqui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, pp. 65–70.

Another central fact about the Imrabdhen genealogy is that it completely crosscuts the territorial distribution of the Upper and Lower subclans. As noted above, there are only two lineage groups descended from Sidi Ya'qub, one in the Upper Imrabdhen (Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa) and the other one excentric, in the Aith 'Abdallah; all the rest, irrespective of whether they are Upper or Lower or from excentric pockets, are descended from Sidi 'Aisa, with the result that Sidi 'Aisa is the real genealogical point of fission.

The genealogical record, as I was able to piece it laboriously together in 1954-55 (with the help of numerous informants and several conflicting genealogies in Arabic in the possession of some of these), is in fact remarkably good and remarkably consistent. This might seem odd in view of the relatively undistinguished forbears of the Imrabdhen. It is only odd at first sight, however, as subsequent analysis will show.

First of all, genealogy is not history, and a genealogical charter is not a historical document. Genealogies can be usefully employed in the reconstruction of historical time spans only if there is corroborating evidence from other fields. Moroccan "saintly" or "holy" genealogies in particular are really the validation of the saintly status of a given "holy" clan or "holy" lineage existing at the present time, through genealogical linkage with the Moroccan, and even generalized Islamic, cultural past. The Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, or at least a small but very significant percentage of them—9.6%, by my calculations—are quite similar to Peters's "Keepers of the Culture" in Shi'a Muslim villages in Southern Lebanon.[43]

In the process of an essentially oral transmission of events or of "who begat whom," any event, if agreed upon as important by those concerned, will be remembered, while other events will be forgotten. The result is that, in just the same way that "history," in this sense, becomes "telescoped," genealogies are liable to undergo foreshortening through time—a foreshortening that also tends to occur at precisely those points in the genealogy that have the least structural relevance. This is so despite the possible use, not truly authenticated in our case, of what Robertson Smith referred to as "dummy" names, which often functioned as genealogical padding at the upper levels of Early Arabian genealogies.[44] By my own calculations, in terms of generations elapsed from the Prophet Muhammad to the present day, the Imrabdhen genealogy appears to be a good two centuries too shallow.[45]

This relative shallowness is a factor that is much more marked in certain other Berber genealogies of holy lineages in other parts of Morocco.[46] It is, however, in no way to be equated with genealogical falsity or spuriousness, and to surmise on such grounds that it is, is to misunderstand completely the nature of the problem. This resides in the manifest or latent acceptance of holy men in general as such by the lay tribal populations that surround them. Gellner has suggested,[47] and very rightly in my opinion, that in this sense *Vox Dei* is in reality *Vox Populi*—and the bulk of the other four "fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar do indeed consider the Imrabdhen as being somewhat apart from themselves.

The claim of the Imrabdhen to a "holy" genealogy is integrally supported by that genealogy, as Appendix III clearly demonstrates. However, there are certain significant objections to this claim, and they are particularly interesting in view of the fact that they are all extragenealogical. These objections are six in number, listed not necessarily in order of importance:

1. The objection mentioned in the *Maqsad*, al-Badisi's "Lives of the Rifian Saints," that only one of the thirty verifiable Rifian saints listed in this work—and not Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj—was a real and proper *sharif*.
2. The question of separating the sheep from the goats: the undeniable fact that a very small minority, or 9.6%, of the Imrabdhen lineages are "holier" than the rest.
3. The fact that the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar say that they have a right to an annual share of the contributions to the *sunduq* of Mulay Idris II in Fez, but they never exercised this right—

Maldonado adds that the name Ighalbzuriyen figures on a number of Imrabdhen documents guarded in the coffers of old men, which seems highly likely, for Emilio Blanco Izaga (*La Ley Rifeña: Los Cañones Rifeños Comentados*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939, p. 15) cites it as the name of a mediating holy man in an interlineage conflict within the Lower Imrabdhen, in a *qanun* dated December 27, 1916.

[43] E. L. Peters, "Aspects of Rank and Status Among Muslims in a Lebanese Village," in Julian Pitt-Rivers, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Paris and the Hague: Mouton, 1963, pp. 159-200.

[44] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Boston: Beacon Press Paperbacks BP 233, 1963, pp. 10-12 sq.; and cf. also the preface to the same edition of this work by E. L. Peters, pp. iii-iv.

[45] This is so even if one calculates at the rate of 25-30 years per generation, a generous estimate when we consider that the average age of young Aith Waryaghar men at marriage is no more than 17-18 years; but there is also the factor of births of unmarried daughters preceding those of sons, and that of other sons born later in their fathers' lives as a result of serial or polygynous marriages.

[46] Cf. Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969.

[47] Ernest Gellner, "Concepts and Society," *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology*, Washington, D.C., vol. I, 1962, pp. 153-183. The concept behind Gellner's data is valid for our Imrabdhen of Waryagharland as well.

unlike "true" Shurfa Idrisiyin, such as the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa clan in the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen. Their excuse that "Fez is too far away" appears somewhat lame, for the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa are only 40-50 km. closer to Fez than our Imrabdhen are, and the physical mobility of Moroccans in general is, in any case, striking.

4. The existence of a very interesting Sultan's *dahir* or decree, signed by Mulay Muhammad bin 'Abdallah, dated 1771-72 A.D., and cited by Maldonado,[48] which (a) exempts the Imrabdhen, as well as the rest of the Aith Waryaghar, from payment of taxes to the central government; (b) legitimizes their descent, by sign and seal, from Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj; and (c) implicitly urges the surrounding populations to treat them as *shurfa*—an implication, if one reads between the lines, that possibly some of them are only *mrabtin*, and that possibly parts of their pedigree have been cleverly faked—although this last is doubtful.
5. With a few exceptions, there is a very marked lack of mythology about individual saints among the Waryaghar Imrabdhen, and there is only a very generalized group tradition concerning Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, Sidi 'Abd al-Krim bin Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz, and the installation of the Imrabdhen in Waryagharland. Most genuine *shurfa* are surrounded with a welter of traditions regarding their abilities at curing, miracle working, and the like.
6. Finally, the fact that the most important single saint of the tribe, Sidi Bu Khiyar, is not one of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen at all, but came, supposedly, from Tlemcen in Algeria, a place where, as Rifians say, the true *awliya'* or miracle-working saints all originated.

We now consider some of the above arguments in greater detail. The first objection, that listed in the *Maqsad*, is basically irrelevant, for nowhere are we presented with proper evidence, genealogical or otherwise, to support it. The second objection, however, is quite valid. A major criterion for approaching the "sheep-goat" distinction is that of address: to discover just which Imrabdhen, out of all of them, are addressed as *Sidi*, i.e., "My Lord," or perhaps "Sir," which ones are addressed as *Si*, i.e., "Mr.," generally a title accorded a *fqih* or anyone who is literate in Arabic, and which ones are addressed merely by their names without any title.[49] These last, the rank and file of the Imrabdhen, form the great majority of the clan and "fifth:" 90.4%. They dress, look, and act like any other Aith Waryaghar, and they fought like them as well, and savagely, although generally among themselves rather than with other clans or "fifths." We note here in passing, however, that in the overall *liff* alliance system, the Imrabdhen are allied to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, for it is said that one of their most illustrious members, Sidi Mhand u-Musa (d. 1838-39), the founder of the Iziqqiwen lineage in Aith Hishim, married the daughter of one of the more powerful *imgharen* of the latter clan.

The *Si* group are the intermediates, and the *Sidi* group contain the effective core: those who possess *baraka*, the "blessing," the God-given power to work miracles for the benefit of their fellow men, and the charisma that generally derives therefrom.[50] As of 1965 there was perhaps only one man left in Waryagharland who was considered to possess these traits, a member of the excentric lineage of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, resident in the Aith Turirth. The *Sidi* group also adjudicate interclan or interlineage disputes; they are exemplary in their observance of religious ritual; they are almost invariably endogamous in their marriage patterns; and they invariably wear white robes and white turbans (the turbans were sometimes green during the *Ripublik*). Not only this: the pattern—particularly among the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, and in other "core" lineages as well—shows a distinctive division of labor and of power. No two living saints in same lineage possess the *baraka* at the same time. If one saint has the *baraka*, another, generally lesser one, often his brother, acts as adjudicator in disputes. Ideally, the true possessor of the *baraka* is freed from all worldly considerations: he stays at home, prays, avoids going to market, fasts over and above the month of Ramadan if necessary, performs his miraculous deeds, and is in fact rarely seen by the rank-and-file, while his adjudicator brother settles disputes, feeds and gives tea to those who come to see him, and acts as mediator between the lay public and his holier brother. Of the two principle sons of Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, for instance, Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud was the *baraka*-holder, while his brother Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud acted as the top *amghar* or councilmember for all of the Aith Turirth (as well as for the other subclans whose members regularly frequented the Wednesday market of Tawrirt); as such, he received, all for himself, one-fifth of the fine for murder at the Wednesday market. In other markets it was usual to compensate the locally resident "core" lineage of the Imrabdhen in a similar manner.

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[48] Eduardo Maldonado Vazquez, "Los de Imerabten," op. cit., 1955, pp. 65-70. Cf. also the somewhat earlier *dahir*, signed by Mulay Muhammad's father, Mulay Abdallah, dated April 2, 1737, and again cited by Maldonado (op. cit., p. 50), which confirms Sidi Musa u-Haddu in his saintly status among the Aith Waryaghar highlanders. His tomb is located in the community of Shiqran, in the Aith 'Arus. From the context of Maldonado's observations as well as from my own genealogical materials, he does not appear to have been one of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen.

[49] Aith Waryaghar highlanders say that amongst their neighbors of the Igzinnayen, "virtually everyone" is addressed as *Si* Muh, for example, whereas amongst themselves, the address is merely the name itself, Muh, of the individual in question. This might imply a considerably higher literacy rate among the Igzinnayen than in Waryagharland.

[50] We employ the English definite article "the" to modify the word *baraka*, as a literal translation from Arabic *l-baraka* or Rifian *r-baraka*; for to use simply *baraka* without the article would imply the Moroccan Arabic, and Berber expression, "enough!" Gellner discusses the subject briefly but well in "Concepts and Society," op. cit., 1962, pp. 180-181; but the classic formulation still remains that of Edward Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 Vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, vol. I, pp. 35-261, which has not yet been improved upon. Our deliberate use of the definite article also conveys the idea that the *baraka* is treated by Moroccans as though it were a substance, which is indeed the case.

If, however, the *baraka* is only held by one member of a holy lineage at a time, while his brother arranges disputes, treats for peace after intertribal feuds, and is in effect remunerated for these services, how does the selection of individuals who possess the *baraka* occur, and how is the *baraka* transmitted? Aith Waryaghar, both holy and lay, say that only God knows upon whom He will confer the *baraka*, but the fact of the matter is that the surrounding lay tribesmen are very influential in the question of its attribution. In the last analysis, it is really they who say just which saint has it and which has not. For the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud lineage, the same laymen unfailingly—and possibly without their own conscious knowledge—plotted a course of primogeniture in the *baraka* inheritance and transmission. In other lineages such as the Iziqqiwen, the descendants of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, the transference of the *baraka* may skip around, perhaps from one saint to his brother, and then to one of the latter's sons.Michaux-Bellaire has documented almost the identical phenomenon for the Shurfa of Wazzan.[51]

With reference to objection (6) above, we return to a concept which, like that of the *baraka* and those of the *shurfa* and *mrabtin* who possess it, has already been discussed in Chapter 7: that of *awliya'* (sing. *wali*). It will be recalled that these are saints belonging to a special category whether recruited from the ranks of the *shurfa* or from those of the *mrabtin*, who possess the *baraka* in abundance; they are, or were, all *ipso facto* miracle-workers and totally non-political, and they represent the apex of Rifian hagiolatry. Of all the Waryaghar Imrabdhen, perhaps only Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and his *baraka*-holding eldest son Sidi Muhand fall into this category.

To conclude this section: Sidi Bu Khiyar, a stranger but yet the most important saint in the tribal territory, to whose tomb an annual pilgrimage is made on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir feast, is recognized as a real *sharif* and a real *wali*, as is Sidi Hand u-Musa in the Igzinnayen. The miracles of these *awliya'* have already been discussed; we are here concerned only with their genealogical genuineness and/or their progeny. Sidi Bu Khiyar died without issue; but the descendants of Sidi Hand u-Musa, who form the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of the Igzinnayen, and from whom 'Abd al-Krim himself may have been descended (although he is everywhere recognized as a fighter rather than as a holy man), automatically receive their annual share of the proceeds of Mulay Idris' "box" in Fez. The Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, however, despite their impeccable genealogy, do not; rather, they collect annual *ziyara* offerings from the surrounding lay "fifths." This is in itself noteworthy, for in Waryaghar opinion, only *imrabdhen* (or *mrabtin*) ask for *ziyara*, while true *shurfa* do not. Furthermore, despite the impeccability of their genealogy, the Imrabdhen needed a sultan's *dahir* to secure them in their position and to legitimize it. Why was this the case? Because, in the last analysis, the selection and election of saints depends upon the lay tribesmen who surround them; and in this case, the lay Aith Waryaghar rationalize the situation to the point that the bulk of the Imrabdhen in their midst came to be regarded as collateral Idrisid nobodies. The fact, too, that they were homegrown further depreciated their value. They had a genealogy, but they lacked supporting traditions; and with only a very few exceptions, they did not "make the grade."

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[51] E. Michaux-Bellaire, in Mission Scientifique au Maroc, *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, tome IV; *Rabat et Sa Région: Le Gharb (Les Djebala)*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1918, pp. 236–254, plus accompanying genealogies facing p. 254, which indicate the *baraka* passage. In the case of the Iziqqiwen, the descendants of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, the *baraka* passed from Sidi Mhand himself to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq, and then to the latter's son Sid Hmid Bu Rjila. From this point, according to my informant, it reverted back to Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila's paternal uncle Sidi 'Abdssram, and from him down to his own son Sidi Muhand, to the latter's eldest son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, and then to Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar's eldest son Sidi Muhand, named for his grandfather. As the last-mentioned Sidi Muhand was the eldest brother of my informant himself, there may possibly have been a certain degree of self-interest manifested in this arrogation of claims to "holiness"—but as the Wazzan data collected by Michaux-Bellaire show an equal degree of "leapfrogging," this is obviously not merely an isolated case. However, when, as in the Aith 'Aziz case, the passage of the *baraka* goes, literally and lineally down to one's own informant, this may be considered suspect!

In terms of inheritability and transferability of the *baraka*, we follow Westermarck: the *baraka*, once a *sharif* has obtained it, is inheritable because one of his sons, not necessarily the eldest, receives it on his death; and it is transferable because a *sharif* could and can pass it on to one of his servitors simply by spitting into the latter's mouth, by the laying-on of his hands on the servitor, or by letting the latter eat what is left on his plate. Thus an ordinary *mrabit* could acquire the *baraka* from a saintly sharif "or perchance some other saint whom he was serving, and . . . the *baraka* thus acquired was in some degree, at least, transmitted to his descendants" (Westermarck, op. cit., 1926, vol. I, p. 41.

THE CLAN, SUBCLAN, AND LOCAL COMMUNITY

The distinction between what is termed a "clan" and what is termed a "subclan" in this book is my own, not that of the Aith Waryaghar, who by giving the two units so labeled a single designation, *ar-rba'*, emphasize not only the continuity between them in terms of composition, but also the essential lack of rigidity in the segmentary system: the difference is entirely one of degree and not of kind.[52] The principle of encapsulation is again involved: as one or more clans go to make up a "fifth" or *khums*, so do two, three and, in one case (Aith 'Ari), even four subclans go to make up a clan. The clan tends by its very nature to show less extreme territorial discontinuity and reduplication than the "fifth," and the subclan tends to show these same features even less. But even in the subclan, discontinuity and reduplication are still manifest, and indeed they go right down through the level of the local community to that of the localized lineage group. And it is at this level, the lineage level, that the whole problem of discontinuity and reduplication originates.

For the actual segmentation of the five Aith Waryaghar "fifths" into six clans, and of these into some seventeen subclans,[53] the reader is referred back to Figs. 10.4 and 10.5 in the preceding section. The names of all the local communities in Waryagharland are on Map VI. Although it is correct to say that each clan contains X number of local communities, it is more correct, considering the descending order of segmentation, to say, rather, that each subclan contains them, even though the difference between clan and subclan is one of segmentary degree. The fluidity both of the system and of the terminology that it employs is reflected by the fact that while in the context of the "fifth" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari / Aith 'Ari, the Aith Turirth constitute a component and discontinuous subclan of the first of that "fifth's" two clans, and the Timarzga have the same role in the second of the two clans, each of these two groups function as clans in their own right in the purely local highland context of the Jbil Hmam. The same is true of the subclan of the Aith 'Arus, discontinuous with respect to the rest of the "fifth" of the Aith Hadhifa, and it is also the case with the Aith Bu Khrif, otherwise a local community with respect to the rest of the "fifth" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (although here not discontinuous from them). The problem is thus contextual; and in this particular context, these four groups, plus the neighboring communities of the Axt Tsafth clan of the Axt Tuzin, share a common market, the Wednesday market of the Aith Turirth, or Suq l-Arba' Tawrirt. If we now subtract the Timarzga, and substitute for them a single holy man, Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, we now have the five constituent elements for the division into equal shares of the fine, (*haqq*) for murder committed in the market or on a path leading to or from it, on market day. The Timarzga subclan is subtracted because its members had their share of the *haqq* fine in a much smaller market across the border in the Igzinnayen, and were thus not permitted, informants from the Aith Turirth say, to participate in the spoils at the Tawrirt market—although some Timarzga informants disputed this.

It is this factor of sharing a common market, above all else, that provided the clan with a very great measure of political autonomy within the overall segmentary framework, for as Blanco correctly says, the clan was the base-level political unit and the clan *suq* was "the temple of clan law."[54] Although the Sunday market of Thisar, in the exact center of Waryagharland, functioned on occasion and during the *Ripublik* as an overall tribal market (though only in a political, not an economic, sense), such an overall tribal market for the Aith Waryaghar of today, given the fact that they have almost doubled in population since 1926, would be manifestly impossible. The post-pacification removal of the Sunday market from Thisar to Thamasind somewhat to the north, and its subsequent downgrading in importance, have also helped to bring clan autonomy into greater relief. In another context, too, clan autonomy is synonymous with the autonomy of "fifths;" but here it is well to underscore another very important factor of social change, for the "fifth" has not been a viable or a functioning unit since the end of the Rifian War. Murders in the market, and the *haqq* fines exacted as a result of these, provided it with its *raison d'être;* once feuding was outlawed and the Aith Waryaghar had turned over their guns, the major prop was removed and the structural remains quickly became only a sentimental vestige of the "fifth's" former self. It is perhaps significant that the notion of "five fifths" was not invoked in the uprising of 1958-59.

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[52] There is, to be sure, a certain counterbalancing rigidity in the purely "scaffolding" aspects of the segmentary system, but both the terminology used to designate it in the vernacular as well as most of the contexts in which it is used stress a certain "give-and-take" fluidity. But such fluidity is by no means limitless: one lowland informant, for example, recognizing the differences between the two categories of *ar-rba'* in descending segmentary order, hopefully proposed the term *azgin n-ar-rba'*, "half a clan," to denote a subclan, but I have never heard this manufactured term used by anyone else. Sometimes, given a sufficient degree of subclan autonomy or of discontinuity from the larger body of a "fifth" or of one of its constituent clans—as in the cases of the Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus—the term *ar-r'ayyith* ("subjects, people") may be employed, although this again is not standard usage. *Ar-r'ayyith* may also act as a synonym for *ar-rba'*, pointing again to the flexibility of both the terminology and, within limits, of the structural levels of segmentation. On the other hand, it is also entirely possible that *ar-r'ayyith* is an "administrative" term rather than a pre-Protectorate one, in that some informants thought it to have infiltrated into the structure after the Spanish Protectorate was established.

[53] In another sense, one could, on a purely territorial rather than on a segmentary basis, refer to the following ten (or possibly eleven clans: Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Aith Turirth, Timarzga, Aith 'Arus, Aith Hadhifa (and possibly I'akkiyen), Aith 'Abdallah, Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b) or (c), i.e., "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith 'Adhiya and Imrabdhen.

[54] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 20.

In this respect, again, the system is characterized not by symmetry or equilibrium, but by imbalance, owing simply to the differential degrees of proliferation of the clans in question. As aforementioned, the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Hadhifa shared a market from about 1920, when the old Aith 'Abdallah market was "broken" in a battle, until 1965, when a new one, which at last report was still unviable economically, was set up for them; the major market in the plain, at Imzuren, is shared equally by the lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, and Lower (and even some Upper) Imrabdhen, who also have their own very small market; the major highland market, at Tawrirt, is shared by the three mountain subclans and the neighboring Axt Tuzin; while the largest clan of all, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, have always had a market unto themselves, located between Izakiren and Ighmiren in the northern lowland part of the clan territory before 1962, and at Imnudh in the east-center of that territory since then. Even so, the people of the community of Aith Bu Khrif have always traditionally attended the Tawrirt market, which is closer to them, while many neighboring Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, and Imrabdhen lowlanders attended the Aith Bu 'Ayyash market when it was further north than it is today. The point is that a clan, as defined above, generally embraces more than one clan; even during the *Ripublik*, any highlander, for example, could freely attend a lowland market, and vice versa, and was equally free to travel over any part of the tribal territory. It was only if a man were crossing into the territory of another tribe, and not to that tribe's market, that he had to pay *dhazttat* or protection money to one of its influential members, who then acted as his sponsor while he was there.

Between the subclan and the local community, there is, in some instances, yet another intermediate segmentary level, which may, rather clumsily, be termed "sub-subclan," but which is not named. It exists only in the mountain subclans of the Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus. Its existence there hints once again at the fluidity of the Rifian terminology for social units, in which one specific term may serve for more than one, or indeed several, segmentary levels at once—and this would also seem to be characteristic of Moroccan tribes in general. The Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus each have two of these "sub-subclans," which in this context would become segmentary Level IV, as follows:

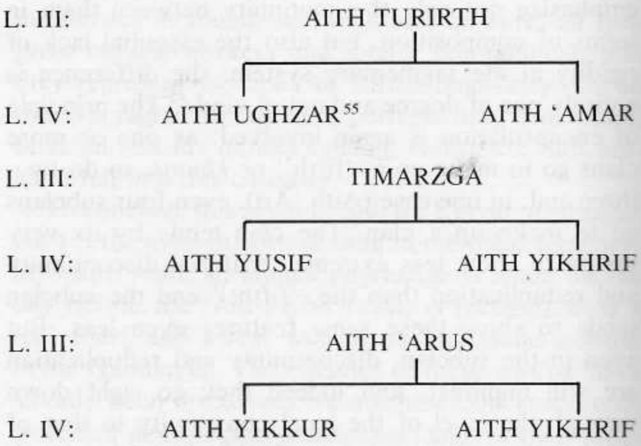

Fig. 10.6: "Sub-subclans" of the Three Mountain Subclans

Although each of these three subclans has two "sub-subclans," any significance that this binary fission had was largely geographical and territorial rather than necessarily functional in terms of alliance and hostility, for instance. In the Aith Turirth, it also cut right across the lineage system, and in the Timarzga it did not entirely correspond to it. However, it had another internal function in connection with the distribution of *haqq* fines for murder within the subclan, as will be shown in Chapter 11.

We now turn to the local community, which in its purely physical sense is given the appellation *dshar* (pl. *dshur:* Rif. *ad-dshar*, pl. *r-udhshur*): this term refers to the houses of the members of that community, as well as to the collectively held land of the community, its mosque and cemetery, and its saint's tomb. The word *dshar* in Northern Moroccan Arabic corresponds with *duwwar* (French "douar") as employed in other parts of the country, and is usually translated as "village." However, in the Central Rif, true villages simply do not exist, individual homesteads being scattered all over the eroded and serrated landscape—hence the justification for the use of "local community" as defined above. But the *dshar* is nonetheless localized and nonetheless a community; its members, the *jma'th*,[56] are, by and large, constantly engaged in face-to-face relationships, and they know perfectly well which individuals, for example, are members of their own community, and which are members of a neighboring one, or of one that is two or three communities away: for if they do not see them during the course of the week, they will always see them at the market, or possibly at the noon prayer in the nearest Friday mosque, (during the *Ripublik*, there was generally one Friday mosque per subclan—i.e., in the Jbil Hmam, one for the Aith Turirth, one for the Timarzga, and one for the Aith 'Arus—but, given the post-pacification population growth, there are now two or even three per subclan).

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[55] Aith Ughzar means "people of the river." All other "sub-subclans" here listed claim descent from a putative common ancestor, although in the Aith Turirth case, this cut very much across the lineage system *sensu stricto*, as it did to some degree (one of incomplete correspondence) in the Timarzga. The existence of an Aith Yikhrif "sub-subclan" in both the Timarzga and the Aith 'Arus may also have some significance: Yikhrif appears to be a very old name in the Waryaghar highlands, as elsewhere in the Central Rif. Other examples: the Aith Yikhrif u-Hand lineage (of the Aith Ughzar) in the Aith Turirth, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash community of Aith Bu Khrif, the Aith Yikhrif w-'Amar lineage (in Buham and elsewhere) of the lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and the clan of Yinn Sa'id u-Yikhrif in the western Aith 'Ammarth.

In other words, despite the physical dispersion of individual local communities, there is always, along with knowledge of the geographical boundaries of common land between communities, a full knowledge of the social boundaries, of who belongs where, on the part of all concerned. This full knowledge becomes clear to the investigator only after prolonged residence in a Waryaghar community: for even the Friday mosque only looks like a larger version of an ordinary house from the outside, and it is distinguishable from such a house solely by the presence of a white flag flying from a long pole in the courtyard.

Before discussing some of the actual *udhshur* in the highlands, let us look at a diagram of a purely hypothetical *dshar*.

The focal point of the *dshar* is its mosque and cemetery. In the cemetery it is to be noted that the graves are by no means placed at random: each lineage or group of lineages sharing a common territory has its own section apart from the others. Roman numerals on Fig. 10.7 denote the *dharfiqth*, the primary lineage group, and Arabic numerals denote the *ijujga* (sing. *jajgu*) or secondary lineage or sublineage groups contained or encapsulated within it. The area inhabited by each primary lineage group is called *humth* (literally "ward," "quarter," "barrio"), which may here be translated as "neighborhood." Each small square represents one to perhaps five nuclear families of members of the sublineage; when a man's son marries, he may either live in the same house as his father, or build one nearby. Circles around the blocks denote the houses themselves, the minimal distance of 300 meters between them, and the clumps of cactus that invariably surround the houses, both as a defensive measure and to safeguard the seclusion of the women. Each such a numbered cluster, although it may extend all along the crest of a mountain through which a valley runs, denotes the living space of the *jajgu* or sublineage. Since in the Rif dispersion of dwellings

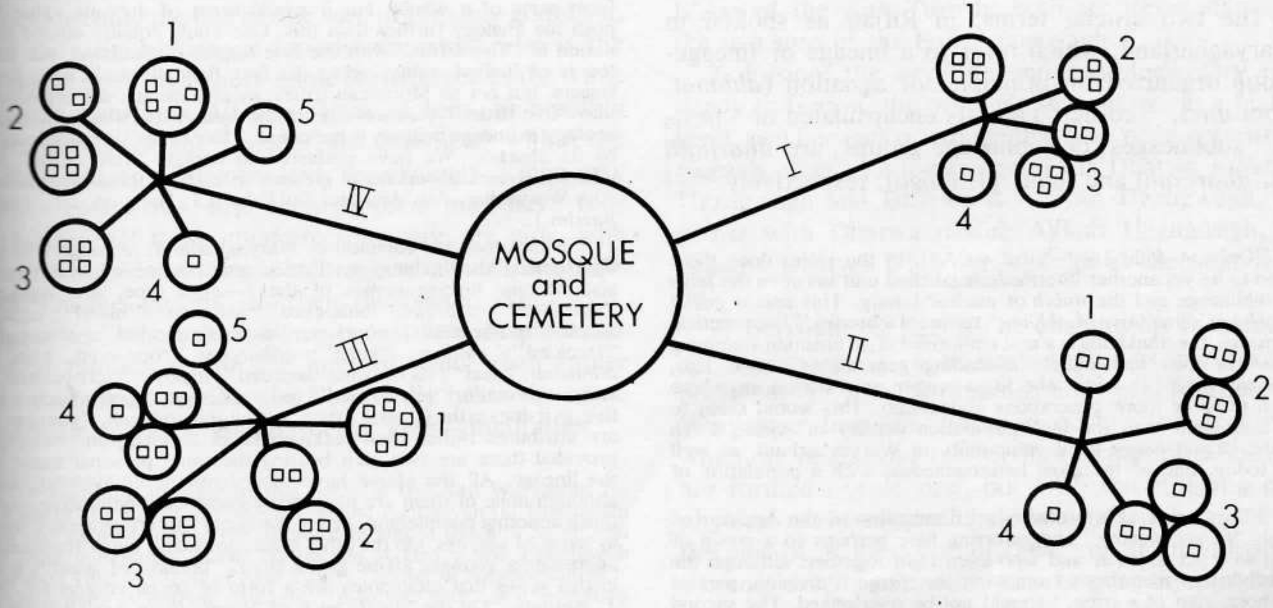

Fig. 10.7: The *dshar* or Local Community

is so characteristic, and since houses, either individually (the great majority) or clustered (the small minority) are always quite far apart from each other, owing both to lack of water and to the premium placed upon privacy, extended families are scattered over a correspondingly large area.

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[56] *Jma'th* means "the collectivity," and, in Rifian terms, this means everyone in the *dshar* or local community, or more specifically, all the adult male members of that community. It does not just refer to the community's assembly of notables or its council, an erroneous impression given and repeated constantly in most of both French and Spanish literature on Morocco.

Several patrilaterally related elementary and/or extended family units, or *nubath*, form a *jajgu*, which, although it is a sublineage, is conceived in the present context rather as a true residential kin group with agnatic descent and with patri- or virilocal residence.[57] Stranger accretions form their own incipient *ijujga*. If we ascend the segmentary ladder for the moment, we may note that several such *ijujga* or sublineages form a *dharfiqth* or primary lineage group, which is as dispersed on the ground as its component *ijujga* make it to be. And several *dharfiqin* (pl. of *dharfiqth*) form a scattered but still localized *dshar*. These several *dharfiqin*, the primary lineages in a given *dshar*, a given local community, may or may not be descended (usually the latter) from a common ancestor in the patriline, the ancestor of the *dshar* in question. Above this level, in an *ar-rba'* clan or subclan situation, such tracing is no longer possible, even despite the fact that the lineages in question may all be descended from the putative ancestor. Thus, in addition to the special problem of "five fifths," to which we shall return in Chapter 11, we have on the upper levels of segmentation a clan system, while on the lower levels we have a lineage system. We shall discuss the latter first.

THE LINEAGE SYSTEM

The two crucial terms, in Rifian as spoken in Waryagharland, which refer to a lineage or lineage-group organized on principles of agnation (*dhumat*, from *uma*, "brother") and its encapsulated or "nested" sublineages, or sublineage groups, are *dharfiqth* (pl. *dharfiqin*) and *jajgu* (pl. *ijujga*), respectively.[58]

As in the case of individual kinship terms, the above are the terms of reference; the terms of address, on the other hand, are *aith*, *dharwa*, and *yinn*, "people (of)," "sons (or children, of)" and "those (of)," respectively. In addition, there is also the masculine plural *I—x—n* lineage marker form. This last, as well as *dharwa* and *yinn*, is almost exclusively employed to designate those lineages that are specifically named for a common ancestor, e.g., Ibutaharen, Ihammuthen, Iznagen (Aith Turirth); Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud (Aith Turirth); and Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (Aith Turirth), Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim (Timarzga), and Yinn 'Amar u-Sa'id (Aith Hadhifa).

These names may equally refer to a nickname or attribute of the lineage ancestor,[59] as in Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh ("sons of the red-headed *fqir*," i.e., member of a religious order, in this case the Darqawa), in the Aith Turirth, and as in animal nicknames such as Ushshannen, "jackals," which refers not to any allegedly "totemic" quality, but to the craft and guile of the lineage ancestor.[60] In my view we are here dealing with poetic imagery, not with totemism, either real or vestigial.

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[57] Only in Ajdir (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), in the plain, does there seem to be yet another intermediate labelled unit between the *jajgu* or sublineage and the *nubth* or nuclear family. This unit is called *dhakhand*, diminutive of *akham*, "room (of a house)." For practical purposes, the *dhakhand* is a unit comprised of all kinsmen stemming from the two immediately ascending generations above Ego, whereas, again in Ajdir, the *jajgu* proper may fission anywhere from three or more generations above Ego. This would seem to be consistent with the high population density of Ajdir, which is the largest single local community in Waryagharland, as well as, today, one of the most heterogeneous, with a population of 2511 in 1960.

[58] The first term is probably a Rifianization of the Arabic root *r-f-q*, "to accompany" and referring here perhaps to a group of men who act together and who even fight together, although the possibility of metathesis from Mor. Ar. *farqa*, "division, part of a whole, clan of a tribe," should not be overlooked. The second term, which appears to have the primary meaning of a branch or the branches of a single garden vegetable (though not of a tree), e.g., *jajgu n-tumatish* or *ijujga nj-btata*, is purely Rifian, and may possibly be connected with *jij* (pl. *ijajjen*), lit. "wall-peg," but also, metaphorically, "penis"; and indeed in the Aith 'Ammarth and in the Igzinnayen it is this term which is employed to denote a sublineage, rather than *jajgu* which seems to be peculiar to Waryagharland. And synonymous with *jajgu*, although not so often used, is *azqar*, pl. *izuwran*, "vein, root," which again has a secondary meaning of "penis": the procreational reference is obvious. Contrary to Coon's assertion, the word *ighs* in the Rif has only the primary meaning of "bone" and not the secondary one of "lineage" as it has among Berbers elsewhere in Morocco. (Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 90. On the same page he makes the additional error of transcribing *azwar*, "vein," as *awar*, pl. *iwaren*, and thus changing its meaning to that of "word.") It is here of interest that in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, *afus*, meaning "hand," also has the secondary meaning "lineage," while in the Rif *fus* is "hand" alone.

French writers have been tempted to compare the referential terms with which Berbers designate their social units to parts of the human body, given the primary meanings of some of the terms concerned. Certainly this is valid in the sense that these units form parts of a whole, but it would seem of dubious value to push the analogy further than this. One could equally equate the notion of "five fifths" with the five fingers of the hand, but this too is of limited utility, given the fact that all hands have five fingers, but not all Moroccan tribes, by any means, are organized into "five fifths." Furthermore, in the Anti-Atlas, where the hand analogy in lineage imagery is prevalent, "five fifths" is conspicuous by its absence. We have preferred to explain "five fifths" on inherent structural-functional grounds in each of three type cases: Aith Waryaghar, Ait 'Atta and Dukkala. (Cf. Hart, op. cit., 1967, *passim.*)

[59] Nicknames are common in Waryagharland, although less so than among the Igzinnayen. Typical ones, some of which may also become lineage names of the *I—x—n* type, are: *aqshar*, "scab-head"; *azarqan*, "blue-eyed"; *ashahbar*, "blond"; *azzugwagh*, "red-headed"; *abarkan*, "dark-complected"; *abarqash*, "freckled"; *ahidhar*, "lame"; *adharghar*, "one-eyed, blind"; *adhashur*, "deaf"; *bu r-hiyan*, "bearded"; *agnaw*, "cleft-palated"; and *bu zirmadh*, "left-handed" (no particular stigma attaches to this, as it does in the Central Atlas). *Akkuh* and *amzzyan*, "younger," are attributes rather than nicknames, as is *amqqran*, "elder," provided there are two men bearing the same personal name in the lineage. All the above have their feminine equivalents, and although none of them are necessarily considered pejorative, only those denoting complexion, height, or facial hair are generally used as terms of address. On the other hand, one man I know frequently addresses a younger affine as *bu rihth*, "breaker of wind"; it is in this sense that nicknames are a form of social control (cf. R. T. Antoun, "On the Significance of Names in an Arab Village," *Ethnology*, VII, 2, 1968, pp. 158-170.

Aith, however, unlike *dharwa* and *yinn*, may prefix either the name of the lineage ancestor or a place name. Examples of the former are (1) Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, Aith 'Aru Musa, and Aith Yikhrif u-Hand, in the Aith Turirth; (2) Aith Yusif, in the Timarzga; and (3) Aith Musa w-'Amar, in the Aith 'Ari. Examples of the latter are (1) Aith Uswir, from the place Aswir, in the Aith Turirth, and (2) Aith Bu Midhhar, in the Aith 'Arus. *Aith* may also be prefixed to the name of a local community, as in (1) Ajdir and Aith Ujdir, in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; (2) Tazurakhth and Aith Zurakhth, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash; (3) Maru, Sammar and Aith u-Maru, Aith u-Sammar ("people of the shade" and "people of the sun," respectively), in the Aith 'Arus; and (4) Bu Ma'dan, r-Maqsuridh and Asrafil, and Aith Bu Ma'dan, Aith r-Maqsuridh and Aith Usrafil, in the Timarzga. And naturally it may be and very often is prefixed to clan and subclan names. But in the lineage case, even if it is prefixed to a place name rather than to the name of the lineage ancestor, this makes no difference at all as far as the really crucial issue is concerned: the lineage is the maximal unilineal descent grouping in which descent from a common patrilineal or agnatic ancestor can actually be traced, genealogically. It is precisely this grouping to which Aith Waryaghar refer when they employ the word *dharfiqth*.

The *dharfiqth* as the Aith Waryaghar conceive it is a wider lineage group than the *jajgu*, which ideally includes only the line of one son, or possibly grandson, of the original lineage founder-ancestor, who is the lineage apex and whose name is enshrined in the name of the *dharfiqth*. All these lines of sons, or possibly grandsons, of the founder are embraced within the *dharfiqth*. In a *jajgu* context, for example, a man may have two wives, and each of them may have four children. Of these children, four, say, are girls, who marry outside and hence belong jurally to the *dharfiqin* or lineage groups of their husbands. The sons, however, when they marry, constitute incipient nuclear families within the *jajgu* of which their father is a member, a *jajgu* which generally bears the name of their deceased grandfather or great-grandfather.

The *dharfiqth* was characterized to me by one informant in 1953, very early in the course of fieldwork, as "the whole family"; in the sense given above, that is exactly what it is, what with known generational steps traceable to a common agnatic ancestor, and the ramifications therefrom, ramifications that follow exclusively in the patriline. In the collection of genealogies, one gets only the names of sons, if one is not careful, and informants are invariably surprised if one wants those of daughters as well; once that is understood, one gets all the sons enumerated first, in descending order by age, and only then the daughters, in their own descending order.

Just as the number of such steps, from Ego to the common agnatic ancestor, varies from one instance to the next, so also do we find the now-customary conceptual fluidity in the application of the term *dharfiqth*. Thus the continuous process involved here may be one of break-up, through the death of the founder-ancestor, or through the scissioning off of one or more sons to another locality, or even through a virtual annihilation as a result of the bloodfeud; or this process may be one of re-formation.

It is of interest here to discuss the principles which, in my view, underlie the formation and proliferation of lineages in Waryagharland. These processes are: segmentation, fission, fusion, scission, reception or accretion, reduplication, fractionation, and attrition.

1) Fission (R. *insibdhen*, "it divides") is the same process as usually understood by anthropologists: two or more corporate lineages are formed out of one, but no actual physical action takes place. One example out of many hundreds is that of Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth: both are descendants of the two sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh.

2) Fusion: the opposite and complementary tendency to fission, the principle that unites, at a higher level, two lineages or groups that may be in opposition to each other at a lower one. Thus Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, together with Dharwa n-Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, all become Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh at the next level up.

3) Scission: (R. *igguj*, "he changes his residence" or "he moves"): a process that was particularly prevalent in the formation and proliferation of Waryaghar lineages. Scission occurs (or occurred) when, as in fission, two or more corporate lineages are formed out of one, but with this difference: a physical move to another locale must take place on the part of at least one of these, or of an individual thereof, usually to another clan or even another tribe. A diagram will clearly illustrate the difference:

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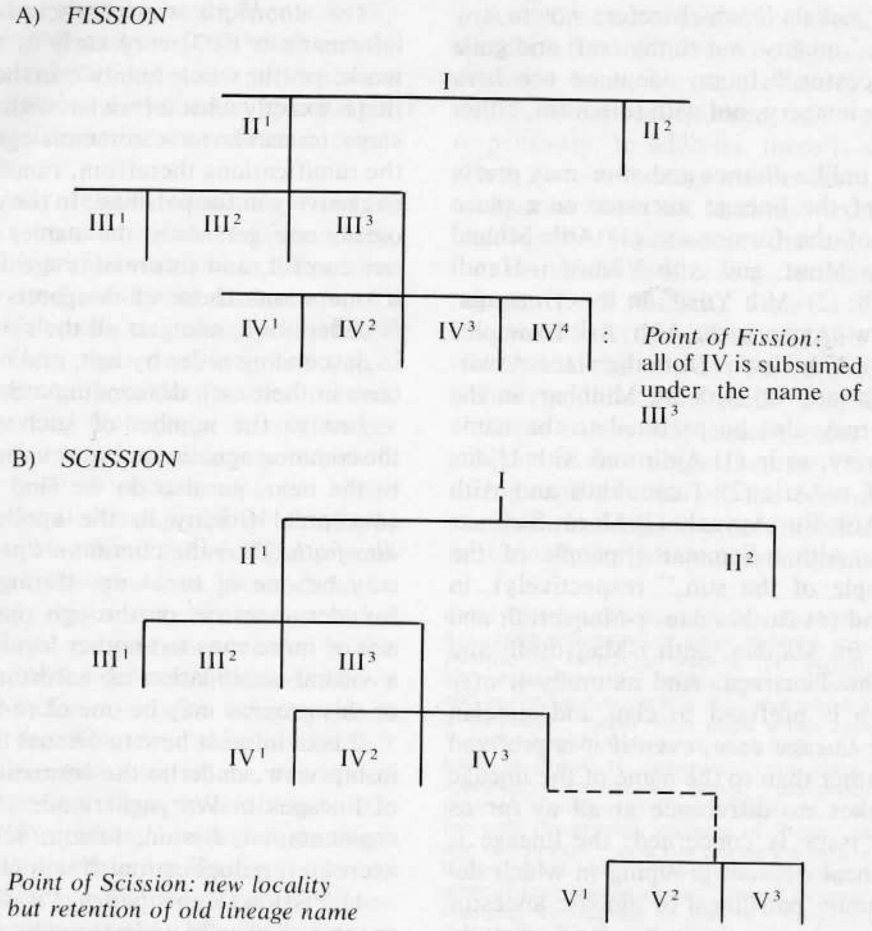
[60] There are lineages of this name in the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), in the Igzinnayen (in Iharrushen of the Asht 'Asim), in the Thimsaman and in the Aith Sa'id; and a local community in the Igzinnayen is also called Thaghirasth or Asht Tghirasth (clan of Asht Yunis), "people of the she-panther." Again there is nothing "totemic" involved here, as it is merely said that a she-panther was once seen in the vicinity.


A) *FISSION*

Point of Fission: all of IV is subsumed under the name of III³

B) *SCISSION*

Point of Scission: new locality but retention of old lineage name

Fig. 10.8: Fission and Scission

Since the establishment of the protectorate, population growth and increasing lack of available land have combined to put an effective stop to lineage scission, but during the *Ripublik*, it was a primary diagnostic of Rifian social structure in general. Aside from a group's packing up and physically moving to a new place, a second cardinally important feature of lineage scission is that the old lineage name is integrally retained in the new locality; a third is that the scissioning lineage almost invariably retains some residual rights in land in the territory of its present lineage (to which members of the scissioning group may return, if they wish, to plant grain).

The most common cause of scission generally admitted by Aith Waryaghar was the practice of exiling, as *idhriben*, those murderers who had committed their crimes in markets or on paths leading to them (although other causes, such as a simple desire to purchase new land elsewhere, were also occasionally invoked). It was precisely this, to give one illustration in detail, that happened in the case of the Fqir Azzugwagh himself: originally from the Imjjat lineage in the local community of Hibir, in the tribe of the Igzinnayen, he had killed a man in the neighboring community over a land dispute and had to flee as a result, about 1850 or perhaps slightly earlier. He came to Waryagharland, to Bulma in the Aith Turirth, and was given a wife. Some time afterward he went into equal partnership with a young man of the Aith 'Aru Musa, and they both moved up to l-'Ass, after buying the land there from the Ihammuthen lineage. By then the Fqir's children were adolescents or young adults, and he "gave" his daughter to his partner as wife, and when his sons married, the now "peeled-off" lineage of Imjjat nj-'Ass (the sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh), as opposed to the original Imjjat of Hibir, was born. But even so, the Imjjat nj-'Ass retained residual rights in the ancestral land in Hibir, one-fifth of which still belongs to them, while the other four-fifths belong to the Imjjat of Hibir. The descendants of two of the Fqir Azzugwagh's sons, Mzzyan and Muh Akkuh, still return to Hibir quite regularly to plant.

4) Reception and accretion of a lineage or an

individual, by or into the new group to which emigration has occurred. This is the other side of the coin of scission, so to speak.

5) Discontinuity and reduplication: when two or more corporate groups of the same name, usually lineages or local communities, exist in two or more discrete and discontinuous localities; there may or may not be a particular tradition indicating how or why there is a spatial distance between them, but when such a tradition does exist, it generally implies scission from one group in order to form the other.

Cross-tribal examples are: (1) the existence of the lineage of the Aith Dris in no less than seven different Rifian tribes;[61] (2) the reduplication of lineages of reciprocal origins in both the Aith 'Ammarth and the Ibuqquyen; (3) the existence of lineages named Aith Ziyyan in the Aith 'Abdallah of Waryagharland, in the Asht Mhand of the Igzinnayen, and in the Axt Tsafth of the Axt Tuzin (the last supposedly having been the originating group); (4) the reduplication of Thariwin in the Asht 'Asim clan of the Igzinnayen and in the Aith 'Abdallah of Waryagharland, with reciprocal origin traditions (i.e., A say they derive or come from B, while B say they derive or come from A); (5) the Imjjat case, already noted under "scission," above; and (6) the I'akkiyen of the Aith Waryaghar and the Axt 'Akki clan of the Axt Tuzin.[62]

Cross-clan examples, here taken only from Waryagharland, are also numerous: (1) Upper, Middle and Lower Bu Minqad in the Aith 'Ari, this geographical and spatial differentiation possibly having occurred during the gradual expansion of the Aith Waryaghar to the north; (2) Upper and Lower Igmiren of the Aith 'Adhiya (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), with the "upper" group in this case (as in that of Bu Minqad, above) probably the originating one, given the generalized tradition of a spread down to the north from the Jbil Hmam; (3) Upper and Lower Ikattshumen of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, for the same reason; and (4) Upper and Lower Iswiqen of the Aith 'Ari, again for the same reason.

The above examples could be greatly multiplied. Where the "upper" lineage gives birth to the "lower" one, the origin traditions can be said to be unilateral rather than reciprocated, and unidirectional rather than reciprocal. Reciprocated traditions would appear to be a consequence of what Barnes has labelled "structural amnesia";[63] and all these factors in conjunction contribute heavily to clan heterogeneity and to an accent on the territorial base rather than on common ancestorship. When traditions are reciprocal, the informants in both groups concerned are generally unaware of this fact; on the other hand, informants are almost always aware of unilateral and unidirectional traditions.

Scission, as opposed to simple fission, is a constant in the lineage system of the region, whatever the reasons given for the move, which may vary from hunger and poverty to a desire for land elsewhere, or to being a nonreturning exile in a feud. As such, it has greatly contributed to the physical mobility of these sedentary agricultural tribesmen. It has also, in the long run, made them more aware of the wider national society to which they belong. It has, specifically, made Rifians of all tribes aware of (1) other Rifian tribes, i.e., each other, (2) the tribes of the Jbala-Ghmara-Sinhaja Srir, and (3) the northern cities. Finally, it paved the way for the ease with which labor migration was taken up by Rifians of almost all tribes after the French opened up Algeria.

6) Fractionation: in essence, fractionation is just another way of looking at discontinuity and reduplication. It is very common in Rifian segmentary systems, and in the Aith Waryaghar system in particular. It occurs when any segment at a given level, generally a low one, is halved or split into thirds, with each half or third belonging or corresponding territorially to a different larger segment or perhaps larger-level community on the next level up. It is intimately linked with the territorial base of the system, and it is yet one more thread running right through the total social and structural fabric of Waryagharland.

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[61] In the Ulad Hammu of the Ibdharsen or l-Mtalsa; in Marnisa; in the Aith Sa'id: in the community of Imza'an, clan of Truguth, in the Thimsaman; in the Asht 'Aru'Aisa clan of the Igzinnayen; one-half of the clan of the Ija'unen of the Aith 'Ammarth; and in the Aith Tmajurth subclan of the Aith 'Abdallah, in Waryagharland.

[62] Although the I'akkiyen are generally said to have "peeled-off" from the Aith 'Arus, there is another legend showing them perhaps to be connected with the Axt 'Akki clan of the Axt Tuzin. Once a wildcat appeared at just this point on the Waryaghar-Tuzin border. Licking its chops first in one direction and then in another, it caused everyone to flee. One group fled west to become the I'akkiyen, the tailor-and-butcher community of the Aith Waryaghar, and the other group fled east and become the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin. Finally, a man from the latter group went to Ajdir in Waryagharland and asked where, if they existed now at all, the descendants of those who had moved west might be located. He was told that they were slightly south of and above Imzuren, and so he went there. It was the time of the 'Aid s-Sghir, the "Little 'Aid" after the end of Ramadan. He questioned the people in whispers, and when they were sure he was one of them, they brought out their food and ate outside their local community, for the first time in history. It is said that the I'akkiyen have kept up this tradition ever since, eating outside the community precincts on the 'Aid s-Sghir, the idea being that they are too niggardly to offer hospitality at home even to their classificatory agnates on feast days.

[63] J. A. Barnes, "The Collection of Genealogies," *Journal of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*, V, 1947, pp. 48-55. To Barnes also we owe in part the concept of the "nesting attribute" in segmentary systems: cf. his *Politics in a Changing Society: A Political History of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*, 2nd Ed., Manchester University Press, 1967, p. 49. Cf. also Middleton and Tait, op. cit., 1958, p. 7.

7) Attrition: the dwindling, as opposed to the proliferation, of any lineage over time—in a sense, the reverse side of the coin from accretion. These two related structural phenomena we now discuss.

One could start by comparing the role of the lineage of the Imjjat in the Aith Turirth with the roles of two others in the same subclan, the Iznagen and the Ihammuthen, over the course of the last century. The Imjjat are descended from a "stranger" whose sons, after he came over from the Igzinnayen, allied themselves to a number of prestigious local lineages through marriage, just as their father himself had done. Thus they acquired a large stake in the local balance of political power, a stake that successfully rivaled that of the purely local lineage of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh (Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah of Bulma). However, this stake was considerably undermined when the Imjjat lineage broke up into its own incipient *ijujga* as its members began to feud among themselves. As of 1965, the Imjjat in l-'Ass numbered 14 *nubath*, whereas a decade earlier, in 1955, they had numbered only 10 *nubath*.

Although the Iznagen, too, are a "stranger" lineage, and also from the Igzinnayen, they have been settled in their present locale in the community of Tigzirin far longer than the Imjjat have been in l-'Ass. The Iznagen, however, were classic "bet-hedgers" whose women were considered extremely attractive and who were or became allied in marriage to all of the important lineages of the subclan, including that of the Imjjat. They were thus always at the fringes of the stage of political power and never actually on that stage itself, until only very recently, after independence, when one of their number became *shaikh*, a position which in Spanish times had been held by an Imjjat man. (Oddly enough, there was no discernible ill-feeling between the Imjjat and the Iznagen over this, most probably because they had both, right after the 1958–59 uprising, made common cause in seeing to the ousting of a "bureau" secretary from the despised lineage of the Ihawtshen; this man had, in the absence of an actual *shaikh* at the time, presumed to arrogate shaikhly functions to himself.) The participation of the Iznagen in actual bloodfeuding had been close to minimal, while their proliferation was maximal: 53 *nubath* in 1955.

The Iznagen case is one of extreme proliferation, whereas the Imjjat case is one in which proliferation has been rather curtailed by external factors. The Ihammuthen case, however, is one of extreme attrition, all the more marked because this lineage, considered to be the senior one in the region, dates back, on documentary evidence, to at least 1797. In 1955, they numbered only 7 *nubath:* previously one of their members had, in an amorous exploit, met a violent death at the hands of an enraged husband, and in 1960 the number of *nubath* was reduced to 6 by the death of the murdered man's next eldest brother in an automobile accident.

Other aspects of attrition and accretion may be noted here:

a. One almost necessarily concomitant phenomenon is a greater consciousness of genealogical depth, whether this is in fact true or not, in an accreting and proliferating lineage than in one undergoing attrition. Allied to this is a tendency within an accreting, or newly proliferating, lineage to marry its women out and to ally itself almost everywhere with other lineages already established in the clan or subclan.

b. Accretion cannot occur, of course, unless there is land in the clan area which is available for purchase by the "stranger"—founder of the incoming lineage.

c. Accretion and attrition can both occur, of course, simply by circumstance, but it is generally possible to define the reason for the occurrence of either process.

d. Accretion should not be confused with natural growth, in the sense, for example, that Muh n-Haddu Muhand is prolific and produces many sons; on the other hand, the dwindling away of the line of his brother Sa'id n-Haddu Muhand is a case not only of attrition, but of extinction. Accretion occurs when any individual who is recognized as being "foreign" settles in any given community, and marries and establishes a family there: no matter what status, even that of maximum political participation, he or his descendants may achieve, they are still "naturalized" both in their own eyes and in those of their neighbors. This is a way of recalling, graphically, one's own origins, and no stigma whatsoever is attached. Futhermore, in this same context, what do "holy" lineages represent if not a rather specialized form of accretion? They have not always been there, on the spot, in the lay tribal or clan territory: they or their ancestors have come in at the request of lay tribesmen.

e. The points of proliferation and/or desiccation and attrition in any genealogy are based on the fact that some sons of the founder-ancestor of the lineage have more sons than others. Most genealogies show proliferation, or attrition, or both. Evenness or symmetry in a genealogy, as exemplified through a consistently dual organization or repeated binary fission, such as Aith Yusif w-'Ari informants would wish to impose, is *eo* *ipso* "unnatural." It would appear to be a structural rearrangement of the genealogy, for whatever purpose (such as division of fines or formation of alliances), by the group in question—although they, of course, do not recognize it as such. The number two, whatever its "unnaturalness" in this sense, is nonetheless a most comfortable one in certain aspects of Aith Waryaghar thought.

f. Accretion in clan or tribe A would generally, if the traditions that support it provide a localized point or source of origin, imply a previous scission in clan or tribe B.

g. Finally, it is to be recalled that no less than 42% of the total number of lineages in Waryagharland are "stranger" lineages. This figure is just under the Central Rifian mean for such lineages, and it underscores the extreme importance of accretion as a factor in lineage formation and proliferation. Sale and/or purchase of land was always a significant factor in this process, presumably right up until pacification. This fact in itself is an excellent argument for the territorial base of the lineage system: Igzinnayen by origin, Aith Waryaghar by residence (*l-Gzinnayi aslan, l-Waryaghli daran*), as the Imjjat lineage documents frequently attest. Another factor is that although a lay tribesman may and generally does forget the upper limits of his genealogy—i.e., those past the point of fission—he never forgets his "origins." For example, according to the reckoning of some individuals in Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim "came from" the Igzinnayen, while according to his own reckoning, his lineage ancestors "came from" the Hijaz in Arabia. (This reintroduces the whole issue of structural ambiguity, of the ones who say yea and the others who say nay, which is an important characteristic of the social organization of the region.)

It is now worth while to scrutinize the subject of naturalization more closely. A naturalized individual is called *amhajar.* Such a man may leave his own tribe or clan for one or another reason (poverty, feud, etc.) and go to another, where he asks for work and usually becomes an *akhammas* of the man who takes him in. He may sometimes marry the daughter of the man who gives him work, although this is (or was) rare;[64] normally the latter provides him with a wife from one of the poorer lineages in the vicinity. He settles in his new home, and his children are considered members of the tribe to which he has come, not his tribe of birth, although they may of course bear his name. (I know of at least two such cases in the Aith Turirth, both involving poor sharecroppers, one who came from the Igzinnayen, and the other who came from the Branis by way of the Igzinnayen. The latter individual had long since lost whatever Arabic he may have known and now speaks only Rifian.) This is so whether or not he has bought or has been given land in his adopted tribe. In time, too, if a naturalized man has bought land (the mere fact of his being able to do so putting him above *akhammas* or sharecropper status), and if he has many sons, one or more of these may become council members, as did Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and his younger brother Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat. There is by no means any legal prohibition on his doing so, and theoretically his chances are as good as those of anyone else. Also, he still continues to have inheritance expectations from his father in his tribe of birth.

No sacrifice or payment of any kind is made by an *amhajar.*[65] When he marries the daughter of his protector, or rather, when the latter "gives" her to him in marriage, he has now acquired *droit de cité* in his new tribe or clan, and thus both he and his children are fully fledged members of it. Strictly speaking, the children belong to their mother's tribe, but uterine descent is not in any way to be construed here, for the principle of patrifiliation is still followed. The incorporation of the *amhajar* through adoption is sealed when he marries either his protector's daughter or any woman whom his protector provides for him: for he has left his own tribe for all time.

In order to discuss Aith Waryaghar lineages themselves, we may begin by making certain observations about genealogies and genealogical knowledge. After a while in the field, it becomes clear to the investigator that those individuals who possess detailed knowledge of their own genealogies (whether or not these be holy) are a minority, and almost invariably consist of the elder members of lineages that are locally prominent. Young men generally evince much less interest in genealogical matters, while the genealogies of members of poor lineages, of *amhajar* lineages, or of lineages that are not or were not effective politically are apt to be both short and spotty; of these latter genealogies, it can be said with reasonable accuracy that it is extremely rare for the informant to know any ascending agnatic ancestor beyond his grandfather—and this is giving him the benefit of the doubt. Collection of the genealogical data for such a lineage may take only half an hour, while data collection for a lineage that has been or is politically effective is a full day's work, and often considerably more, for the investigator.

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[64] In the Rif, there is no institution corresponding to the *amhars* contract ("legal concubinage," as Bousquet calls it) in vogue, still today, in the Middle Atlas, whereby a poor, and usually Arab, sharecropper comes up from the plain to the mountains after a bad year, is given work, and in due course "marries" his patron's daughter. He may dissolve the union at any time and leave, if he wishes; but any children born to it are his wife's alone, with corresponding matrifiliation, and they stay with her until he has paid the bridewealth in full. Then the couple, with or without children generally set up housekeeping on their own—but near her father's tent. Cf. Cmdt. Denat, "Droit Coutumier Berbère Ichkern: Contrat d'Amhars,'" *Revue Marocaine de Droit*, VII, 1951, pp. 293-299.

Equally, in the Rif, there is no institution corresponding to the *u-tikhsi* of the Central Atlas Berbers, whereby a man can switch from his own agnatic lineage (and co-juring group, at oath-takings) to another, through the sacrifice of a sheep.

[65] Unlike an exile from a feud, who usually feels compelled to slaughter a goat, so that the most powerful men of the tribe or clan to which he has fled will hide him for the time being.

In the collection of this material, a number of relevant "methodological" points emerge. Any informant will invariably list his agnatic kinsmen first, starting with the lineage founder and point of fission, and then work down. I encountered only one exception to this rule: this case, in the Aith Turirth, puzzled me for some time, and I only realized the reason about a year after I had collected the same genealogy from a different individual. The man in question was the son of parents who were true parallel cousins, and I was puzzled not only because he had provided the information on his mother's sublineage first, but also because his mother's sublineage was so much larger than his father's. The answer was that his father, although a kinsman, was a poor relation who had acted as a servant to his mother's sublineage, and who was rewarded by receiving my informant's mother as a wife. Naturally, the man himself would not make any admission of this kind to me!

A man usually has a far wider knowledge of his agnatic kin than he does of either his uterine kin or his affines. Furthermore, in any genealogy, men are listed before women, and one has to press to obtain the names of women at all, be they wives, mothers, sisters, or daughters. Sons are listed before daughters, irrespective of relative age, and often in the case of polygynous marriages the investigator must start all over again if not all the wives have been listed. This applies in particular to a recounting of two or more generations back, and it indicates which individuals the informant deems to be structurally important. Again, the names of men are remembered much more clearly than those of women. For example: "Whom did Hmid n-Mhand n-'Amar marry?" Answer: "He married his parallel cousin, *yiddji-s n-* [the daughter of] Muh Akkuh n-'Amar." After this one has to press again to get the name of the daughter. Or: "he married a Ta'rusth," or: "he married a woman of the Igzinnayen." Not only this, but if one's informants are elderly, they will know all the relevant details down to and including their own generation; below this level, younger informants, who are usually present at the interview, must generally be called in.

A matter of particular relevance is that of genealogical or lineage depth, which depends, first of all, on what kind of lineage is under consideration—whether it is holy or lay. It will now be evident that holy lineages are generally deep, and that lay lineages are generally shallow, although such depth or shallowness are relative to whatever degree of lineage inclusiveness one is talking about. In the case of lay genealogies, some concrete examples from the Aith Turirth will illustrate this.

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AITH TURIRTH

The point of clan or subclan differentiation at which the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga emerge as discrete entities has already been given in Fig. 10.5; here we will discuss only the internal lineage structure of the Aith Turirth.

It will be recalled that the presumed ancestor of both the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga was the Amrabit Bu M'awiya. At least three steps further down, we find 'Amar, who serves as a kind of point of clan definition; and below him, the actual lineage structure of the Aith Turirth begins to emerge, as follows:

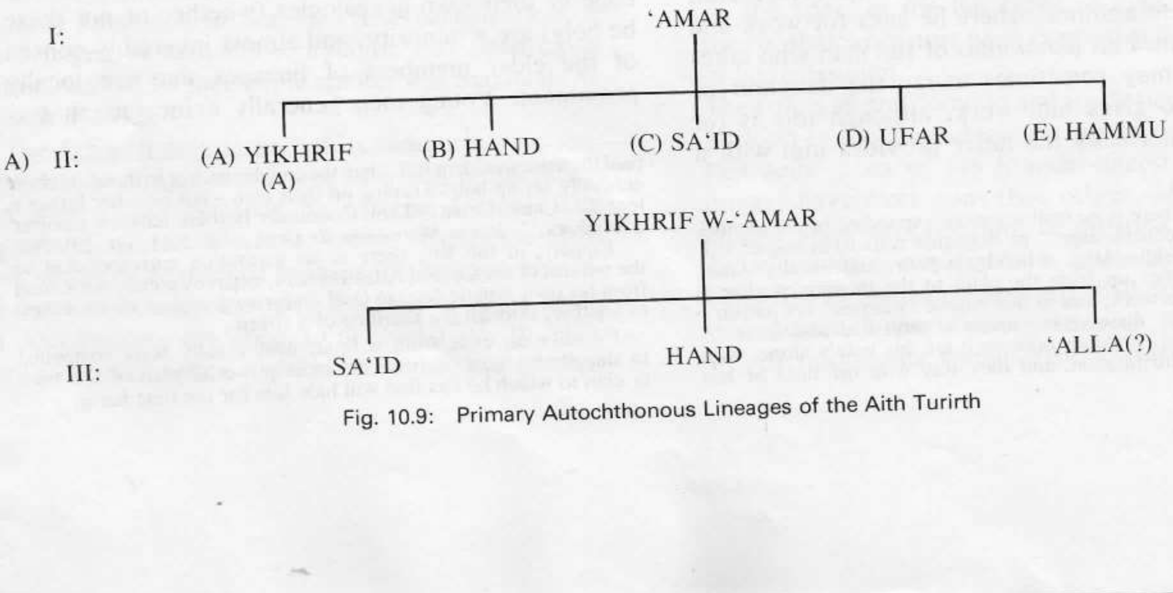

Fig. 10.9: Primary Autochthonous Lineages of the Aith Turirth

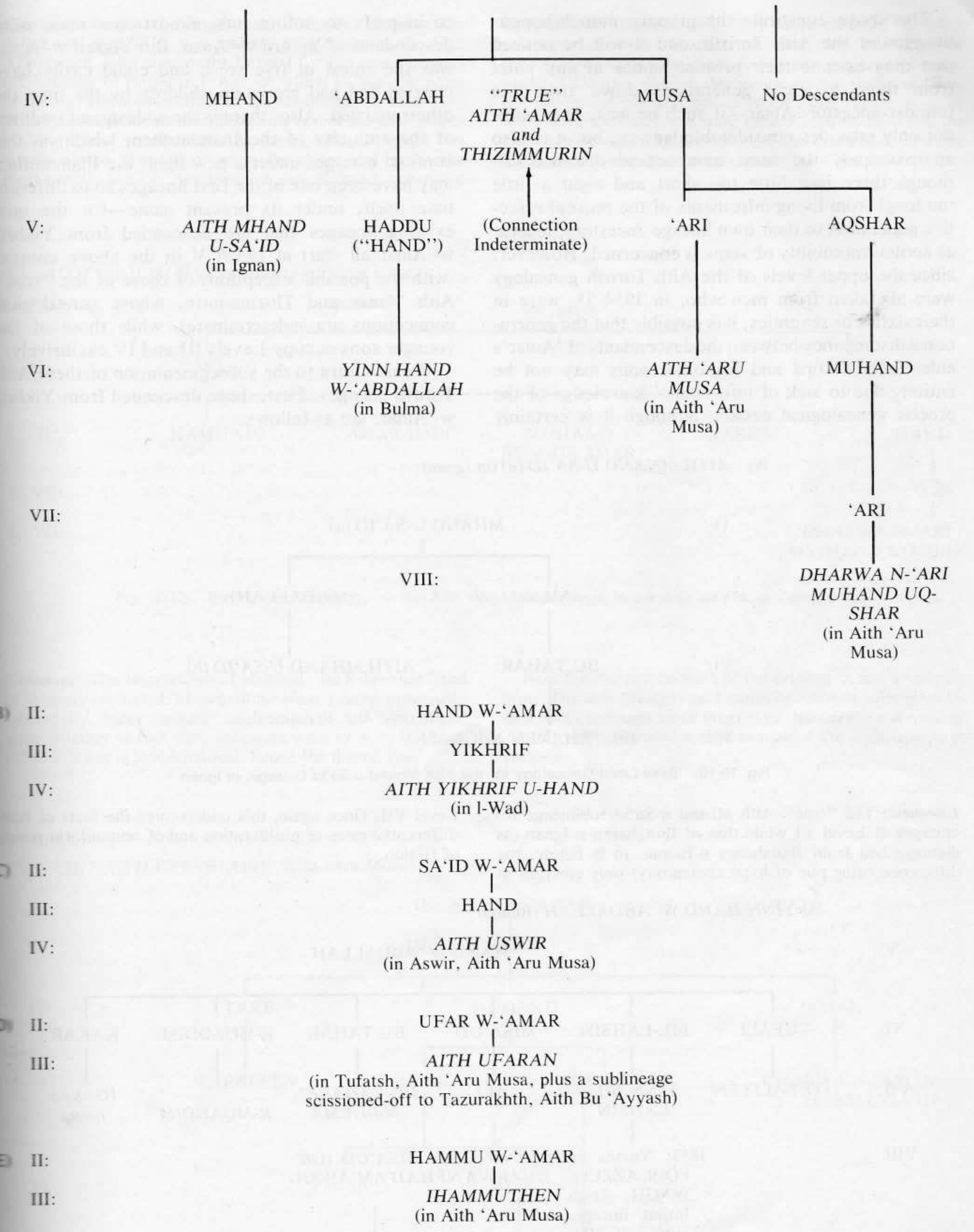
IV:
MHAND
'ABDALLAH
"TRUE" AITH 'AMAR and THIZIMMURIN
MUSA
No Descendants
V:
AITH MHAND U-SA'ID (in Ignan)
HADDU ("HAND")
(Connection Indeterminate)
'ARI
AQSHAR
VI:
YINN HAND W-'ABDALLAH (in Bulma)
AITH 'ARU MUSA (in Aith 'Aru Musa)
MUHAND
VII:
'ARI
VIII:
DHARWA N-'ARI MUHAND UQ-SHAR (in Aith 'Aru Musa)
B) II:
HAND W-'AMAR
III:
YIKHRIF
IV:
AITH YIKHRIF U-HAND (in l-Wad)
C) II:
SA'ID W-'AMAR
III:
HAND
IV:
AITH USWIR (in Aswir, Aith 'Aru Musa)
D) II:
UFAR W-'AMAR
III:
AITH UFARAN (in Tufatsh, Aith 'Aru Musa, plus a sublineage scissioned-off to Tazurakhth, Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
E) II:
HAMMU W-'AMAR
III:
IHAMMUTHEN (in Aith 'Aru Musa)

Fig. 10.9: (*continued*)

The above constitute the primary autochthonous lineages of the Aith Turirth, and it will be noticed that they assume their present names at any point from three to eight generations down from the founder-ancestor 'Amar—if such he was. This range not only provides considerable leeway, but it is also approximately the same genealogical distance (although three is a little too short and eight a little too long) from living informants of the present effective generation to their own lineage ancestors, insofar as actual traceability of steps is concerned. However, since the upper levels of the Aith Turirth genealogy were all taken from men who, in 1954–55, were in their sixties or seventies, it is possible that the generational discrepancy between the descendants of 'Amar's eldest son Yikhrif and his other sons may not be entirely due to lack of informants' knowledge of the precise genealogical details, although it is certainly so in part: my informants, almost to a man, were descendants of Yikhrif w-'Amar. But Yikhrif w-'Amar was the eldest of five sons, and could easily have married and had grown-up children by the time the others married. Also, there is the widespread tradition of the antiquity of the Ihammuthen, which, in this context, emerges under a new light: the Ihammuthen may have been one of the first lineages so to differentiate itself, under its present name—for the now existing lineages that are descended from Yikhrif w-'Amar all start at Level V in the above context (with the possible exceptions of those of the "true" Aith 'Amar and Thizimmurin, whose genealogical connections are indeterminate), while those of the younger sons occupy Levels III and IV exclusively.

We now turn to the subsegmentation of these Aith Turirth lineages. First, those descended from Yikhrif w-'Amar, are as follows:

A) *AITH MHAND U-SA'ID (a)* (in Ignan):

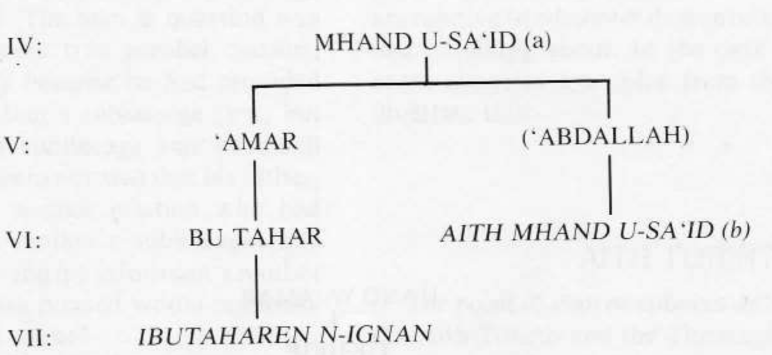
IV:
MHAND U-SA'ID (a)
V:
'AMAR
('ABDALLAH)
VI:
BU TAHAR
AITH MHAND U-SA'ID (b)
VII:
IBUTAHAREN N-IGNAN

Fig. 10.10: Base Level Genealogy for the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id Lineage, in Ignan

Comment: The "true" Aith Mhand u-Sa'id sublineage (b) emerges at Level VI while that of Ibutaharen n-Ignan (as distinguished from Ibutaharen n-Bulma, in B below, the difference being one of local community) only emerges at Level VII. Once again, this underscores the facts of both differential rates of proliferation and of nonuniform points of fission.

B) *YINN HAND W-'ABDALLAH* (Bulma):

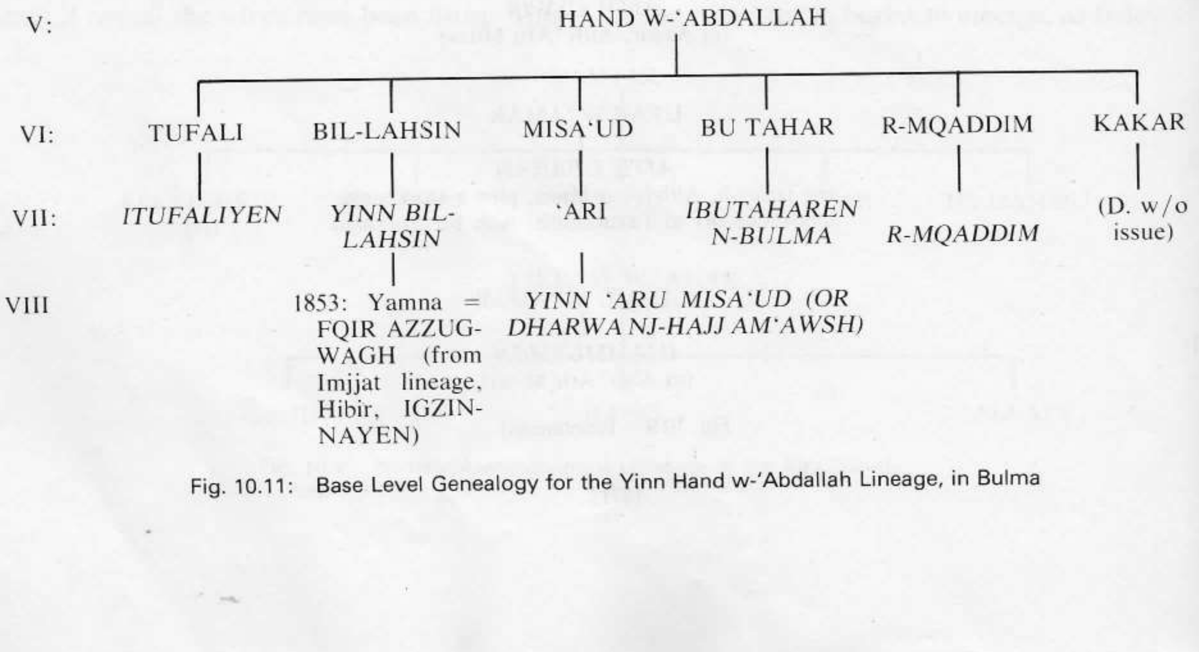
V:
HAND W-'ABDALLAH
VI:
TUFALI
BIL-LAHSIN
MISA'UD
BU TAHAR
R-MQADDIM
KAKAR
VII:
ITUFALIYEN
YINN BIL-LAHSIN
'ARI
IBUTAHAREN N-BULMA
R-MQADDIM
(D. w/o issue)
VIII
1853: Yamna = FQIR AZZUGWAGH (from Imjjat lineage, Hibir, IGZINNAYEN)
YINN 'ARU MISA'UD (OR DHARWA NJ-HAJJ AM'AWSH)

Fig. 10.11: Base Level Genealogy for the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah Lineage, in Bulma

Comment: Yamna, the daughter of Bil-Lahsin Hand w'Abdallah at Level VIII, was married to a stranger, the Fqir Azzugwagh, who constitutes Level I for his own "peeled-off" lineage of Imjjat in l-'Ass, of which he was the point of fission. His arch-enemies of the sublineage of Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud emerge at one level below the rest of the sublineages of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah. At Level VIII, although this is only hinted at in the diagram, the eldest and by far the most prolific son of 'Aru Misa'ud was Muhand, otherwise known as the Hajj Am'awsh. The descendants of the other two sons of 'Aru Misa'ud are thus also subsumed or incorporated under the more frequently employed lineage name of Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh. As we shall see later, the balance of political power in the Aith Turirth prior to 'Abd al-Krim was for a long time a contest between the Fqir Azzugwagh and his sons on the one hand, and the Hajj Am'awsh and his, on the other.

C) *AITH 'ARU MUSA* (community of same name):

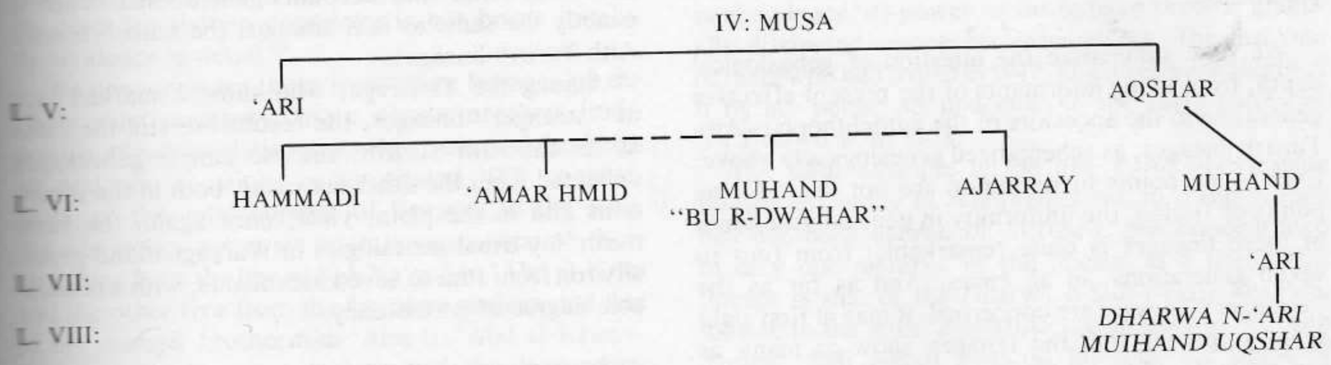
IV: MUSA
L. V:
'ARI
AQSHAR
L. VI:
HAMMADI
'AMAR HMID
MUHAND
"BU R-DWAHAR"
AJARRAY
MUHAND
L. VII:
'ARI
L. VIII:
DHARWA N-'ARI
MUIHAND UQSHAR

Fig. 10.12: Base Level Genealogy for the Aith 'Aru Musa Lineage, in the Aith 'Aru Musa Community

Comment: The descendants of Muhand "Bu R-Dwahar" and of Ajarray on Level VI constitute what I have previously labeled the "indeterminate" sublineages of Aith 'Aru Musa, since whether in fact their ancestors were or were not sons of 'Aru Musa is problematical: hence the dotted line.

Now for the descendants of the original 'Amar's younger sons. The only lineage that I consider to merit subsegmentation here (although all of them save Ihammuthen are recognizably subsegmented today) is that of the Aith Uswir, as follows:

D) *AITH USWIR* (Aswir, Aith 'Aru Musa):

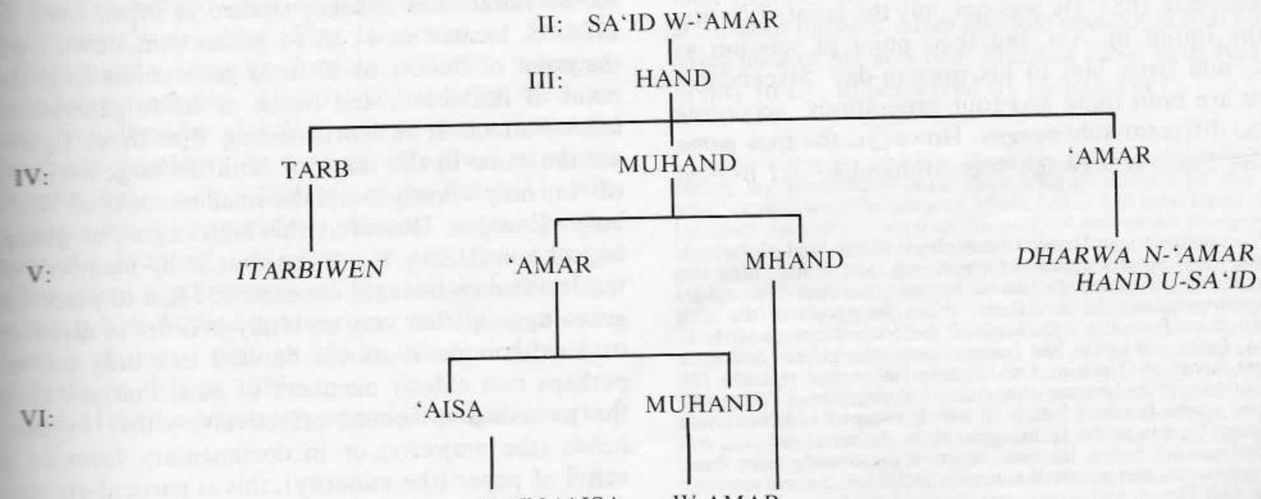
II: SA'ID W-'AMAR
III: HAND
IV:
TARB
MUHAND
'AMAR
V:
ITARBIWEN
'AMAR
MHAND
DHARWA N-'AMAR
HAND U-SA'ID
VI:
'AISA
MUHAND
VII:
YINN 'AISA
W-AMAR

Fig. 10.13: Base Level Genealogy for the Aith Uswir Lineage, in Aswir

Comment: *Aswir* is the name of a type of large fig tree common in the region, and hence *Aith Uswir.* Here we patently have a case in which, at the level of lineage naming, the landscape predominates over the lineage that lives upon it. In this instance, two sublineages, the Itarbiwen and the Dharwa n-'Amar Hand u-Sa'id, both emerge at Level V, while the largest sublineage of the three, Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar, only emerges at Level VIII. Another feature of lineage proliferation may be observed here: the descendants of Mhand w-'Amar at Level VI and of Mhand u-Muhand at Level V, who are few in number, are incorporated into the "true" Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar, who are numerous, at Level VIII. Each is distinguished internally, but in terms of group identification, the name of the Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar takes precedence.

* * *

We now summarize the question of genealogical depth, from living informants of the present effective generation to the ancestors of the autochthonous Aith Turirth lineages, as schematized genealogically above. Even when points of definition are not the same as points of fission, the uniformity in genealogical depth of these lineages is quite remarkable: from four to seven generations, in all cases. And as far as the "stranger" lineages are concerned, it may at first sight seem surprising that the Iznagen show as many as ten generations from present living informants back to their common ancestor Aznag—although here there is a considerable leeway between the point of definition and that of the actual fission of one of the sublineages, the Yinn nj-Mqaddim, four generations ago. Nonetheless, it explains two things: the high proliferation of the Iznagen at the present day, and the fact that although they have obviously been in the region as long as any of the core lineages have, they are still considered "strangers."[66]

The Imjjat case is different, since this lineage has, in l-'Ass, a shallower genealogy: it will be seen from Appendix V that on documentary evidence the Fqir Azzugwagh married Yamna n-Bil-Lahsin Hand w-'Abdallah in 1853. He was not only the point of fission of the Imjjat nj-'Ass, but their point of scission as well, and from him to his present-day descendants there are both three and four generations, according to the different sublineages. However, the true name of the Fqir Azzugwagh was Muhand n-'Ari n-'Abd r-Harim. His original lineage was the Imjjat n-Hibir, in the Igzinnayen. Four generations down from the ancestor and point of definition of this whole lineage, is the Fqir's grandfather, with his brother, one of its two primary points of fission; and thus from him down to his living descendants there are, variously, 5, 6, and 7 generations. Muhand n-'Ari, the Fqir Azzugwagh, was the eldest of his father's three sons and the only one who went to Waryagharland; the other two stayed at home in Hibir to produce three further sublineages. Hence, if we take the stay-at-homes in Hibir into account, generational depth is exactly the same as it is amongst the autochthonous Aith Turirth lineages.

Among the Timarzga, who show a marked lack of "stranger" lineages, the results are still the same as for the Aith Turirth; and the sample genealogies collected from the other lay clans, both in the mountains and in the plain, yield, once again, the same mean: lay tribal genealogies in Waryagharland generally run from four to seven ascendants, with a remarkable degree of consistency.

* * *

In contrast to the lay lineage genealogies, with their essential uniformity in terms of shallow generational depth, are the far deeper and more specialized genealogies of certain lineages of the semiholy clan of the Imrabdhen, to which we now turn.

It will be evident that the Imrabdhen in fact constitute a whole lineage unto themselves. I have previously commented on the astounding consistency of the total Imrabdhen genealogy, regarding the point of definition (at Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj), which occurs at 27 generations down from Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and the point of fission (at Sidi 'Abd al-Krim b. Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz), which occurs a further 8 generations down, at 35 generations from Fatima. Living informants of all the Imrabdhen lineages studied in depth were, in 1954–55, located at 11 to 14 generations down from the point of fission, at 19 to 22 generations from the point of definition, and hence at 46–49 generations from Fatima. It is worth noting that these figures are the same in the cases of both the large majority of "lay holy" lineages and the small minority of "holy holy" lineages. However, this high degree of genealogical consistency is not recognized by members of the Imrabdhen lineages concerned: I had to piece the genealogy together very carefully in order to discover it. Furthermore, it should be said that only one or perhaps two elderly members of most lineages keep the genealogical record effectively, either in their heads (the majority) or in documentary form on a scroll of paper (the minority); this is particularly true among the "lay holy" lineages. There are always those who know the genealogy and those who do not, although in "holy holy" lineages, almost all members do know them. A methodological point of relevance here is that if one finds an informant who does not know the genealogy, he immediately puts one on to some more illustrious agnate who does know it. Moreover, such a man, particularly if he is a member of an excentric Imrabdhen lineage residing outside the main blocks of Imrabdhen territory, can often be relied upon to help out with the genealogies of the surrounding lay lineages as well. Maldonado's statement about the spottiness and inconsistency of the total Imrabdhen genealogy is not borne out by the evidence in detail.[67]

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[66] According to the Iznagen themselves, all the land of the Aith Turirth was formerly called Adhrar Aznag, Mt. Aznag, after the mountain which acts as the divide between the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen and the Axt Tuzin. When the people of the Aith Turirth came from the right bank of the Nkur River to settle in Bulma, Ignan and l-'Ass, the Iznagen were then pushed into their present home at Tigzirin. One Iznagen informant restated the connection with the Igzinnayen as follows: during a feud, an Iznagen woman, whose husband had been killed, escaped with her small son from Tigzirin to the Igzinnayen. Here she remarried, and her descendants are called Ikhuwanen. At a presumably later date, the Iznagen who had gone to Ikhuwanen (in the Igzinnayen) returned to the Aith Turirth and settled once again in Tigzirin.

We now consider those Imrabdhen lineages of the "holy holy" category, those whose members traditionally adjudicated disputes, who possessed the *baraka*, and who constitute or constituted 10%, at maximum, of the total number of lineages in the clan. We can isolate some six such lineages, one of them stemming from the line of Sidi Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Krim and the other five from the far more proliferated line of his younger brother Sidi 'Aisa b. 'Abd al-Krim—from whom the great majority of the Waryaghar Imrabdhen are descended, irrespective of the degree of their holiness or laicization. What is of interest here is that although these holy genealogies may be cut from a deeper, richer bolt of cloth than the lay ones, they also show a striking uniformity in their overall generational depth and in their points of fission, a uniformity that is as marked as that obtaining among the lay lineages of the other clans. Three examples will suffice. The Dharwa n-Sidi Hmid Marrui, the one "holy holy" lineage that is descended from Sidi Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Krim, has a point of fission 12 generations down from the latter, 20 generations down from Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj (the point of definition for all the Imrabdhen), and 47 generations down from the Prophet's daughter. The Iziqqiwen or Dharwa n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa has its point of fission 9 generations down from Sidi 'Aisa b. 'Abd al-Krim, 17 down from Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and 44 down from the Prophet's daughter; its present effective members, living in the so-called "Hillock of the Saints" in Aith Hishim, are 49 generations distant, genealogically, from the Prophet's daughter. In this last case an independent confirmation of the six-generation gap between Sidi Mhand u-Musa and his living descendants is provided through our knowledge of his date of death, in 1838 or 1839.

Sidi Mhand u-Musa was one of the most important of the homegrown Waryaghar Imrabdhen, and his marriage to the daughter of an *amghar* of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari resulted in *liff* alliance between the latter clan and the Imrabdhen. He was at once an adjudicator, a warrior, and a miracle worker who had, it is said, the ability to be in two places at once; he reinforced and stiffened the Aith Waryaghar guard at the Burj l-Mujahidin in Ajdir, overlooking the Spanish-held Island of al-Husaima. He could not, however, entirely control the ever-present tendency of the lay Imrabdhen lineages to fight among themselves.[68] Although he himself is considered to have possessed the *baraka* in abundance, its power seems to have become gradually dissipated among his descendants. The last one of them who had it died in 1947, and none were ascribed it by lay public opinion even in the early stages of my fieldwork, in 1953.

The third example is the one *baraka*-possessing lineage left today in Waryagharland; in it the *baraka* has not been shared or diffused, but concentrated in only one member of the lineage at a time. This lineage is that of the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, located in the Aith 'Aru Musa community of the Aith Turirth. Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud himself, the point of fission, emerges also at a point 12 generations down from Sidi 'Aisa b. 'Abd al-Krim, 19 generations down from Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and 46 down from the Prophet's daughter. The eldest of his living grandsons, Sidi Muhammad n-Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, is the current *baraka* holder; it is expected that the power will be transmitted on his death to his own eldest son, again Sidi Muhammad, and at 49 generations down from the Prophet's daughter Fatima. In this case, the *baraka* passage has been entirely along the lines of primogeniture, but as existing Islamic preconceptions on this score simply do not allow Muslims to think along these lines, the concept that God bestows the *baraka* on whomsoever He wishes is invoked instead. After all, how else could Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and his son Sidi Muhand have both had the ability to fly, unperceived by human eye?

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[67] Maldonado (Et-Tabyi), op. cit., 1955, pp. 65–70.

[68] The following anecdote illustrates this homicidal tendency among lay Imrabdhen: once there was an *amrabit* of the "lay holy" or rank-and-file category whose father had been killed. After his death the *amrabit* went to the tomb of one of the "holy holy" Imrabdhen—possibly even to that of Sidi Mhand u-Musa—to pray that God strike the killer dead. Nothing came of this, and the killer still lived; finally he confronted the *amrabit* and asked him if he had been praying for his death. The *amrabit* answered in the affirmative, and added that if God was not going to punish the killer, he himself would do so; and at the same moment he slid out his dagger and plunged it into his father's murderer's stomach. It is quite possible, as several informants have suggested, that the wholesale participation of lay Imrabdhen lineages in feuds was a selective factor in weeding out the sheep from the goats, the *baraka* possessing lineages from the armed rank-and-file. A *sine qua non* of adjudicators and miracle workers was that they had to be pacific and could not fight.

Generational uniformity in depth is hence shown to be as marked among the Imrabdhen lineages as it is among lay ones. And, of the six Imrabdhen lineages that claim "holy holiness" through *baraka*-possession, only one, the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, has this claim substantiated today by the surrounding lay lineages. The fact sheds light on how the *baraka* is transmitted, and how a high degree of unconscious selectivity on the part of the surrounding lay lineages has attributed it to only a very few of the Imrabdhen, all territorially excentric to the main body of the clan but none genealogically distinguishable from the rest.

* * *

Two final considerations are in order before our discussion of the Waryaghar lineage system comes to a close. One is internal to the lineage structure itself, and the other involves the relationship of the lineage to the local community.

The first question is concerned with the relatively stable and uniform position of names within the lineage, such that one portion of a given lineage genealogy at any point in time will show a fairly close resemblance to a comparable portion of that same genealogy at any other point in time. This is so partly because of the very common Waryaghar practice of naming sons not for their fathers (this occurs only if their fathers have died before they are born) but for their paternal grandfathers. Peters has reported the same pattern for the Bedouins of Cyrenaica,[69] and I have also found it to hold true for certain Berber tribes elsewhere in Morocco. For Waryagharland, a single example will suffice, once again that of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth (as of 1965). The whole will be clearer if letters are substituted for the actual names.

In Fig. 10.14, D^2 represents the same actual name as D^1 but qualified by the adjective "younger." A, D^1, D^2, E, H, J, L and O are all variant names on the Arabic root *h-m-d*, "to praise." A cross denotes any male member of the lineage who died without issue. D^1 at Level II died before his son D^1 was born at Level III, both the two men designated as D^1, and those designated K, L, and G (sons of D^2), left only girl children. (Of D^2's other sons, M only married in 1965 and I is still unmarried: D^2 himself lived to be over 90, had three wives, and died only in 1956, more than 100 years after his father married). The three members of the lineage at Level V were all young children in 1965.

On the actual name count, the results are as follows: A—3 occurrences, B—4, C—2, D^1—3, D^2—2, E—1, F—3, G—2, H—2, I—2, J—3, K—1, L—3, M—1, N—1, and O—1.

Of grandsons named for their grandfathers, there are no less than five instances (one at Levels III and I, two at Levels IV and II, and two at Levels V and III) in this one lineage.

This case is by no means atypical, and it clearly demonstrates the following points: (1) There are always more male members of a given lineage than there are "available" names to go around. When we are dealing with social units and their terminology, this same kind of situation produces a structural fluidity, but within a given lineage it has the apparent reverse effect of producing a set of names that may be interchanged at any given generation. (2) It is not at all uncommon for agnates of the same generation to bear the same name. (Figure 10.14 shows no less than eight instances—five at Level III, two of D^1 and three of G, and three instances of B at Level IV. Sometimes the duplication in the same generation

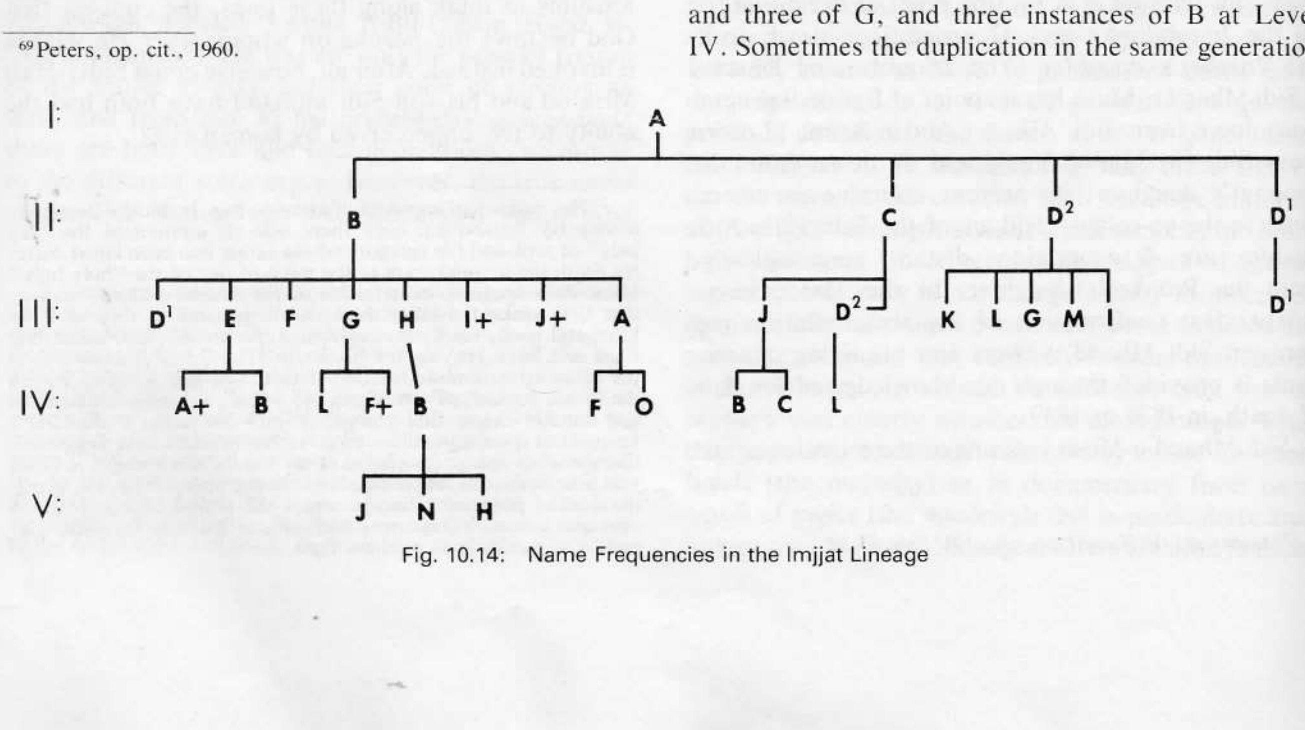

Fig. 10.14: Name Frequencies in the Imjjat Lineage

results from sharing the same grandfather as in the case of two of the B's at Level IV. Thus the shared name may be viewed on an ascending or a descending scale, ideally skipping a generation in any given sublineage because of the nomenclatural grandfather-grandson identification.

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[69] Peters, op. cit., 1960.

Turning to the relationship of the lineage to the local community, we shall again take the Aith Turirth as a specific example and look at the dichotomy between what they consider to be their territorial system and their lineage system as a whole. All "true" Aith Turirth lineages are AITH 'AMAR, but territorially, the lineages of the Aith Yikhrif u-Hand group, comprising the communities of l-Wad, Thizimmurin, "true" Aith 'Amar, and part of Aith 'Aru Musa, are considered as Aith Ughzar, "people of the river": the reference is to the fact that they all dwell along or near the Upper Nkur River banks. This is nothing but a case of cross-cutting classifications: that by territoriality and that by lineage affiliation, for the *liff* alliances that were to emerge in the Aith Turirth were themselves to cut across both of the above categories.

In only the one instance of the local community of the "true" Aith 'Amar is there complete correspondence between the name of the community and the name of the resident lineage. In the local community of Aith 'Aru Musa, the correspondence is largely but not entirely complete: the Aith 'Aru Musa lineage is the dominant one, but there are others, including the Imrabdhen of Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud and a foreign lay lineage, the Aith Ya'qub from the Igzinnayen. In no other cases do the names of local communities correspond to those of the lineages living in them. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for certain lineages to exist in more than one locality and even to spread out from one local community to the next. The people of Aswir, for example, are always referred to as Aith Uswir, but this is a place name and not a lineage name; the constituent lineages, all related, are Itarbiwen ("sons of the *talib*," i.e., Qur'an student), Yinn 'Aisa w-'Amar, and Dharwa n-'Amar Hand u-Sa'id. Some members of the second lineage have also purchased land in Ignan, where the dominant lineage is the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id. One may speak of the residents of Bulma ("without water") as Aith Bulma, whereas in fact they are almost all members of the various segments of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah lineage. Again, one may speak of the Aith r-'Ass, in l-'Ass, whereas the true name of the resident lineage is Imjjat, and the community also includes a small subsegment of the Aith 'Aru Musa. As for Tigzirin ("islands"), the two localized lineages are the Iznagen and Ihawtshen, but there are also members of one of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah sublineages of Bulma who acquired land there as payment for certain services rendered to the Iznagen.

It is apparent from the foregoing that the overall tendency in Waryagharland is to assign a toponym to a local community and its land, and to assign an anthroponym, a name embodying either the true name or the nickname of the lineage ancestor, to each lineage group resident within it. The name of the local community is only occasionally the same as that of any of the resident lineage groups. In one instance from the Timarzga subclan, the community of Aith Yusif, the Yusif in question was the putative common ancestor of all the resident lineages save those of Asrafil, but none of these lineages today bears the name of Yusif. This name has moved up a notch, through fusion, so to speak, to become that embracing the whole of the local community. Spanish administrative documentation on this subject is revealing: of the total of 100 local communities listed for the Aith Waryaghar in the *Nombres de los Musulmanes Habitantes en la Zona de Protectorado de España en Marruecos*,[70] only 30 have resident lineage groups of the same name. And of these 30, only 15 are absolutely sure, in the sense that the genealogy can be fully traced to the local community ancestor by aged and select members of those communities; the other 15 are of the "Aith Yusif" category just described.[71]

What is noteworthy here is that although Aith Waryaghar keep the distinction between place names and lineage names very clear in their own minds, the inherently fluid terminology often crosses these conceptual frontiers. *Ad-Dshar Bulma*, *ad-Dshar Ignan*, and *ad-Dshar r-'Ass* refer to the physical sites, plus houses, of these communities; the Bulma mosque-cum-cemetery is the focal point for the three of them; and *aj-jma'th n-Bulma*, *aj-jma'th n-Ignan*, and *aj-*

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[70] Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, *Nombres de los Musulmanes Habitantes en la Zona de Protectorado de España en Marruecos: Territorios, Kábilas, Fracciones* y *Poblados de la Misma*, Tetuan 1955, pp. 83–84.

[71] The 15 communities in question are: Aith Musa w-'Amar (Aith 'Ari), I'ayyaden and Aith Sa'id (Aith 'Abdallah), Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth), Aith Misa'ud, Aith 'Amar u-Sha'ib, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith 'Aziz, I'athmanen, Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, Aith r-Qadi, Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, Izarruqen and Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (All Imrabdhen). The reasons for genealogical traceability in the Imrabdhen communities should be obvious.

The remaining 15 communities of the "Aith Yusif" type are: Aith Mhand u-Yihya (both of the mountain and of the plain) and Ikattshumen, both Upper and Lower (in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari); Aith Dawud (in the Aith 'Ari, but located in the Aith 'Abdallah), Aith Dris and Aith Zkri (both Aith 'Abdallah); Iharunen, Ihadduthen and Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id (Aith Hadhifa); Iriyanen, Aith Bu Khrif, Aith Ruqman and Aith 'Aisa (Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the last two jointly form the community of Tazurakhth, which is in the Aith 'Adhiya); I'akkiyen (in scission from the Aith 'Arus); and, as in the text, the "true" Aith 'Amar (Aith Turirth) and Aith Yusif (Timarzga).

jma'th nj-'Ass refer, collectively, to the people resident in each. However, it is at the same time perfectly correct and permissible to refer to these same people as *Aith Bulma, Aith Ignan,* and *Aith r-'Ass,* almost as though one is dealing with lineages rather than with local communities. These examples could be extended all over Waryagharland, and they demonstrate wider significance of *aith* as meaning "people," whether followed by a personal name or by a place name. But although the nuances are clear to the Aith Waryaghar, they may not always be so to outsiders, among whom, for example, we might find the *Aith r-Rbat* or "people of Rabat."

A major source of the terminological fluidity is of course the overlapping that occurs when a given lineage extends territorially beyond the bounds of the local community in which it originated—or to which it gave rise. The condition promoting such expansion may be tantamount to scission, but it may equally be a consequence of natural growth and proliferation. In the Aith Turirth and Timarzga examples just cited, the process here under consideration refers to those "fragmented" lineages whose members live in more than one "place." Proliferation of this sort through normal fission is so common as to be the rule rather than the exception. It is so obvious that it is easy to take for granted, simply because it is a less striking and less dramatic process than scission.

To point up an analogy between the segmentary and territorial systems, a final general remark about distances in the Jbil Hmam will bring this chapter to a close: the point of reference will be the Wednesday market of Tawrirt. From al-Husaima to the Wednesday market there are, first, 40 km. of paved road to a *mkhazni* guardpost known as "Twenty"; from "Twenty" to the market itself there are 6 km. of piste. At the market, the track ends completely, and one must go on muleback or foot to upriver or transmontane communities. The longest time and furthest distances to the market, according to those who habitually frequent it, are some 35 km. and 4-6 hours on muleback. These points of reference are drawn from the outlying communities of the Timarzga and Aith 'Arus. For the Aith Turirth and southern Aith Bu 'Ayyash, distances are less. These estimations of time are only for good weather when the Nkur is not in flood. Distances are circumscribed but the terrain is highly irregular; and Aith Waryaghar can walk faster than Europeans and go faster on muleback, and thus tend to telescope distances on the ground just as they do the temporal distances in their lineage system. Territoriality and the segmentary system are inseparable, the two sides of a single coin.

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In the Aith Waryaghar view, the lineage, *dharfiqth,* and its branches or sublineages, *ijujga,* are primordially linked to the temporal realm of segmentation while the *dshar* or local community is primordially linked to the spatial realm of territoriality. The upper levels—the subclan and the clan (*ar-rba'*), the "fifth" (*khums*), and the tribe (*dhaqbitsh*)—all have, in this respect, a divided allegiance in which the pull toward segmentation is as strong as the push toward territoriality. But in themselves, these "dogmatic modes" (to use Cunnison's term) both of segmentation and of territoriality, even though they may be as the two sides of a coin, do not tell the whole story; and this is the case despite the fact that Aith Waryaghar themselves believe it to be so. And despite such proverbs as *d-dim ur itminzi ur itmarhin,* "blood is not to be sold or mortgaged," frequently quoted to illustrate the principle of segmental opposition, the distribution of *haqq* fines paid by murderers to the council tended in general to follow the model laid out above, as did the collective oath. But there are other considerations of equal, or nearly equal, importance, such as relationships created by *'ar,* pacts made by *'ahd* and alliances made by *liff,* which are, each in its own way, capable of doing rather serious damage to this same model.

11. THE POLITICAL AND JURAL SYSTEMS

Aith Waryaghar society is characterized by a fierce and highly competitive egalitarianism, competitive in Blanco's sense in that almost every member of it is a personality; hence the only workable political system or arrangement is that of superimposed representative councils—a system of organized acephaly. Egalitarianism is the keynote, but by the same token, its most distinctive feature, barring competition of a "dog-eat-dog" variety among the council members, is that the majority are "more equal" than the minority, who do not participate and who have never participated in this political system. Given this fact, we shall begin this chapter by viewing the political system first in terms of those who are excluded from it.

LOW-CLASS SPECIALISTS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

A highland Aith Waryaghar parable very neatly, albeit in some ways falsely, posits a "hierarchy," if such it can be called, in the social stratification of the various low-class[1] occupational groups in the region. The translated proverb runs as follows:

When a Jew dies in the community
The market ticket collector buries him.
When the ticket collector dies
The market weigher buries him.
When the weigher dies
The butcher buries him.
When the butcher dies
The blacksmith buries him.
When the blacksmith dies
The musician buries him.
When the musician dies
A man of the Ihawtshen [lineage] buries him.
When an Ahawtash dies
We bury him.

This parable points up a good many of the important features of social stratification in Waryagharland and indeed in the Rif in general. First, it clearly enumerates all those individuals, most of whom are also identified as members of occupational groups, who are beyond the pale and are hence despised. The hierarchical grading order of burial as expressed in the parable, however, is by no means to be construed as absolute or rigid, although it is certainly true that the Jew (*udhai*) is or was at the bottom of the Rifian social ladder and that the market entrance fee collector, a petty official who only came in with the protectorate, is considered only very slightly better (his designation, *a'ashshar*, derives from the fact that the collector originally received one-tenth of the profits from sales made by each person who entered the market).

There is one minor omission from the list, the *abarrah* or market crier; however, the weigher (*ax-iyyar*) and the crier are usually one and the same person, who may also be a musician or *amdhyaz* and who is nominated by the council members to perform this duty. There is another, rather more serious omission from the list: the Negro (*ismagh*, "black"). With him the cast of despised characters is now complete, and we may now look somewhat more closely at each of them, first at the roles of Jews and Negroes (both of whom speak Rifian) in Aith Waryaghar society, and then at those of the practitioners of the low-class occupations, who pose in some ways a more complex problem.

Jews

The subject of Jews in Waryagharland and in the Rif in general is now entirely of historical interest and can be spoken of in the past tense, for none are left there now. By about 1959-1960 those who had previously lived in the plain—in Ajdir, Imzuren, and Aith Musa w-'Amar (where their cemetery was located)—had all left the country, either to take up residence in Melilla or Spain or to emigrate to Israel. The nearest synagogue, at Torres de Alcalá in the Bni Bu Frah, was also completely deserted—indeed the whole little town of Torres de Alcalá, when I visited it in 1965, was a ghost town, and the whole center of gravity had shifted a few kilometers inland to the Thursday market of the Bni Bu Frah. But in Spanish times, in 1953-1955; there were some five Jewish families (all elementary or nuclear in character) located in northern Waryagharland, and two more at the Monday market of the Aith Hadhifa.

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[1] Not "low caste": we are not dealing here in any sense with caste systems, as delineated, for instance, by E. R. Leach in his "Introduction: What Should We Mean By Caste?," in Leach, Ed., *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and Northwest Pakistan*, Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp. 1-10.

Every male Jew was either a silversmith or goldsmith or a packsaddle maker; the usual pattern was that there was one of each resident at or near each market, and that he and his family were under the protection of a powerful *amghar* or *qaid*. The keynote of Jewish behavior was that of safety in humility; conversely, for a powerful man to have "his own" Jew was considered a sign of prestige. Because the Jews stood entirely outside the political system, and because their occupational services were much in demand, many informants said that to kill or even to molest a Jew was an infinitely worse offense than to kill a fellow tribesman, for the Jew's protector would show absolutely no mercy to the killer. Thus Jews had settled in Aith Musa w-'Amar to be near the top *amghar* Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa, and in Ajdir to be under the protection of Sriman r-Khattabi when he was named top *qaid* of Waryagharland by the Spaniards in 1926.

Nonetheless, Jews were constantly reminded of their lowly status and occupation, for all over Morocco a Jew could take oath against a Muslim, for example, only if he wore a packsaddle on his back, like a donkey, as a badge of office.

A Rifian legend about Jews makes their humble status very clear. Once the Jews had a great war in which all their men were killed. Only their women remained, and they went to the Prophet Muhammad and asked him whom they should marry now, "as in those days marriage was entirely endogamous." The Prophet told them to sleep with their husbands in the cemetery. They did so, and the following morning they were all pregnant; and thus the Jews rose again. A dead mule is known as *jifa* or "carrion," and the origin of the Jews is equated with, and has the same value as, that of dead mules.

Aith Waryaghar also say that it is forbidden to sit on the doorstep of a house because only dogs, Jews, and Shaitan (the Devil) sit there: dogs always look for scraps of food there, Jews make their packsaddles there, and Shaitan waits there to trap the unwary.

During the *Ripublik*, the Hajj Am'awsh of Bulma in the Aith Turirth had also had "his" Jew, one Shlimu l-Haggir, who made his packsaddles and to whom he gave a house as his "neighbor." Shlimu remained in Bulma for nearly twenty years, into the early days of the protectorate, and then finally went back to Melilla whence he had come. But his memory remained until as late as 1962, as an incident in which I was personally involved demonstrates. The background involves the hostility existing between two lineages, and the fact that I myself had come to be referred to locally by the name Fqir Azzugwagh, the apex of the Imjjat lineage.

A blond and green-eyed member of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass was accused by one of the members of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh of Bulma of having had an American ancestor. The Imjjat man replied, in jest, that this was indeed true, that the Land Rover that I had was a wonderful means of transportation up and down the Nkur river valley, and that all and sundry thought well of me. But he then added that the sons of the Hajj Am'awsh had as an ancestor a Jew who made packsaddles, and that when the Nkur was swollen up in flood, they took him across it on their backs in order to reach the Wednesday market! Nothing came of this insult at the time, but shortly thereafter these same two men got into a fight at a namegiving ceremony and had to be forcibly separated.[2]

Blacks

Such blacks as there are in Waryagharland—and there are not many more than there were Jews—are all, without exception, the descendants of freed slaves and are almost entirely endogamous. (In 1953, I had heard of only one instance, and that not entirely confirmed, of a black who had married a Waryaghar woman. He was also the tallest man in Waryagharland, standing about 6′7″ in his sandals.) They all are, as the Jews were, concentrated in and around Ajdir; there are not now and never have been any in the highlands. Two lineages in Ajdir, the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Abd r-Krim of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa and the Ishiffaren ("thieves") of the Aith Zara', have black clients or incipient black lineages,[3] as do two Imrabdhen lineages in Azghar, the r-Qshu' ("potters") and Andrusen ("Andalusians"). Like Jews, blacks always have very distinctive personal names (e.g., Farraji, Blal—the latter name commemorating the first muezzin of Islam, Bilal, who was a black), and they must address any ordinary Rifians as *Sidi* ("my lord") or *Lalla* ("my lady"). They themselves are simply referred to, on the other hand, as *Isimghan n-Fran*, "Blacks of X",[4] followed by the name of the patron lineage.

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[2] Three years later, in 1965, two other men of the same two lineages got into a fight in a cafe well outside the Rif, and the cause of it, once again, was the full acceptance of me and my wife by the Imjjat; and this time it was in earnest. The Imjjat man smacked out all the teeth of the Hajj Am'awsh's great-grandson with a crowbar, and would possibly have killed him had he not been forcibly restrained. In this case witnesses testified that the descendant of the Hajj Am'awsh had been the one to pick the fight, and the month he had to spend in the hospital afterward was regarded as his just desserts. Even so, the Imjjat man spent two days in jail and had to award his adversary a certain amount of money as dental compensation.

[3] Another unconfirmed rumor was that the I'abdrkrimen of Aith Zara', 'Abd al-Krim's own lineage, had some black clients.

The Ajdir blacks traditionally worked as servants or as *ikhammasen* for their patrons, but in 1953–1954 they were also farming on their own account. Their women were potters for the most part, selling their hand-formed pottery in the *suq* at Imzuren; this may be significant, for elsewhere in Berber Morocco it is black men who make pots, on potters' wheels. In this connection, the lineage name or nickname of r-Qshu', mentioned above, is of interest. Coon has a picture of a negroid blacksmith from Ajdir,[5] but all my informants denied that blacksmiths were negroid, and in six years in Waryagharland I certainly never saw one who was—although I did once in the Aith 'Ammarth. The blacksmiths fall into quite a different category, to be discussed below.

The blacks like the Jews, were of course entirely pacific. They never bore arms, and they too sought safety in humility. But the Aith Waryaghar attitude toward them can readily be gauged from the fact that the reason the tribe collectively decided to oppose the Pretender Bu Hmara when he tried to invade their territory in 1908 was not because they were on the side of the legitimate Sultan, but rather because Bu Hmara's general who led the invasion, Jilali Mul l-Wudu', was a black and a slave. This they would not tolerate.

The Despised Minority From The Axt Tuzin: Occupational Or Racial?

The most significant point about all the specialists mentioned in the parable quoted at the beginning of this chapter is that they all originate from the tribe of the Axt Tuzin, or are held to have so originated. The market weighers and criers are said to have come from the Axt Tuzin clans of the Axt Bir'aiz and Axt 'Akki; the butchers, also from the Axt 'Akki, whence some of them peeled off in scission, one supposes, to move to I'akkiyen in Waryagharland; the *imziren* or blacksmiths and farriers[6] come traditionally from the community of Ibu'ayyaden in the Axt Bir'aiz (although there are also many of them in the more eastern tribe of the Aith Wurishik), while one informant would derive them from Isarhiwen in the Axt 'Akki. This same informant also derived the *imdhyazen* (sing. *amdhyaz*), or musicians, from Isarhiwen in the Axt 'Akki, while indicating as well that they might be descended from 'Akku, a Jew; another informant thought that they came to the Axt Tuzin from the Gharb. Finally, the Ihawtshen lineage in the community of Tigzirin in the Aith Turirth, whose men make mule and donkey panniers and whose women make mats, came from Tighza in the Axt Tuzin to settle in Waryagharland. Their ancestor, Sidi Mhand w-'Aisa, is buried in Midar of the Axt Tuzin. In the case of the Ihawtshen the parable acquires added force, for not only were the members of this lineage noncombatants in bloodfeuds, but they buried the dead of the fighting lineages, the "more than equal" majority.[7]

Oddly enough, the Axt Tuzin have "produced" three other types of specialists who are not despised. The first two are tinkers, who work in markets, and potters, who have pottery ovens there. The third are the I'aisawiyen, members of the 'Aisawa religious order; their head *zawiya* is in Meknes, and so they can hardly be said to have been "produced" by the Axt Tuzin, but there are many of them there. Since they play essentially the same kind of music as do the *imdhyazen*—and, furthermore, act as snake charmers and are able to cure snakebites—a certain stigma attaches to them also.

The point of origin of the members of the despised professions is very clear, and it is restricted, as noted, to two clans within the Axt Tuzin. Coon makes the cogent point that at least one common denominator of all these professions is the making of noise in public places. Nowadays, the market crier shouts out his announcements over a public-address system, although until the Spanish administration set these up in the 1950s, he had to rely on his own lung power. Then there is the deafening boom of the butcher, who, after sacrificing his cows, makes a cut in the hoof to blow up the skin, and then beats on the now swollen stomach of the animal with a heavy stick prior to flaying. As for the musicians, they play a special deep-toned reed instrument, the *zammar*, a "double clarinet" with a twin mouthpiece and twin stops, culminating in a pair of large decorated cow's horns, which are in turn hooked by their tips to the ends of the pipes and joined together by a tassle.

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[4] Rifian *fran* (Arabic *fulan*, Moroccan Arabic *flan*) means "someone," "anyone," "x." Borrowed into Spanish, it appears as *fulano*.

[5] Coon, op. cit., 1931, facing p. 60.

[6] The word *imziren* does not, as Coon thinks (op. cit., 1931, p. 99), mean "Shameless Ones," an error perpetuated in Bernard G. Hoffman, *The Structure of Traditional Moroccan Rural Society*, Paris and the Hague: Mouton, 1967, pp. 144–145. *Imziren* means "blacksmiths" only, and shame or the lack of it only enters the question in another way.

[7] The Ihawtshen still refer to themselves as "Aith Tighza," but nobody else in the region does, and the name Ihawtshen derives from the fact that they used to leave the hair on the napes of their necks unshaven. Also, to this day they pronounce the Arabic letter *qaf* as *kaf*.

They also play reed flutes and heavy tambourines and dance and sing at marriage and name-giving ceremonials (often indulging in fairly licentious behavior and *risqué* songs, if no women are within earshot).[8] Finally, they are professional stud men, with large male donkeys for hire, which they breed with mares in order to produce she-mules, valued more than male mules in the Rif. And in any *suq* one can see and hear the blacksmith-farriers not only working their bellows but pounding on their anvils and shoeing mules and donkeys.

It is therefore quite true that these activities involve not only a considerable amount of noise making, but also a considerable amount of public exhibitionism. It is this last feature that ordinary Aith Waryaghar consider to be *hashuma*, shameful—and this is no doubt why Coon labeled all these specialists as "Shameless Ones;" the error is thus understandable. But there are other factors as well: these people, all from the second- or third-lowest rung of the social ladder (the ranking order in burial suggested by the parable is of little or no real importance), are not only extremely poor, but they are all said to be almost totally propertyless in terms of land and houses. Indeed, a type of song that the *imdhyazen* have always sung (in addition to songs of the famous *ay-aralla-buya* variety so characteristic of the Rif in general) is one with the refrain *mali, mali, mali,* Arabic for "my property"—of which, of course, they have none (as noted in Chap. 5). Thus all these people count heavily on payment for the services they render. It is also common for *imdhyazen*, for instance, to come around to the threshing floors of ordinary Rifians at harvest time in order to beg a little grain.

This propertylessness is also probably responsible for another error in the literature, this one made by the Spaniards (and often perpetrated by Spanish-speaking Rifians as well): the labeling of the *imdhyazen*, in particular, as *gitanos* or "gypsies," which of course they are not, and especially not in the Spanish sense of the term, as construed, for example, in the Sacromonte quarter of Granada. With the exception of two blacksmiths, father and son, who are resident in Bulma of the Aith Turirth and have a modicum of property there (for the father, 'Amar n-Bahida, just like the Jew Shlimu l-Haggir, was patronized by the sons of the powerful Hajj Am'awsh), the despised groups are, to my knowledge, entirely endogamous with relation to ordinary Rifians (among themselves, it is perfectly possible for an *amdhyaz* to marry a *dhamzitsh*, the daughter of a blacksmith or *amzir*). There is, however, no question of any restriction on sexual relations between ordinary men and the womenfolk of blacksmiths and musicians: indeed, taking the wife or daughter of an *amdhyaz* or *amzir* to bed is considered by Rifian men to be very good sport indeed, and these women are consequently regarded by rank-and-file Aith Waryaghar as prostitutes. (Naturally, this does not cut both ways, given the attitudes of Aith Waryaghar both about their own women and about the practitioners of these low-class occupations.)

It might seem logical at this point for a Western investigator to ascribe the social and economic—to say nothing of the political—inferiority of these groups to their professions, and to write the matter off as a question of mere low-class status that is occupationally based. But such is not the Aith Waryaghar view: for there remains the crucial fact that the various assorted members of this fairly wide near-bottom-level class come from the Axt Tuzin, a fact that must be accounted for in Aith Waryaghar terms. In Waryaghar eyes a stigma even attaches to the Axt Tuzin as a whole for having spawned these people, to which some Axt Tuzin informants lamely retort that the *imdhyazen* "really" come either from the Aith Wurishik further east, or from the Gharb, or even from Algeria (as a third tradition has it), whence they brought their special musical instruments and techniques. Thus, in the last analysis, Axt Tuzin informants do not claim them, since they obviously do not wish to bear this particular burden alone. This is, of course, yet another example of the ambiguity which is so inherent in the social organization of the region at large. It is, furthermore, well illustrated by two conflicting legends about the origins of the *imziren*, the blacksmiths. The first is the version which they themselves provide; the second, far more uncomplimentary, emanates from the Aith Turirth.

In the first legend, their ancestor is said to have been Sidna Dawud (David, of the Old Testament), who had 99 wives, and all blacksmiths are held to be descended from his progeny by these wives. Sidna Dawud himself originally did not need to heat iron in the fire; he could bend or break it with his bare hands and form a shoe to fit any mule's or donkey's hoof, or make any other object with it. Once, however, he slept with a woman who was not one of his many wives (one gathers that not only was he very strong physically, but sexually as well!), and when he tried to bend a piece of iron afterward, it would not bend. So he had to heat it in the fire, and to use a hammer and an anvil; and all of his descendants have followed his example.

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[8] As the *imdhyazen* have to be paid for their services, they are always invited to marriage ceremonies only by the groom's father (who in the Rif always spends far more money than does the father of the bride) never first to the house of the bride's father. Their dancing, too is often highly acrobatic.

The Aith Turirth version is very different, and it provides in Waryaghar minds the justification for a derogatory proverb to be found in other variations in other regions of Morocco as well. The proverb, *Hayatin bayatin khut-hum shayatin*, suggests that all the people in these racial/occupational categories are brothers of devils. It seems that one day Shaitan, the Devil, was going to market with his she-donkey. At the market the donkey ate a large quantity of barley, and later, when the Devil prodded her with his stick to get her to move, she defecated. The ancestor of all blacksmiths immediately arose, phoenix-like, from her feces and started to shoe her; and this is why blacksmiths shoe mules and donkeys to this day. I have been told that during the *Ripublik* it was customary to spit upon the bodies of dead blacksmiths that might be found floating in the upper Nkur river; but "people no longer do this today!"

The practitioners of these lowly professions are despised by the rank-and-file of the Aith Waryaghar and of other Rifian tribes because of their origins rather than because of their occupations or work. In the Waryaghar view, this is no "chicken or egg" argument: there is no question in their minds that the base origins of these people resulted in the adoption by them of base professions, or of professions that the egalitarian majority regard as being quite unsuitable for themselves. The same majority buttress this argument by asserting that the lowly minority are of a different and darker-complexioned "race." It is true that most of the practitioners of the inferior professions are indeed darker than ordinary Rifians, but it is not true of all of them. I have seen at least one blue-eyed *amdhyaz*, and the son of the dark Bulma blacksmith is very blond, red-faced, and blue-eyed as well—although possibly his hair, skin, and eye pigmentation came to him genetically through his Aith Turirth mother. Nonetheless, to Aith Waryaghar, this is a matter of dogmatic ascription. There are other variables as well, such as certain diagnostics of dress and adornment: some *imdhyazen*, for instance, are still said to wear the old-style scalplock, long since abandoned by everyone else; they twist their turbans around their heads rather than wrapping them; they often wind a multi-colored cord in with the turban; and they wear an earring in the left ear (again, "gypsy style"), which no self-respecting dhu-Waryaghar would ever do. In addition to playing the *zammar*, they also play the small three-stringed *ginbri*, whereas the only musical instrument that any Waryaghar would play—and then primarily as a joke—would be the [illegible], a deep tambourine. Music, singing, and dancing are performed only by women for the entertainment of men—and by *imdhyazen*. The graded hierarchy as suggested by the parable at the beginning of this section may not be entirely valid, but the activities involved are not those of free men in a tribal society. We now turn to a resoundingly male activity, from which all these other categories of people, as well as women and children, are rigidly excluded: politics.

CUSTOM, LAW AND THE SYSTEM OF SUPERIMPOSED REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS

In accordance with the model established by Coon for the political system of the tribes of the Central Rif in general, the *aitharbi'in* or representative council was, during the *Ripublik*, the body politic, a three-tiered institution existing at once at the level of the local community, as the *aitharbi'in n-d-dshar;* at that of the clan or "fifth," as the *aitharbi'in n-ar-rba';* and finally at that of the tribe as a whole, as the *aitharbi'in n-tqbitsh*.[9] The members of the council were called *imgharen* (sing. *amghar*), while the council meeting and the site at which it was held were known as *agraw*.[10] If at any time there was a single councillor whose opinions were deferred to by the others or who through sheer force was able to override the rest and make his decisions stick, he was known as *amghar amqqran* or "top *amghar*."

The existence of a top *amghar* was unusual; however, there was naturally an informal though powerful process of selection and recruitment at work at the community level, which chose the less effective lineage heads for representation of the community at the clan level, and promoted the stronger community spokesmen to membership in the clan council. What this meant was that there were one or two men per community in the clan council, and always two if the community itself were split into two hostile *liffs*. Exactly the same process was operative at the tribal level, with about two or three councillors per clan participating in the overall tribal council. The principle of recruitment was based upon what Erola aptly terms *la ley del más fuerte:*[11] the stronger an *amghar*, the quicker he rose to the highest representational level, and his strength was measured in terms of (1) his own physical courage; (2) the number of his agnates, *liff* allies, affines, and other constituents, and the number of guns they could command; and (3) his wealth and personal resources. Once in office, the tenure of an *amghar* was theoretically for life, but more often than not his life would be cut short by a bullet, or a dagger, or a billhook, or even by poison in his tea: the competition for political office was extremely fierce and of a markedly "dog-eat-dog" character. A weak *amghar* was a "no-good' *amghar*, and he never rose above the level of the local community.

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[9] Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 96 ff. Coon also refers to the clan council as *ashtarbi'in n-imqqranen* (with the Igzinnayen pronunciation *ashtarbi'in*) which he translates as "Council of the Great." It should perhaps be better rendered as "Council of the Big Ones," the term *imqqranen* (sing. *amqqran*) being used here to differentiate this higher-level political body from the council of the local community.

[10] The first of these terms is from the Berber root *m-gh-r*, "to grow, to be big, to grow old," while the second is from another Berber root *g-r-u*, "to come together, collect, assemble." It is worth mentioning that in the Plain of al-Husaima, informants claimed that the term *aitharbi'in* was not used in Waryagharland, only *imgharen* and *agraw*. What they meant was that it was not employed, perhaps, in the lowlands; it was most certainly employed all over the highlands. By the same token, lowlanders referred to an *utharbi'in* or member of the *aitharbi'in* as an *aziddjif* (pl. *iziddjifen*), "head," and in this context, "lineage head." Such a man who made the clan council was verbally promoted to the title *amghar*.

It should be said at this point that Coon's contention that in the Igzinnayen the council of the local community was made up of adolescent boys, in order to provide them with "on-the-job" training for the more serious business of participating in the clan council in later life (a contention that was denied by my own informants from that tribe), was never the case in Waryagharland, where politics was the sphere of grown men only.[12] In this respect the political organization and situation in Waryagharland was a kind of parody in microcosm of a situation that was and is very common at all levels of Moroccan political life: a plethora of legitimate claimants to office and the fact that the position itself is far more important than the man who holds it (just as we have seen in the tremendous proliferation of *shurfa* all over the country). An *amghar* who died by violence was always immediately replaceable, for there were always too many cooks ready to spoil the broth. It was almost "all chiefs and no Indians," with the difference that there were indeed a few "Indians," but, as noted above, they were excluded from political participation. These "chiefs," of course, were not really chiefs at all, but councillors in a political system of organized acephaly (rather than "anarchy" or "democracy" or even "republicanism").[13] The long lists of *imgharen*, to the tune of ten or twelve per clan, that were given to me by elderly informants, point this up (although it is highly doubtful that as many as this from each clan could actually participate in the tribal council); each *amghar* acted as a check on another *amghar* (or on other *imgharen*), and indeed each one potentially canceled out the effectiveness of the other. The council meetings were very often long, drawn-out affairs: they were generally conducted with propriety and decorum, but often considerable time would elapse in deliberation over particular issues before agreement or even a consensus of opinion could be reached; sometimes no decision would be immediately forthcoming, and in the case of a council meeting in the market, the matter would perhaps be deferred until the following week.

The terms *amghar* and *agraw* pose no problems, but that of *aitharbi'in* does. I have pointed out in a previous publication what this key term seems to me to mean in a Rifian context,[14] and it is worth recapitulating here. In Rifian, first of all, it has absolutely nothing to do with the number or notion (in Arabic or Berber) of *arba'in*, "forty." The word itself is a plural compound noun, of which the singular is *utharbi'in*, (properly *u-tharbi'in*, *u-*, "man of," plus *tharbi'in*, "people"), meaning "man of the people," "representative of the people;" and hence *aitharbi'in* (the elided form of *aith-tharbi'in*), "representatives" or "people of the people." A better term to describe the body politic could hardly be devised, for the representatives of the people are *ipso facto* the council members.

Before turning to the rights and duties of the various councils, it is necessary to discuss "Custom" and its relationship to the Shari'a, for the sum total of these rights and duties constitutes the corpus of the tribe's Custom or Customary Law, designated by either of two Arabic terms, *qa'ida* and *'urf*. How Custom became modified under the aegis of 'Abd al-Krim and gave way to the Shari'a in almost all respects will be made clear in Chapter 15; suffice it to say here that during the period before 'Abd al-Krim, known in retrospect as the *Ripublik*, Custom held sway over all spheres of life and activity save those pertaining to property in land (or water), marriage, and divorce, all of which fall under the jurisdiction of the Shari'a or Muslim Law and require written documents; during the *Ripublik*, these documents were drawn up and signed by the local *fqih*, and since 'Abd al-Krim's time they have been signed by two *'adul* (notaries public), and given the *qadi's* stamp of approval.

It is often asserted both that Berber Customary Law in general is oral or unwritten and that it runs counter in many respects to the Shari'a. For the Rif and the Aith Waryaghar, such assertions are not absolutely correct. It is more accurate to say that Customary Law is not written in Berber—for Berber is not a written language. Quite frequently, however, the diligent investigator who has at last fully gained the confidence of people may be presented with written documents in Arabic, which are of two sorts: *kwaghadh* or "papers," and *qawanin*, or *qanuns*.[15] The term for the first type is the Rifian generic term for any written document, but it specifically covers documents dealing with property, marriage, and divorce—that is, Shari'a documents (each of these types of documents also has its own designation). As for the second category, I was only able to find one document that could be squarely attributed to it, (and that for the Igzinnayen under the domination of 'Abd al-Krim),[16] but I found a number of others that impinge on questions of *'urf* and *qa'ida*, and these, added to the particularly fine collection of *qanuns* published by Blanco,[17] provide a most invaluable documentary supplement to the statements of elderly informants on the subject. Indeed, Blanco's *qanuns* demonstrate very clearly that although Custom may be conceived as oral, it is in fact more apt to be written than not, taken down and dated by the *fqih* as "minutes," so to speak, of the *agraw*. I have expressed my views on Blanco's work elsewhere,[18] but I shall have further occasion to refer to his *qanuns* in this chapter.

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[11] J. R. Erola, MS., op. cit., 1953

[12] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 96.

[13] These terms, and others like them, have often been used by earlier writers, mostly French ones, to describe Berber political systems. We find them all misleading, in that each of them has too "Western" a political connotation. In the same way, terms like "forum" or "senate" to describe the council are equally misleading, simply because the images they evoke are not Berber images.

[14] D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1962. Lionel Galand seems dubious about this particular etymology as far as the Berbers of the Sus are concerned, but seems willing to recognize its validity for the Rif. (Personal communication to André Adam, March 8, 1960, which the latter kindly showed me, and addendum on October 9, 1960.)

As to the question of Custom running counter to the Shari'a, this again, for the Rif at least, is quite considerably less true than might be imagined. Indeed, except for (1) collective oaths (which were abolished by 'Abd al-Krim), (2) the very ticklish issue of whether or not daughters inherit, and (3) the purely fictive notion of unlimited polygyny provided that every fifth wife is a black, it may be said that Custom and Muslim Law complement each other, on different planes and in different ways. Yet the domain of each is, or was, mutually exclusive; the wide range of acts and actions embraced, for example, by theft of any sort, woundings, and murder, whether actual, suspected, or attempted, fell entirely within the province of Custom. Custom was thus concerned with the sanction by the council upon any actions that fell under the rubric of violence, and in Waryagharland this was a very wide rubric indeed. It is for this reason that many writers have looked at *qanuns* or Customary Law charters as consisting of lists, whether long or short, of Do Nots, and as "simple enumerations of fines for infractions." But they are much more than this, even though they are couched in simple language, which was the most direct form of both appeal to and coercion of an extremely violence-oriented society.

Surdon, for example, has claimed (for the Sus and Anti-Atlas rather than for the Rif, it is true) that there is basis in the Shari'a for the very widespread practice of the council's imposition of a crushingly heavy fine on a man who committed murder in the market, and their subsequent burning of his house if, as generally happened, he was unable to pay.[19] However, I have not found a scrap of evidence to support this claim, and an authority on Muslim Law has assured me that this is manifestly not the case.[20] It is evidently true, as Surdon states for the Sus, that the *'urf* (an Arabic rather than a Berber word, it should be reiterated) is the penal complement of the Shari'a;[21] thus in the Rifian as well as in the Susi context, the two should properly be viewed as a single unit, as two parts of a whole. In both regions (in contrast to the Middle and Central Atlas) the impress of Islam upon Custom not only came relatively early and relatively quickly in the period following the first Arab conquests, but it was also extremely strong and went extremely deep. And it should never be forgotten that the essence of "normative" Islam resides in the Shari'a.[22]

In the light of the above discussion, we now consider the rights, duties, and functions of the three-tiered representative councils. Coon's work has provided certain valuable guidelines, as has an unpublished study by Erola.[23]

The *aitharbi'in n-d-dshar*, the council of the local community, typically handled the following types of offenses:

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[15] I was able, between the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen, to collect some seventy of these documents (forty from the former and thirty from the latter); many of them proved invaluable aids not only in terms of their subject matter, but in terms of chronological evidence as well, for almost all of them are dated. Half of them (35) deal with Shari'a matters, and of the other half dealing with matters of Custom, 11 are from the highland Waryaghar of the Aith Turirth and Timarzga, and 24 are from the Igzinnayen.

[16] Dated June-July 1925, and consisting of a tariff of small fines to be levied on individuals who steal fruit or vegetables.

[17] Emilio Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, *passim*. Cf. also Et-Tabyi (pseud. for Eduardo Maldonado Vazquez), *Retazos de Historia Marroqui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, pp. 295–298; and Manuel Llord O'Lawlor, "Un Canon Bereber Tripartito," *Tamuda*, IV, 2, 1957, pp. 305–309.

[18] D. M. Hart, op. cit., 1958.

[19] Georges Surdon, *Esquisses de Droit Coutumier Berbère Marocain*, Rabat: Felix Moncho, 1928, p. 189. It is only fair, however, to say that this error was evidently corrected in the much larger second edition of Surdon's work, which appeared as *Institutions et Coutumes des Berbères du Maghreb*: Tangier and Fez: Les Editions Internationales, 1938.

[20] Boris de Parfentieff, personal communication, 1964.

[21] Surdon, op. cit., 1938, p. 297.

[22] The phrase is taken from I. M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

[23] Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 96 ff.; and J. R. Erola, *El Caidato del Alto Guis: Estudio Económico-Social*, MS., op. cit., 1953.

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1. Theft of eggs and poultry.
2. Theft of maize.
3. Breaking of branches of fruit trees.
4. Entering of gardens or orchards unbidden.
5. Collection of windfall olives.
6. Theft of olives.
7. Quarrels among women.
8. Entering of cemeteries occupied by women.
9. Entering of saints' tombs occupied by women.
10. Going to springs or fountains attended by women.
11. Quarrels in general.
12. Regulation of attendance at prayer (i.e., at the noonday sermon on Friday).
13. Cutting of maize planted in contiguous plots of land. When the maize and plots concerned belong to different individuals, and the maize in the two plots is not growing at the same rate, the owner of the unripe maize may ask the owner of the other field not to continue his harvesting until both crops are ripe, for fear that his own maize may be trodden upon during harvesting. This situation occurs when, in order to enter one plot of land, it is necessary to cross the other. In this case, the local community council proceeds to establish an agreement between the two individuals.
14. Vigilance over orchards and gardens. When the time to pick vegetables or fruits has arrived, the *jma'th* nominates someone to watch its lands, in order to prevent theft and damage to the fruit trees.
15. Beginning of grape picking. Individuals who own vineyards must wait until the *jma'th* gives the signal to pick grapes. (This was still the practice in Spanish times but has become less and less common since independence.)
16. Trespassing of goats or cattle in a cemetery. Should goats or cows wander into a cemetery, whether through the deliberate intention of their herder or not, the owner of the animals is (as of 1953) fined 25 pesetas, which is used to buy articles for the dead, or which goes in some way or another toward the upkeep of the cemetery.
17. Repair of irrigation ditches. If a man stops working or does not work on the irrigation ditch from which he gets his water, when he is required to do so (as after a heavy rain), he must pay a fine of 15 pesetas per man per day to all the others who have been working on the ditch. The same applies should he ask someone else to substitute for him.

Of the above points, in Spanish times, numbers 1-11 had been assimilated under the jurisdiction of the Makhzan, and number 12 under that of the Shari'a; numbers 13-17 were all still functioning. It should be added, however, that the local Spanish administration created its own *qanuns* of the Rifian *jma'ath*, and that these originated from the *'urf* or Custom. Erola would have it that they were originally dealt with at the level of the clan council,[24] but the evidence at hand indicates clearly that these were affairs to be resolved at the level of the local community. They are as follows: (1) selection, maintenance, and regulation of relations with the *fqih* of the local community mosque; (2) construction, maintenance of, and vigilance over irrigation ditches; (3) rights to wood, brushwood, and pasturage; (4) operations of planting and harvesting, in individually owned or private lands as well as in collective or common land; and (5) vigilance over and sanction for trespassing upon and damages to the gardens, orchards, and fields.

Most of the above points are already subsumed in the resumé of the duties of the local community council. But this listing is not intended to be exhaustive: it is merely representative of the kinds of problems that come up repeatedly in everyday life, and which the community council, deliberating informally either in the local mosque or under a convenient shady tree, were competent to handle at the local level. However, recourse to higher authority was the case during the Spanish protectorate, given the greater centralization and degree of hierarchical ordering of an organized Spanish Makhzan and its personnel, which consisted of a military *interventor* (an army captain) and a *qaid* from the tribe (it will be recalled that in Waryagharland there were three *qaidates*), and below the latter, the clan *shaikh*, the subclan *mqaddim*, and the community *jari*. At the same time, for Shari'a Law and for justice, there was always a *qadi* for each tribe, and his *'adul* or notaries.

2

We turn now to the *aitharbi'in n-ar-rba'* or clan council, which met once a week, either in or just off the precincts of the market. The clan council at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt is representative, and in discussing the seating protocol alone, two new elements will be introduced. First, the council members sat and deliberated under a huge carob tree just 50 meters south of the market place; this tree was known as *Dhasrighwa n-Sidi Hmid*, out of respect for the *amrabit* Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud. He was recognized and deferred to by the lay *imgharen* as the top *amghar* of the market, even though the lead he took was unofficial and his role was essentially that of an informal moderator-in-chief. Second, grouped under the tree there were two distinct circles, a smaller inner one consisting of the council members themselves (Sidi Hmid, in his white robes and green status-proclaiming turban, being prominent among them), and a larger outer one consisting of the *jma'ath*, the male members of those local communities that provided the habitual constituents of the market. The latter could come and go at will, but the former were in session for most of the day. All the lay *imgharen* from the Aith Bu Khrif, Aith 'Arus, and Aith Turirth, and even from the Axt Tuzin, to whom the market site had originally belonged, invariably came to the market armed (always excepting the despised Aith Turirth lineage of the Ihawtshen, who had no guns and who were barred from political participation in any case). However, it was characteristic of Sidi Hmid's status as a member of a holy lineage that he was both essentially pacific and habitually unarmed; it is said that he owned a rifle, but if it was needed, he always had a servant carry it for him. This behavior, along with the fact that Sidi Hmid generally guided and steered the discussions, underscores the peace-making role of the holier holy lineage. One is tempted to agree with Coon that if he had not been present, the *agraw* would frequently have broken up in a battle.[25] The business at hand was serious, but there was remarkably little protocol connected with it, beyond a tacit insistence on correct behavior and decorum. The *fatiha* or opening chapter of the Qur'an was not recited to begin the proceedings. As soon as the principal *imgharen* were all present (and for reasons soon to be made clear, it was their wont to arrive dead on time), Sidi Hmid obtained a quick resumé from each of them on what events needing adjudication had occurred in his bailiwick during the week, above and beyond the feuds already in progress, which everyone knew about but which were strictly forbidden on market day itself. The council members themselves were generally among the principal actors in these same feuds on other days of the week, and men who were sworn enemies often found themselves facing or close to each other in the inner circle of the *agraw*. Under such circumstances, each would usually do his best to avoid having to speak to the other, unless he were in a really cantankerous mood and wanted a verbal showdown. Correctness and decorum were the ideal *agraw* behavior, but the violent tempers of the participants could rise all too easily to the surface.

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[24] J. R. Erola, MS., op. cit., 1953.

The formal duties of the clan council are considerably fewer in number than those of the council of the local community, but they all deal with considerably graver offenses. A point of some importance is that there is rather more overlap between the duties of the clan council and those of the tribal council than the somewhat rigid listings given by Coon and by Erola would suggest. The concerns of the clan council include:

1. Theft of livestock.
2. Quarrels between families, between lineages, or between communities. If such quarrels should reach the last stage, they naturally became a clan affair, for the clan council then had to step in to support the decisions of the council of the local community. Fighting without weapons or with sticks and stones falls into this category, as does shooting at someone but missing.
3. Entering a women's market or talking with women in a men's market. The latter offense was not even possible in the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, from which women were entirely excluded on the insistence of a memorably tough *mqaddim* of the Aith Turirth. (This state of affairs lasted until the *mqaddim's* death in 1946.)
4. Suspicions of adultery.
5. *Haqq* and bloodwealth payments (in certain contexts).
6. Attendance at marriage ceremonies outside the local community.

Of these points, Erola stipulates, numbers 1-3 had in Spanish times been assimilated under the jurisdiction of the Makhzan, and numbers 4-5, to be discussed in full further on, under the jurisdiction of the Shari'a; number 6 was, and is today, still functioning, since councillors are invariably invited to the marriage ceremonies of the sons (if not of the daughters) of other members of their peer groups outside their own communities. Their presence tends to put a brake on the disposition of younger men to quarrel and fight, and this was particularly true during the *Ripublik*, when everyone went armed to weddings.

The *aitharbi'in n-tqbitsh*, the full-scale tribal council, met only if specially summoned in advance. The usual meeting or *agraw* site was the Sunday market of Thisar, in the exact center of Waryagharland. However, when Bu Hmara, the Pretender, appeared at the banks of the Nkur in 1908, the tribal council met just on the opposite side of the river at the old Wednesday market of Imzuren, where they were joined by the councillors of the Aith 'Ammarth, in order to decide on the order of battle against him. And in 'Abd al-Krim's time, as Ajdir became his capital, the political center of gravity in Waryagharland shifted there, where it has remained to this day.

3

The concerns of the tribal council, in addition to the regulation of relations, whether allied, peaceful, neutral or hostile, with other neighboring tribes, and/or with the Makhzan and its representatives, were yet fewer in number, but nonetheless of still greater import than those of the clan council. They included:

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[25] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97.

1. Woundings and injuries.
2. Murder, feuds, and *liff* alliances.
3. On occasion, adultery, in all its ramifications.

Of these, numbers 1-2 were, during the Spanish protectorate, assimilated under the jurisdiction of the Makhzan, and number 3 under that of the Shari'a. After the protectorate was established, there was no longer a functioning tribal council. For all practical purposes the *'urf* had died and the Shari'a had fully taken over; however, the full implications of this fact will emerge only when we discuss the internal reforms of 'Abd al-Krim.

Since punishments for adultery have already been dealt with in Chapter 5, we now turn to those for woundings and to murder, and to the crucial distinction the Aith Waryaghar make between the concept of *haqq* fines for murder and that of ordinary bloodwealth. This distinction, in my view, could have arisen only in a society virtually dominated by the bloodfeud. At this relatively early point in the discussion of one of the centerpieces of the whole political system, however, we shall approach it, first, from a cursory examination of some of the Aith Waryaghar *qanuns* as propounded by Emilio Blanco Izaga. We shall then be in a position to deal with the problem of *haqq* fines in terms of the extent to which their distribution reflects the segmentary system, and then, in Chapter 13, in terms of the extent to which they are linked with *liff* alliance.

THE QANUNS: FORM, CONTENT, AND EFFECTIVENESS

Emilio Blanco Izaga's work *La Ley Rifeña* (1939) carries photostatic copies of the texts, with translations and commentaries, of no less than seven Aith Waryaghar *qanuns*, each of which illustrates the bulk of the points made in the preceding section at the level of the local community, the clan, or the tribe. The *qanuns* bring these points to life, and we shall now focus upon these *qanuns*—which are invariably kept rolled up in reed containers and these locked into wooden boxes, by their owners—from the standpoints of form, overall content, and effectiveness.

The question of form is relatively simple, since the format of all Customary Law *qanuns* is both remarkably uniform and remarkably rigid, being imposed by the legal practices of "normative" Islam. The very first phrase in all of them is the invocation *al-Hamdu li-Llah* or *al-Hamdu li-Llah wahidah(u)*, "Praise be to God" or "Praise be to God The One." The second element may vary slightly, such variation being a function of the nature of the *qanun* itself. If it is a truce or peace treaty (*sulh*) between the members of two feuding lineages and their allies, for example, the two lineages, as well as the allies of both, are listed by name, because all of them had to appear in their habitual markets in order to conduct the truce negotiations, and their presence there was duly noted by the *fqih* or the notary who drew up the document. In such a case it is also usual for the very first name on the list to be that of the adjudicating *amrabit* who effected the truce. If the document is the *qanun* of a given local community or of several communities sharing a common Friday mosque, then, likewise, the lineage heads or *iziddjifen* plus any other notables of that community are all listed by name as being in agreement with what is to follow. Such a listing has the effect of limiting the *qanun* to the community or communities concerned. If, however, the *qanun* is to apply to a whole clan or subclan, the names of individuals and even of individual lineages are generally omitted, and the phraseology now shifts to "all the members of Clan X, adults and minors" (Rif, *imqqranen dh-imz-zyanen*, or Ar. *al-kibar wa s-sighar*), by which term and under which rubric the *qanun* thus becomes universally applicable to that clan.

The third element is the content proper of the document, to which we return below. The fourth element may or may not be a further listing of names, usually of those individuals who are to act as guarantors (*dumman*, sing. *damin*) of the document. This list "puts legal teeth," in Hoebel's terms,[26] both into the content in element three and into the generally longer listing of names in element two. The fifth element (or the fourth if there is no list of guarantors), is the date, reckoned on the basis of the Muslim lunar year, and the signature by the necessary two notaries. The final element, generally in a different handwriting, is the homologation by the *qadi*, without whose signature the document is technically invalid. The fact, however, that out of Blanco's seven Waryaghar *qanuns*, only one—that of the Aith 'Abdallah[27]—bears a *qadi's* signature is eloquent testimony to the scarcity of *qadis* in Waryagharland during the *Ripublik*. Indeed, of my 36 documents from the Aith Turirth, only three have been signed by *qadis*: two during the *Ripublik* by *qadis* who came from the Igzinnayen, and one marriage document dated 1937.[28] It is thus safe to say that prior to 'Abd al-Krim—himself a *qadi qudat* or "*qadi* of *qadis*," as well as the first really effective one in the region—the existence of *qadis* in the Central Rif in general was almost nil, and the rather restricted domain of the Shari'a was handled almost entirely by the local *fqih* or *talib*.

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[26] E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Law of Primitive Man*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954, p. 26.

[27] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 47.

In this same connection, Blanco makes a point of some relevance: the general scarcity of Arabic titles in the Waryaghar *qanuns*.[29] In only one of his *qanuns*—that of the Aith Khattab—do the Arabic titles *qa'id*, *ra'is*, and *shaikh* appear, the first and second once each, and the third many times; but it is significant that this *qanun* is also the only one in which the term *amghar* figures, while the *qa'id* is third, and not first, in the long list of notables.[30]

In my 36 Aith Turirth documents, the terms *mqaddim* and *qaid* each appear only once, the latter in a 1922 marriage document of a *qaid* of 100 men under 'Abd al-Krim.[31] Yet in 28 documents from the Igzinnayen, the term *aitharbi'in*,[32] for example, appears no less than eight times. Generally, however, for monetary units, for kinship and segmentary lineage terminology, and for terms denoting institutions, the *fqih* who drew up the document (while translating—at times a bit shakily—into Arabic at the dictation in Rifian of the monolingual *imgharen*) used, whenever possible, the Arabic equivalents of the Rifian originals as a kind of monument to their own *amour propre*. (For example: in an 1897 document collected from the Timarzga, the word *ar-rba'* or clan—with specific reference to the Timarzga—is elevated to the status of *al-qabila* or "tribe.") Changes of this kind may be seen as a somewhat crude attempt to lend status to crucial Rifian concepts through the use of a more high-flown Arabic idiom, one that was almost totally unintelligible to the pragmatic *imgharen* whose words were being taken down. To this day, lay tribesmen refer to this elevated style as "the language of the *fqih* or the *qadi*." (Even in ordinary letter writing, it is considered highly proper to employ stylized phrases of Literary Arabic, even though the essential message may only be: "How are you? I am fine"—which in Moroccan conversation revolves around the endlessly repeated formula *La bas 'alaik?*, lit. "No evil unto you?")

The above remarks are sufficient to indicate that there is a great respect for the form of a document, even though not all the niceties of that form may be entirely understood. Content, however, is quite another matter, and because of the manner in which *qanuns* are drawn up, without paragraphing, and with all potential sentences connected to each other by *wa*, "and," one finds oneself suddenly gliding into the core of the document, almost without warning. In my experience (and Blanco's *qanuns* bear this out as well), the actual content of a document is seldom if ever more than half its total length, which is never more than a single sheet of closely spaced and often very crabbed handwriting. Really long Customary Law documents, of the sort reported from the Sus and the Anti-Atlas, which may occupy from ten to twenty or more folios or pages of Arabic script, are conspicuous by their absence in the Rif.

As Blanco rightly says, the legal teeth were put into any *qanun* by the following fourfold process: (1) the agreement of the *imgharen* on the points at hand; (2) the witnessing of this agreement by a prominent member of a holy lineage resident in the clan area; (3) the drawing up of the document by a *talib* or a *fqih*, i.e., its "codification;" and (4) the proclamation of the new *qanun* in the market by the *abarrah* or market crier.[33] Thus the listing of "do nots" became known to all and sundry. One assumes that if any of the stipulations were to be modified or changed at a later date, then a new *qanun* would be drawn up, because, again in contrast to the Sus and Anti-Atlas materials, the Aith Waryaghar *qanuns* contain no addenda.

The content of most *qanuns* is couched in negative terms through a listing of infractions, with their corresponding evaluations in fines to be paid. Typically, they proceed in enumeration from the gravest offenses to the least. What is of primary importance is that far greater attention is paid to murder and its sanctions than to theft. The sanctions for murder are, variously, payment of the *haqq* fine by the murderer to the *imgharen*, and, if he does not pay, the burning of his house and property by the *imgharen*, plus his ensuing enforced exile, if, as is often the case, he cannot make the prescribed payment of bloodwealth to his victim's agnates. The disparity in amounts of fines for murder and in those of fines for theft are enormous. The latter are, by comparison, virtually tossed off as incidentals, should they receive mention in a *qanun* that discusses homicide; this fact alone underscores the Aith Waryaghar attitude that theft, like homosexuality, is looked down upon as a "Jbalan" activity.

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[28] Of the four Timarzga documents, none had a *qadi*'s signature, and of the 28 documents from the Igzinnayen, only two have them.

[29] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 33.

[30] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[31] The Timarzga documents show the Arabic term *mqaddim* only once, while in the Igzinnayen ones the term *qaid* appears seven times, but four of the documents are dated during the Rifian War, and one is not dated at all.

[32] This is usually, and wrongly, written in Arabic as *ait al-arba'in*, which tends to perpetuate the mistaken etymology of "people of the forty."

[33] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 20.

Murder, on the other hand, is (or was) another matter entirely. Whatever recriminations the Aith Waryaghar of today may have about the behavior of their grandfathers in this regard, there is no doubt that a basic underlying value of the society in general was that human life was cheap: a man made his mark in the world by gunning down his peers in the bloodfeud. (It is no accident that the relatively more sophisticated Aith Waryaghar of today who have been exposed to films invariably show a marked preference for "Westerns" and war films than for any other kind, and for the brave man who shoots down his adversaries in single combat. Egyptian love films, on the other hand, make little impression, and only produce either angry remarks to the effect that "love is for bed," or derisive comments to the effect that the leading lady would do far better with a real man from Waryagharland than with a cowardly Cairene actor. In other words, the horizons are greatly expanding, but the basic sentiments remain unchanged.)

It is precisely for this reason that the acephalous body politic, quite powerless to stop bloodfeuding, since so many of its members were so closely involved in feuds themselves, at least devised a method of harsh repression for anyone who attempted to carry the feud to the marketplace on the one day of peace per week. This device was the *haqq* fine for murder, which the *imgharen* traditionally extracted from anyone who killed an enemy either in the market or on a path leading to or from it, on market day.

On this crucial concept we may, for the moment, let Blanco's *qanuns* speak for themselves. Three of them are very explicit indeed. That of the Aith 'Abdallah, in particular, clamps down very hard upon any incidents, premeditated or not, that might take place in the (now defunct) Tuesday market of 'Ain Tihalaliyin. It specifically stipulates murders, woundings, gunshots, knifings, strangulations, and stonings, and goes on to pillaging and sacking. Anyone who kills another person within the market precincts and who is caught doing so will be shot on the spot. If he has not been captured and has fled to another tribe, the *imgharen* will impose a fine of 2,000 duros[34] upon him and will burn his house down to its foundations. The same fine will be applied not only to killing on any of the paths leading to the market, but also to killing within the whole of the clan territory of the Aith 'Abdallah on market day. In the latter case, the murderer will pay this fine if he committed the deed alone, but if several men committed it together, each of them shall pay 2,000 duros apiece to the council members. Anyone who wounds another will pay 1000 duros, and a man who shoots at another and misses will pay 500 duros. Thus intent to kill is penalized as well, according to the graded scale.[35] From these elevated levels of payment, we move down to the following, which are still couched in the same vein: a fine of 50 duros for anyone who takes justice into his own hands (i.e., "by beating up another person in order to collect a debt"), and the same for anyone who willfully attacks another on a path leading to the market; a fine of 10 duros for anyone who provokes an incident in the market, or who beats anyone else on the head with a stick, causing blood to flow; and a fine of 5 duros for anyone who unsheaths a dagger in the market, for anyone who wounds another with a stone, or for anyone who, in any of the above cases, comes to the aid of his agnates. No requests for pardons shall be listened to, nor shall any of the fines be commuted; and for the purposes of the above, Tuesday, market day, begins at dawn and ends at sunset insofar as all the Aith 'Abdallah are concerned. Insofar as strangers are concerned, market day is considered as lasting for three days—Monday, Tuesday itself, and Wednesday—in order to enable them to come safely to the market and to return safely to their homes. And finally, in the event that sufficient proof of any of these crimes does not exist against a suspected individual, he must swear an oath (presumably a collective one, with eleven other agnates, in the mosque and on the Qur'an, on a Friday, although none of this is stipulated) in order to be acquitted. We may note that in this *qanun* there is no mention whatsoever of theft. This Aith 'Abdallah Customary Law document bears the date of June 16, 1917.

The *qanun* of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash was drawn up three years earlier, on April 28, 1914, upon the occasion of a meeting of all its constituent *jma'ath*, including "both adults and the Aith Waryaghar attitude that theft, like homosexuality, is looked down upon as a "Jbalan" activity.

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[35] The intent to kill was called *dhamsasatsh*, and in the Jbil Hmam, any *imsasaren*, its perpetrators, were fined a full *haqq* of 2000 duros if they raised a dagger or a billhook, or aimed a rifle, at anyone else in the market. If done outside, however, there was no *haqq*, because there had been no death or wounding in such a case. Such an act threatened to "break" the market, and this the *imgharen* would not stand for.

A *qanun* of Wawnkwarth in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of the Igzinnayen, dated January 1914 (our Igzinnayen MS. 1) makes most of these same points, and similar ones, equally clearly, and stipulates, in addition, that all fines incurred were to be divided into three parts, of which the council members were to keep two and the *jma'th*, the community at large, was to keep one.

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The *qanun* of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash was drawn up three years earlier, on April 28, 1914, upon the occasion of a meeting of all its constituent *jma'ath*, including "both adults and minors."[36] The members of the communities in question all went together to the tomb of Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar in ar-Rabda and sacrificed two bulls to him, in order to commemorate an act of reconciliation and truce, or *sulh*, among all, regarding any future acts of murder, theft, pillage, and other violence. In this respect the text of the Aith 'Adhiya *qanun* very closely approximates that of the Aith 'Abdallah, even if it seems just a shade less severe: in the event that anyone of the Aith 'Adhiya should contravene this agreement and kill a fellow clansman outside the market or with no witnesses present, then the members of all the communities concerned shall unite against him and burn his and his agnates' estate, drag them from their houses, and extract from them a fine (*haqq*, although rendered as *da'ira* in the text) of 1000 duros. In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, the procedure shall then be exactly the same, except that the fine shall be doubled to 2,000 duros. Finally, almost as an afterthought, there is the imposition of a fine of 10 duros for stealing a goat or a sheep, and one of 5 duros for stealing barley or broad beans from someone else's land.

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The *qanun* of the lowland Aith Khattab is yet earlier, and is dated June 10, 1907. In this the fines are lower, a fact that does not tally with my own informants' statements: they vigorously reiterated that there was a 2,000-duro fine for murder in the market and a 1,000-duro fine for murder on any path leading to or from it, and furthermore, that the three-day prohibition on murder, including not only market day itself, but also the days before and after it, as stipulated in the Aith 'Abdallah *qanun*, held good as well. To the contrary, in the highlands and at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, the prohibition included only market day itself, no doubt indicating the impossibility of enforcing the additional time sanction in the chronically feud-ridden Jbil Hmam. In any case, this particular *qanun* stipulates only 500 duros for murder in the Wednesday market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, where it was drawn up, and 200 duros for missing the target and failing to kill one's man; 50 duros for taking justice into one's own hands (i.e., "self-help"), and recovering the stolen object; 10 duros for anyone discovered in the Monday women's market at Azghar; and death by shooting for inciting riots with shouts and gunshots, "as happened to the people of Tafrasth, Aith Musa w-'Amar and Ajdir."

An interlineage pact made in the same market on December 27, 1916, between two lowland Imrabdhen lineages (the Ikidriwen and the Ibu'azzathen), each supported by carefully neutral witnesses, decided that if either lineage broke the peace before a year was up, it should pay 2,000 duros as fine. The neutral witnesses in this case being from the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari, we thus see a certain reversal of roles: lay tribesmen, as arbitrators, keeping a check on "lay holy" lineages.

Likewise, a document drawn up in the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, dated February 27, 1918, stipulates a fine that may go as high as 4,000 duros for breaking a newly concluded peace between two lineages of the Aith Tzurakhth. This agreement had been concluded previously in the (now defunct) Saturday market of Tazurakhth and was now being reinforced at the market of Tawrirt. The reason for this reinforcement was that one sublineage concerned, Dharwa n-Siddiq, had broken the peace by killing a member of the Dharwa nj-Hajj 'Amar after the original agreement had been made. The result was that the *imgharen* of the Upper Aith Bu 'Ayyash went for the Dharwa n-Siddiq lineage tooth and nail. The latter, it is stated, opted for surrender on the very real threat of being burned out of house and home. The property that they handed over to the assembled councillors of both markets was assessed at 1,300 duros. This sum the *imgharen* gave to the agnates of the murdered man: three sublineages received 300 duros apiece; four smaller ones received a further 300 to be split four ways; and the final 100 duros was split in half between the sons of one man. The principle of equitable distribution is of paramount importance in the division of *haqq* fines, and such division was developed into a fine structural art. Indeed, a notation regarding the lowland Aith 'Ari in an unsigned Spanish administrative report dated 1928 indicates that if there was not enough money to go around evenly, matches were bought and divided up. This case may be apocryphal, but it has an authentically egalitarian ring.

Further information on the notion of *haqq* in the *qanun* framework is provided by the *qanun* documents that I gathered personally from the Aith Turirth and Timarzga subclans and from the Igzinnayen. The Aith Turirth case (my Aith Turirth MS. 3) is unfortunately undated but involves a very prominent member of the Imjjat lineage, Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. It seems that the Axt Yihyi lineage of the Axt Tuzin had to pay a *haqq* of 1,000 duros to the Aith Bu Khrif, and since at the time they could not raise the money, they asked Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, their cross-tribal sponsor (*damin*) in Waryagharland to do so. The list was carefully made out, and five spokesmen of the Aith Bu Khrif received 836 duros. The remaining 164 of the original 1,000 were pocketed by Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh as his "commission." Only total sums are given here, as the text itself is full of smaller individual contributions, all of which indicate that considerable discussion was taking place when the money was handed out.

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[36] The local communities which are specified in the *qanun* are: Aith Tazurakhth, Aith ar-Rabda, Aith Kharbush, Aith Umnudh, Aith Ijdir Bu Qiyadhen, Aith Tizi, Aith Ighmiren and Aith Fars. Although unconfirmed by informants, it is possible that the Aith 'Adhiya may claim descent from a Sidi 'Adhiya buried in the community of Aith Ijdir Bu Qiyadhen (cf. Isaias Rodriquez Padilla, *Cofradias Marroquies en el Rif y Diversas Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios*, Tetuan: Imprenta Imperio, 1930, p. 34).

The Timarzga case (Timarzga MS. 1, dated November 30, 1912) deals with the question of a *haqq* payment by the Aith 'Amar w-'Aisa lineage of Asrafil for the killing of two men of an Igzinnayen lineage resident in Afuzar, on the Timarzga-Igzinnayen border. The killing had taken place well within Waryagharland, near the old Saturday market of Izimmuren in the Aith Turirth. The monetary fine in this instance was only 200 duros, but the Aith 'Amar w-'Aisa had to cede half the land of two of their sublineages to make up the rest of the price. The Timarzga lineage was the owner of the Afuzar land; now it went over to the Igzinnayen (community of Ikhuwanen), who have held it ever since.

The Igzinnayen document (my Igzinnayen MS. 21, dated May 3-10, 1908) concerns another cross-tribal killing. The *aitharbi'in* of all the Igzinnayen, as well as that of their eastern neighbors of the Ibdharsen, all met over the murder of one of the latter by one of the former. It was agreed that 280 *riyals* would be paid as bloodwealth or *diya*, and twelve men from among the murderer's agnates had to swear a collective oath to the victim's father at the tomb of Sidi 'Ari n-Bu Rquba in the Asht Yunis clan of the Igzinnayen; no doubt at least three of the men were classificatory agnates only, for they were all *imgharen* of different clans. They swore that the murderer had agreed to pay the above sum, and that, in addition, he had agreed to pay 200 *riyals*, 2 goats, and 5 liters of olive oil as *haqq* to the *aitharbi'in*. Of this last, two-thirds was destined for the *aitharbi'in* themselves, and one-third for their "common fund." In this connection, it is noteworthy that in Igzinnayenland, unlike in Waryagharland, the *imgharen* customarily "ate" part of the *haqq* fine in a repast provided for them at the expense of the murderer's agnates; in Waryagharland, this was rare, the whole of the *haqq* being turned over to the councillors either in money or in movable or real property assessed at a given price. The Aith Waryaghar viewpoint was one of "cash on the barrelhead."

To terminate this section, we shall turn to Blanco's *qanun* of Thamasind (or Tamasint),[37] dated May 24, 1868. This *qanun* is simply one of a local community, and it is cited primarily to show the contrast alluded to above, between fines for theft and those for murder (allowing, of course, the length of time and changes in monetary values between this *qanun* and the much later ones discussed above). The fine is 10 *mithqals* for theft in orchards, gardens, or fields at night, and 50 *waq* (about 5 duros) for theft during the day in the same places, with no indemnity to be paid should the thief be killed in the attempt. Unsheathing of a dagger with intent to attack costs 1 duro, and pointing a rifle at a member of the *jma'th* costs 10 *mithqals*. Entrance of animals into a neighbor's fields costs 10 *muzunas* (1.50 pesetas). All of the community must contribute to the entertainment and feeding of any guest who stays there, and recalcitrants will be fined either a goat or one duro. Anyone letting water out of a pond or an irrigation ditch without permission is to be fined 1 duro for the pond and 10 *mithqals* for the ditch. Anyone opposed to contributing his share to the *fqih*-schoolmaster's annual ration of barley or to his dinner every evening will also be fined 1 duro. And finally, if the members of the *jma'th* should assemble and agree on some matter of import to all, anyone who disagrees with the decision will be fined 1 duro.[38] This last, it may be added, is an excellent catch-all for any matters that are not covered in the *qanun* itself.

It should now be abundantly clear that what occupied the minds of the Aith Waryaghar lawmakers was murder, first and foremost. The discrepancy in fines between murder and theft demonstrates that the latter was considered very secondary indeed. The *haqq* for murder in Waryagharland was extremely high on the whole—double what it was, for example, in the Aith Siddat tribe of the Sinhaja Srir;[39] however, my own comparative researches in the other tribes of the Central Rif show the Aith Waryaghar figures to have been the standard ones for the region. As life was cheap, so was murder frequent, and thus it had to be penalized if only for market day, in a prohibitively heavy manner. But even with these harsh repressive sanctions, of which the *haqq* forms the core, at their disposal, the *aitharbi'in*, viewed from one angle, were powerless to stop the feud, or, from another, were instrumental in starting it. Here we arrive at the "anarchy" mentioned so often by earlier writers, an "anarchy" that did not exist at all if one were looking at the system from the inside out, but that could not fail to strike the observer viewing the whole from the outside. Intense egalitarianism; intense competition for council membership (which was what constituted "political office")—rooted, of course, in equally intense competition for land; the principle of self-help carried to its most logical extreme, which is to say, to the bloodfeud; the intense mistrust of one and all by one and all; and the total destitution and banishment of those who murdered their fellow tribesmen on market day, the one decreed day of peace: these were the hallmarks of Aith Waryaghar politics. It was only 'Abd al-Krim who introduced the notion of jails: they had never been needed before, for the Aith Waryaghar political reality of organized acephaly rendered them superfluous.

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[37] Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 39.

[38] The fines for these small offenses are called *r-qamith*.

[39] Blanco, op. cit., p. 71, *qanun* of the Aith Siddat dated June 6, 1905.

BLOODWEALTH AND THE FINE FOR MURDER: DETERRENTS TO THE FEUD?

It will now be apparent that the notion of *haqq* ("right, reason") fines for murder and their division among the *imgharen* is one of the most crucial supports underpinning the whole sociopolitical power structure. Hence, to discuss first the Qur'anic concepts of *qisas* and *diya* is, in a sense, to attack the subject in reverse, but it is also an effective way of highlighting the importance of the concept of *haqq*.

The *qisas* is a variable sum of money paid in the case of a wounding, and given by the perpetrator to his victim. The amount varies, of course, according to the seriousness of the wound, but it may not exceed 1,200 duros, also the ceiling for bloodwealth payments. Some wounds, such as the loss of an eye, could justify the full-scale payment of 1,200 duros, or nearly that. Typical examples recorded in the documents gathered from the Igzinnayen are two cases of tooth-breaking (my Igzinnayen MS. 6–7, and 16), one from the clan of the Asht Yunis (dated May 2–10, 1919) and the other from that of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa (dated December 15–23, 1919, and February 10–17, 1921). In the first instance the perpetrator paid 85 *riyals* (or duros) as *qisas*; in the second, 57 *riyals*. The wording of the Asht Yunis document is classic:

> Praise be to God. God caused Muhammad b. 'Amar b. Nuhu al-Bu Rqubawi al-Yunusi al-Gzinnayi to break, with his hand, the teeth of 'Ali b. Sidi 'Abd ar-Rahman b. Sidi Hmid b. Sidi 'Ali Ahadri al-Yunusi; and Sidi 'Abd ar-Rahman got up, as the na'ib or guardian of his above-mentioned son, and demanded the *qisas*. He arranged the matter with his brother al-Bu Hiyyi Ahnush b. 'Amar, above, and his paternal uncle al-Faqir Bu 'Azza b. Ahmad b. Bu 'Azza, and his full brother (*shaqiq*) Muhammad u-Haddash b. Nuhu, and his brother Yusuf who was his *na'ib* in this matter. The latter group agreed to pay 85 *riyals* in the dirhams of that time; they paid it, and the former received it, and all are known to the writer of this document. At the beginning of Jumada l-Ula 1337. Servant of his God, 'Ali b. Yusuf Arhuti.

A further interesting aspect of these cases is that both sets of parties concerned were members of "lay holy" lineages.

Diyith (pl. *diyath*), in Rifian, is the standard bloodwealth (Ar. *diya*) paid throughout the Arab and Muslim world by the killer and his agnates to the agnates of his victim. As implied above, and as elsewhere in Islam, the amount is variable, but during the *Ripublik* it never exceeded 1,200 duros in silver. One informant from the lowlands said that the *diyith* paid there was very low, only 30 to 40 duros (and in the upper Ghis, only 100 duros), possibly because the *haqq*, on the other hand, was so high; however, this figure is so much at variance with the first that one is inclined to disregard it. *Diyith* for a woman was 600 duros, half that for a man, but if the woman was pregnant, two *diyath* had to be paid—one for the woman herself and one for her unborn child, according to the sex of the foetus (i.e., 1 full *diyith* for a pregnant woman and unborn girl child; 1 1/2 *diyath* for a pregnant woman and unborn male child). It is highly unlikely, however, that such a case would have occurred.

It is most important to note that bloodwealth was paid only if the victim's agnates had agreed to accept it, which among the Aith Waryaghar was also very rare. When payment was made, it was only after the murderer had fled as an *adhrib*, an exile, to another tribe and had returned home a year or two later. Two years was the normal period of exile, and in Waryagharland, as in the Rif generally, it was only the killer himself who fled; he was not accompanied by any of his agnates, as in certain other Berber regions. *Diyith* payment was always accompanied by the sacrifice of a cow or a goat, made by the murderer to the victim's kin. I was told that in the highlands, and notably in the Aith 'Arus, there were several instances of bloodwealth payments after the protectorate had been established, possibly because bloodfeuding had now for all practical purposes been rendered impossible (and no more *haqq* fines were imposed). A murderer might be given a three- or four-year jail sentence by the Spaniards (whose administration in this respect seems to have been very lenient), at the end of which his agnates would make *sulh* or peace by slaughtering a goat and paying *diyith* to his victim's kinsmen.

Two lowland informants from the Aith 'Ari (a *shaikh* and a *mqaddim*) stated that when a *sulh* truce had been effected in order to put at least a temporary end to a feud, it was customary for the group with less dead to pay excess bloodwealth to the group with more dead. Thus, if five men were killed on one side and seven on the other, the former owed the latter *diyath* for two men. (This is of course nicely consistent with the "one-for-one" institutional character of the law of talion, but one may surmise that it would have been difficult to implement in practice, and no specific examples were forthcoming.) Highlanders, on the other hand, say specifically that this was not done, and they point out, with an irrefutable logic, that the object in a feud or a war is to win it! Hence excess *diyith* in the Jbil Hmam was only paid if a fresh murder took place after the *sulh* was concluded. However, I have never heard of any bloodwealth payments being made after an intertribal war.

If one woman killed another, she had to pay *diyith* to her victim's husband or agnates (depending on the victim's marital status), a fact that again underscores the supremacy of a husband over his wife; however, she did not pay *haqq* to the *imgharen*—that was entirely a men's affair. It is also very doubtful, in highland informants' opinions, that a woman was ever handed over to the agnates of a murdered man as *diyith* or in lieu of *diyith;* however, other informants in the upper Ghis, who echoed the lowlander assertions about surplus bloodwealth, said also that if the side that had lost more men refused to accept the surplus *diyith,* the other side would then give them a woman in marriage. Here we can once again only point to the ambiguities which seem to be imbedded in Waryaghar sociopolitical relations as a whole.

No *diyith* was paid in the event of accidental death. If a man was cleaning his gun and it went off and killed somebody, death was treated as accidental, and the perpetrator was not fined or exiled. Nor was manslaughter recognized or sanctioned as such. Furthermore, there was no question of bloodwealth payment if a man killed someone attempting to break in and enter his house, by day or by night, provided there were witnesses to the act: the rule here was that twelve witnesses were equivalent to two notaries.

As shown in some of the *qanuns* discussed above, deliberate intent to kill was certainly fined. In Waryagharland, however, the question of intent never reached the degree of jural nicety that it attained in certain other Berber regions; Gellner has noted that in some Central Atlas tribes half *diyit* was paid for shooting at a man and missing him, but full *diyit* was paid for aiming at someone and then not pulling the trigger.[40] Intent to kill is here thus equated with killing itself, and the worst is assumed. Indeed, even in Waryagharland there is a proverb to the effect that "intent to kill is just like killing," but it is curious that this does not appear to be more deeply reflected in Customary Law.

We now deal directly with the crucial problem of *haqq* fines. The word *haqq,* in Arabic, literally means "right," and the allusion is to the right of the council members to exact this fine from a murderer. (The term *haqq* is that used not only in Waryagharland, but in the Aith Yittuft, Ibuqquyen, Aith 'Ammarth, and Igzinnayen as well. In the Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman and Eastern Rifian tribes the word employed was *insaf,* also Arabic, and meaning "justice, equity;" here again the reference was to "justice" and "equity" for the council members.)

Several cardinal points about the institution came out in the earlier discussion of *qanuns.* To recapitulate: (1) the fine was always paid by a murderer to the members of the clan or tribal council if the murder was committed in the market, or on any path leading to or from it, on market day (in certain cases, the prohibition extended to preceding and following days as well); (2) the *haqq* was usually assessed at 1,000 duros if the crime was perpetrated on a market path, and was doubled to 2,000 duros if the murder was committed within the actual precincts of the market itself; (3) it was imposed only for murder in or near the market, murder that broke the market peace; (4) if it was not paid, either in money or in kind, the councillors marched in a body to the murderer's house, burned it and his fields and trees, confiscated his livestock, and then generally repeated the same process with the houses and property of his agnates; and (5) by this time (or, more likely, as soon as he had committed the homicide), the murderer, if he was a wise man and/or if he felt himself unable to withstand not only the force and the collective wrath of the *imgharen,* but that of his victim's agnates as well, had escaped into exile as an *adhrib* (lit., "enemy"), a fugitive, into the territory of another clan or of another tribe altogether. Here he had to remain for at least a year, and often two years, before any overtures toward *diyith* payment to his victim's agnates could be made. Once the *adhrib* was safely in another clan or tribe, his status underwent a sudden change: he was now an *istihurm,* a person deemed inviolable, through the act of having thrown himself directly upon the mercy of the wife of a powerful *amghar* in that clan or tribe, and hence indirectly upon that of her husband. He did this by the simple expedient of entering the man's house and putting his hand upon the handle of the quern for grinding grain, which is the exclusive property of women.

The *haqq* payment itself, and more particularly the act of houseburning, which was generally so closely associated with it, was an act of collective vengeance by the tribe, in the person of its *imgharen,* upon anyone who disturbed the peace of the market by committing

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[40] Ernest Gellner, "The Concept of Kinship," *Philosophy of Science,* XXVII, 2, April 1960, pp. 187-204.

murder. However, what has not yet been sufficiently stressed is the fact that when the councillors received this fine from a murderer (and it could be paid partly in money and in guns, which were immediately given monetary evaluation), they divided it into five equal shares. This is the most important structural fact about the *haqq*, for in it we have the validation of the crucial role of the "five fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar: the function of the *khams khmas* in Waryagharland lay precisely in the quinary or five-way split, among the total body politic, of the tribal fine imposed upon murderers. The distribution of this five-way split, furthermore, was as faithful as possible a reflection, within limits, of the segmentary system: more accurately, perhaps, it was a faithful reflection of the inherent compromise between the segmentary and the territorial systems. Lineages and subclans received their shares of the *haqq* "with their brothers," as the Aith Waryaghar say; but in those cases in which some of the "brothers" had peeled off through scission long beforehand to the territories of new clans, this obviously became impractical.

Before we move on to the distribution of *haqq* in greater detail, it is useful to note that Aith Waryaghar distinguish between two kinds of fines: (1) the tribal fine, or *haqq n-tqbitsh*, and (2) the market fine, or *haqq nj-suq*. Although in practice these two notions were often coterminous (particularly in other, smaller Rifian tribes like the Ibuqquyen or the Aith 'Ammarth, which have only one market apiece), the result in theory was that in the former case the whole tribe participated, through the medium of its councillors, in the distribution (or, conversely, in the payment) of the fine, and that in the latter instance, the distribution (or payment) of this fine involved only the constituent clans, subclans, and lineages (or their headmen) of or around a given market. It is noteworthy that even at the lower level, the idea of a five-way split was generally still maintained. The variable in the system, therefore, was the market in which the haqq was paid: whether it was a tribal market or a clan market. The *haqq* itself, or its equivalent in money as expressed in *duros hasani*, was conceived to be a constant.

The *haqq n-tqbitsh*, a full-scale tribal fine, was collected by the *imgharen* of all five "fifths" at the Sunday market of Thisar. It was always invoked if someone from another tribe should kill a dhu-Waryaghar; in such a case, the non-Waryaghar murderer had to pay *haqq* to all of the Aith Waryaghar, symbolically. He did so by paying it to their top-level imgharen. The same obtained, too, if a man identified with one of the two overall *liffs* of the tribe (see Chapter 12) killed a fellow tribesman affiliated with the opposite *liff*, and if this killing broke a general truce or peace—which was rare. Thus the *haqq* of the whole tribe was invoked both if an outsider were involved and if the killing took place intratribally but across the two major *liffs*. Payment generally involved total liquidation by the murderer of all his assets, for not only are the Aith Waryaghar poor, but the fine was prohibitively high. He was of course helped in paying both by his agnates and by the members of his *liff*.

Only if a murderer could pay the *haqq* in full was he theoretically free from the dire consequences that inevitably followed nonpayment or only partial payment. As we have seen, if he could not pay, the *imgharen* burned his house and property. He himself had by this time generally fled to another clan or tribe, not only to escape the wrath of the *imgharen*, but perhaps more important, to escape that of his victim's agnates, who were almost never satisfied with the idea of accepting bloodwealth. Furthermore, if they still refused the bloodwealth after he had been in exile for two years, he was then exiled for life. If, again, a murderer had no property other than his rifle and was able to get a friend to act as sponsor or *damin* for him and pay up the fine, the attention of the *imgharen* was transferred to the *damin:* if he could not pay, they burned down *his* house and fields.

The *haqq nj-suq*, the market fine, although almost invariably levied in the same amounts as the *haqq n-tqbitsh*, was invoked when an intra-Waryaghar murder occurred in any Waryaghar market other than the Sunday market of Thisar. The standard fine, as noted, was 2,000 duros for homicide committed in the market itself and 1,000 duros for homicide on any path leading to or from it: the "to" or "from" question is important because a man on his way to market or on his way home could easily be ambushed by an enemy hiding behind a lentiscus bush. In the northern lowlands the taboo on killing in the market became in effect a three-day prohibition, while in the highlands the taboo covered only market day itself. The *imgharen* of the market in question always received the fine, regardless of the tribal or *liff* affiliations of either the killer or his victim, provided that both of them were numbered among the regular attendants at the market. If one or both parties were not, or if one of them was from a different tribe, the situation immediately became one of *haqq n-tqbitsh*.

From one point of view—that of the murderer himself—the distinction between the tribal fine and the market fine was largely academic. But it nonetheless existed, and it concerned the level of reception and the range of distribution of the fine involved. The tribal fine was theoretically intended to benefit murder. However, what has not yet been sufficiently stressed is the fact that when the councillors received this fine from a murderer (and it could be paid partly in money and in guns, which were immediately given monetary evaluation), they divided it into five equal shares. This is the most important structural fact about the *haqq*, for in it we have the validation of the crucial role of the "five fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar: the function of the *khams khmas* in Waryagharland lay precisely in the quinary or five-way split, among the total body politic, of the tribal fine imposed upon murderers. The distribution of this five-way split, furthermore, was as faithful as possible a reflection, within limits, of the segmentary system: more accurately, perhaps, it was a faithful reflection of the inherent compromise between the segmentary and the territorial systems. Lineages and subclans received their shares of the *haqq* "with their brothers," as the Aith Waryaghar say; but in those cases in which some of the "brothers" had peeled off through scission long beforehand to the territories of new clans, this obviously became impractical.

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From one point of view—that of the murderer himself—the distinction between the tribal fine and the market fine was largely academic. But it nonetheless existed, and it concerned the level of reception and the range of distribution of the fine involved. The tribal fine was theoretically intended to benefit all the *imgharen* of the tribe, and since they were not otherwise paid, the fines were their only material rewards of office. In practice, however, those who did now show up at the *agraw* in the market, or who were late in arriving, got nothing; their clans or subclans were therefore entirely left out of the distribution on such occasions—which, presumably, were rare,[41] since the rule was "first come, first serve." The market fine, on the other hand, was only distributed among the constituent *imgharen* of the market. (Of course there was a considerable overlap here, for the top *imgharen* of any market would naturally represent their constituent subclans in the collection of a tribal fine.) Moreover, the odds were good that the *imgharen* could make more money on a local market fine. Thus the *haqq nj-suq* was far more commonly levied, qua fine, than the *haqq n tqbitsh*.

The market *haqq* was principally established as a safeguard for the sanctity of the market—even though on many occasions markets were "broken." Therefore, no matter where a murder took place, if it occurred on market day, *haqq* amounting to 1,000 duros had to be paid by the killer to the *imgharen*. The *haqq* also acted as a form of protection for women and noncombatants, insofar as it was effective in curbing the ambitions or passions of hot-tempered men. Significantly, the *imgharen* who received the money used it to take care of personal needs, and very often to repair or provision their own *ishbrawen* (sing. *ashbar*), the feuding pillboxes of mud and stone located right beside their houses: for an *amghar* who had not himself actively engaged in a bloodfeud was an extremely *rara avis* in Waryagharland. At other times, the councillors used part of the money on the spot for a feast after the meeting and then divided up the remainder; however, as noted, this was more characteristic of the Igzinnayen than of the Aith Waryaghar.

If a man without family or funds should be rash enough to kill somebody (which was unlikely), he was almost always quickly dispatched by his victim's agnates. The slate was now clean, for one reciprocal cycle of two homicides had been completed.

Lowland informants tend not to put the same emphasis on the "tribal" as opposed to the "market" aspects of the *haqq*, but to lump them together. They say, in effect, that whether a murder involved the members of one clan or those of two different ones, the *haqq* collected by the *imgharen* was then divided into five equal parts: (1) one for the Aith Yusif w-'Ari (together with the Aith Turirth) and the Aith 'Ari (together with the Timarzga); (2) one for the Aith 'Abdallah; (3) one for the (totality of the) Aith Bu 'Ayyash; (4) one for the Aith Hadhifa (together with the Aith 'Arus and the I'akkiyen); and (5) one for the Imrabdhen. The division was thus in terms of the *khams khmas* of the Aith Waryaghar, and each "fifth" received 400 duros out of a fine of 2,000, or 200 duros out of a fine of 1,000.

The mountaineers, however, imply that they divided it up differently, and that they did so in theory along the lines of the overall *liff* alignments. But the end result was essentially the same: (a) two parts for the *liff* of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and its constituent and discontinuous segments-in-alliance—which is to say: the "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari plus the Aith Turirth; the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and the "true" Aith Hadhifa plus the Aith 'Arus and the I'akkiyen. This was as opposed to (b) two parts for the *liff* of the Aith 'Ari and its own constituent and discontinuous segments-in-alliance—which is to say: the "true" Aith 'Ari plus the Timarzga; the Aith 'Abdallah; and the Aith 'Adhiya of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Finally, however, there was (c) one part for the intrusive "fifth" of the Imrabdhen—who were, in fact, affiliated with (a) the *liff* of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. It is also said that the fifth part going to the Imrabdhen was generally taken off the top, and that the remainder was then split in half: a 1-2-2 division rather than one of 2-2-1. But the fact remains that five is an odd and not an even number, and the basic imbalance in alliance that it produced will be discussed in the chapter to follow.

In the case of a murder committed outside the *suq* and involving only the members of one clan, lowlanders say that the council met only if the murder in question broke a peace or violated a truce. If, at the end of a full-scale intratribal war when both parties were anxiously seeking a cessation of hostilities, a hothead of *liff* A should kill someone of *liff* B, the *haqq* the murderer would have to pay to the assembled council members might be as high as 5,000 or 6,000 duros.

If a feud was already in progress within one clan, the councillors of the other clans generally decided to maintain the *status quo* and not to intervene; in any event, they almost certainly had feuds on their own hands. To conclude such a war and bring about a truce, the good offices of an *amrabit* of one of the "holy holy" lineages, a man known for his piety and impartiality, would be solicited. In this connection, it is of interest that in the Jbil Hmam, at least, fighting was institutionally postponed by this means during the summers, for a period that was long enough to permit members of feuding lineages to reap, thresh, and bring in their harvests. (The same prohibition may have been in force during the plowing period, but this is less sure.) Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, the unofficial top *amghar* of the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, established a *haqq* of 1,000 duros for murder committed during this period, irrespective of where or under what circumstances it might occur. This institutionalized annual truce was called either *r-'awad nj-urbu'* or *r-'awadh nj-urbu'*, "the compensation of the clans" or "the asylum of the clans;" in both senses, whatever the true etymology, it was well-named, for it was both an asylum during the summer, under the protection of an *amrabit*, and a compensation in two senses: to the tribesmen in allowing them to harvest in peace, and, in financial terms, to Sidi Hmid and the other *imgharen* should anyone break this peace.

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[41] There was, however, one classic example. A certain *amghar* knew, just before market day, that a *haqq* would be turned in and distributed at the market which he regularly attended. As it happens, he overslept on market day, and hence he sprinted downriver at full speed to reach the council meeting on time. On the way he had to stop to relieve himself, but did not give the matter much thought. When he arrived breathless at the *agraw*, wondering where his clan's share of the fine was, he was met with held noses, curled lips and a stony silence. He asked what the trouble was, and a senior *amghar* retorted, "Nobody who shits in his pants gets any share of the fine in this market!"

The harvest truce was established in mountain Waryagharland in the following way: Sidi Hmid went on his annual rounds, visiting each community in the Aith Bu Khrif, Aith 'Arus, and the Aith Turirth (where he himself, with his holier brother Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, was domiciled)—the three subclans that were the active *haqq*-receiving units in the Wednesday market which they all attended (the Aith Bu Khrif were not technically one such, but counted as one in this context). In these visits, Sidi Hmid would call the whole *jma'th* together and tell them that during this critical period in the agricultural cycle there must be no feuding or killing. After this, the members of the *jma'th* concerned would have to kill a goat to feed Sidi Hmid, who would also profit from the occasion by collecting the *ziyara* or traditional offerings due him (and his holier brother) as a saint. These were mostly paid in kind: butter, honey, curdled milk, figs, raisins, and barley. Because he thus exercised both temporal and spiritual power (although the latter was far more in the hands of his *baraka*-possessing brother Sidi Muhand), the truce or *sulh* became actually binding agreement.

On the following Wednesday in the market, the *abarrah* or market crier would then announce the establishment of the truce from date X to date Y generally from late spring to early autumn, a fact that partially accounts for the proliferation of marriages every year in late August and September, since the period of security thus extended a month or so beyond harvest time). No shots were to be fired and all feuding was to be prohibited. Infringement of this regulation was penalized by a 1,000-duro fine.

Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, Sidi Hmid's elder and holier brother, the *baraka*-possessor of his lineage, refused to receive any share of the *haqq*, at least directly. Nor did he receive any of the overall Imrabdhen portion of the total tribal *haqq* (i.e., one-fifth of the total): on a numerical and/or lineage basis, his own share would logically have been about two pesetas, and for him to have traveled from his dwelling in the Aith 'Aru Musa community of the Aith Turirth all the way down to the plain of al-Husaima or even to the Sunday market of Thisar in the center of Waryagharland for such a paltry sum would have been not only a waste of time, but a "great shame" on his part. He balanced his books in other ways, notably through the indirect reception, through his brother, of estival *ziyara* offered by the lay constituents of both of them.

THE TRIBAL FINE AND THE MARKET FINE

As we have seen what the *haqq* is, how it works and, in general terms, its validation of the system of "five fifths," we now consider how it further validates and underscores the segmentary and territorial systems. This can only be done by seeing how it was divided up. We shall discuss first the *haqq n-tqbitsh* or tribal fine in general terms, and then the specific division of *haqq* in several Aith Waryaghar markets.

Because of its less frequent occurrence in fact and because in theory and logic it becomes segmented and redivided all the way from the level of the tribe down to that of the individual—from tribe to "fifths," from "fifths" to clans (where the two do not correspond), from clans to subclans, and from subclans to primary and even secondary lineage groups—the distribution in detail of the *haqq n-tqbitsh* is given in Appendix IV, with appropriate comments interspersed. Here I shall give only a gross outline, down to the subclan level. For convenience, I refer to any group or series of groups prefaced by a fraction or contained within parentheses as a *unit of reception.*

From the tribe to the "fifth," then, we have the following:

1. 1/5—(a) AITH YUSIF W-'ARI and (b) AITH 'ARI (*Khums* I)
2. 1/5—AITH 'ABDALLAH (*Khums* II)
3. 1/5—AITH BU 'AYYASH (*Khums* III)

4. 1/5—AITH HADHIFA (*Khums* IV)
5. 1/5—IMRABDHEN (*Khums* V)

Khums I. Within *Khums* I the two major units of reception were the clans of the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI and the AITH 'ARI, each of which received one-half the share of the *haqq* destined for the "fifth" as a whole. The half received by the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI was again divided into five parts: 1/5 was taken off the top for the discontinuous mountain subclan of the AITH TURIRTH (who were again internally divided into fifths for this same purpose: 1/5 for the combined Aith 'Amar and Thizimmurin, 2/5 for the *liff* of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh of Bulma, consisting of 5 lineages, and 2/5 for the *liff* of the Imjjat of l-'Ass, consisting of 9 lineages. The "true" AITH YUSIF W-'ARI subclans of the lowlands and median mountains got the rest: 2/5 for the AITH UGHIR IZAN (internally divided into thirds: 1/3 for the three major lineages of Ajdir, and the remaining 2/3 for 10 other lineages spread through three discontinuous communities), and 2/5 for the ISRIHAN (again divided internally into fifths: 1/5, 2/5, 2/5).

Within the half received by the AITH 'ARI, 1/5 was again taken off the top for the discontinuous highland subclan of the TIMARZGA (which again divided internally on a 1/5, 2/5, 2/5 basis). The remainder was divided into thirds among the "true" AITH 'ARI subclans of the median hills and the lowlands: 1/3 for the AITH R-'ABBAS (again divided internally into fifths), 1/3 for the IMHAWREN (internally, 1/5 off the top for a discontinuous lineage and then the rest into thirds), and 1/3 for the TIGARTH (again internally divided into fifths). The parallels between the *haqq* distribution within the two territorially discontinuous halves of this "fifth" are thus very striking, and an internal division into fifths also prevails over a less common division into thirds in each case.

Khums II. With the AITH 'ABDALLAH, an instance of complete coincidence between clan and "fifth," and one in which territorial discontinuity is virtually absent, the two major units of reception were the two subclans of the AITH 'ARU MUSA and the AITH TMAJURTH, each of which received half the total *haqq* of the "fifth." Internally, each of these subclans was again split in half for *haqq* purposes: the AITH 'ARU MUSA into IQANNIYEN and THARIWIN (each of which was this time divided into thirds), and the AITH TMAJURTH into AITH MUSA (divided in half) and AITH ZIYYAN (divided into thirds).

Khums III. Within the AITH BU 'AYYASH, we again find complete coincidence between clan and "fifth," and although there is a certain internal territorial discontinuity, it is here of importance only in one minor context (that of the Aith Bu Stta lineage, discussed below). The share of the *haqq* of this "fifth" is once again divided in half, between the two subclans of the AITH 'ADHIYA and the "true" AITH BU 'AYYASH, or AITH BU 'AYYASH (2). In this case, both the major units of reception, for *haqq* purposes, were internally divided into fourths. Within the AITH 'ADHIYA, 1/4 went to AITH BU QIYADHEN (internally divided in half, with each half again divided in half, so that in effect the fourths were here reduplicated at a lower level), 1/4 to AITH UMNUDH (internally divided into thirds, 2/3 for the "true" AITH UMNUDH and 1/3 for AITH ISHSHU), 1/4 to IGHMIREN (internally divided in half), and 1/4 to AITH TZURAKHTH. (In this last case, 1/5 off the top went to the discontinuous Aith Bu Stta lineage, located in AITH BU KHRIF in the "true" AITH BU 'AYYASH; despite their residence, they were members of the AITH 'ADHIYA *liff*. The remainder was divided into thirds: 2/3 for AITH 'AISA and 1/3 for AITH RUQMAN, both "true" AITH TZURAKHTH.) Within the "true" AITH BU 'AYYASH, 1/4 went to AITH BU KHRIF (divided internally in half), 1/4 to ISUFIYEN (divided into thirds, 1/3 for AITH TA'A and 2/3 for the "true" ISUFIYEN), 1/4 for AITH TFARWIN (divided in half), and 1/4 to IZAKIREN (internally divided into thirds, with 2/3 for the "true" IZAKIREN and 1/3 for IRIYANEN).

Khums IV. Within the AITH HADHIFA, correspondence between clan and "fifth" is by no means complete, and territorial discontinuity is pronounced. In this instance the share of *haqq* is divided at the outset not into halves, but into thirds: one-third for the AITH 'ARUS and I'AKKIYEN subclans jointly and two-thirds for the "true" AITH HADHIFA, or AITH HADHIFA (2). This is the one case in Waryagharland in which there was a recognized imbalance between the major units of reception. Of the one-third that went to the AITH 'ARUS and I'AKKIYEN, the former received 2/3 (divided internally again into thirds, 2/3 for AITH YIKKUR and 1/3 for AITH YIKHRIF), and the latter received 1/3 (divided into fourths, for 4 lineages). Of the two-thirds that was received by the "true" AITH HADHIFA, 1/2 went to the AITH BU JDAT subclan (internally again divided in half, 1/2 for the "true" AITH BU JDAT and 1/2 for IHADDUTHEN), and 1/2 went to that of the IRAQRAQEN (again divided in half). (In the case of the IRAQRAQEN and in that of the AITH YIKKUR of the AITH 'ARUS, above, the share was then divided into halves, for unnamed agglomerates of certain contiguous lineage groups and local communities that combined purely and simply for the purpose of *haqq* reception.)

Khums V. Within the intrusive IMRABDHEN, although clan and "fifth" do correspond, territorial discontinuity is virtually total. Hence the division of the *haqq* in this final "fifth" was based largely on territorial considerations, which were normally given priority in the event that there was conflict with the IMRABDHEN genealogy. The *haqq* was first split in half, with the UPPER IMRABDHEN and the LOWER IMRABDHEN as the major units of reception. Within each of these, internal division was made into fourths. Within the UPPER IMRABDHEN, 1/4 went to AITH ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA (internally divided into thirds), 1/4 to AITH 'AZIZ (again, internally divided into thirds: 1/3 for the localized AITH 'AZIZ lineages and 2/3 for the ex-centric ones located in the territories of other, lay clans), 1/4 to AITH R-QADI (internally, 1/5 off the top to I'ATHMANEN, with the remainder divided into thirds for the "true" AITH R-QADI lineages), and 1/4 to AITH KAMMUN (internally divided into thirds, 2/3 for the localized AITH KAMMUN lineages and 1/3 for the ex-centric ones located in lay clan territories; the last category included the Dharwa n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud lineage in the AITH TURIRTH, which received 1/3 of this final 1/3). Within the LOWER IMRABDHEN, 1/4 went to AITH BRAHIM (internally divided in half), 1/4 to AITH MISA'UD (also internally divided in half, 1/2 to AITH ZAWITH N-SIDI YUSIF and 1/2 to the "true" AITH MISA'UD), 1/4 to AITH 'AMAR U-BUKAR (internally divided into thirds, 2/3 for one group and 1/3 for the other), and 1/4 to AITH MHAND (internally divided in half, 1/2 for IFASIYEN and 1/2 for IDARDUSHEN; from this latter half the Iziqqiwen lineage, the Dharwa n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa of Aith Hishim, received 1/3).

Three general comments on the above material are included below; the specific comments, along with the detail, are relegated to Appendix IV.

1. Given the fact, for example, that the "fifth" of the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI, plus the two dependent subclans of the AITH TURIRTH and the TIMARZGA, contain no less than four discrete units characterized by territorial discontinuity and reduplication, we should expect some of the complications resulting therefrom to be manifest in the internal *haqq* distribution of this "fifth," and this is precisely what occurs.

Three processes are involved, which the Aith Waryaghar consider, dogmatically, to be constant and consistent, although they are not entirely so in fact: (1) that division of the fine takes place right down to the level of the lineage heads or *iziddjifen;* (2) that *haqq* division tends to follow preponderantly segmentary lines and that normally any lineage tends to share its part of the fine with its "brothers"; and (3) that the basic fivefold or 1/5-2/5-2/5 division of the tribal *haqq* is carried as consistently as possible down into the lower levels, with one smaller group ideally taking one-fifth off the top, and then two larger ones splitting the remainder in half.

However, differences in degrees, or levels, or rates of proliferation in the segmentation of even a single clan may cause lineage headmen to emerge at a higher level in some subclans than in others; this shows the variability inherent in the first process. As for the second, the sharing of the *haqq* with one's "brothers," this may also be seriously undermined not only by questions of lineage and subclan discontinuity and reduplication, which force the territorial issue to the fore, but also by considerations of *liff* alliances, as indicated above for the AITH TURIRTH: if two given lineages are agnatically related but opposed to each other through being in opposite *liffs*, the alliance factor (which is generally affinal) takes precedence over that of agnation and hence of segmentation. As for the third process, the varying size, composition, and strength of given units of reception will, as shown, very often vitiate the validity of a consistent fivefold division internally—obviously in many cases this was quite unworkable, and hence twofold, threefold, and fourfold divisions all occur in different "fifths" at different levels. Indeed, the twofold division of binary fission, so to speak, is equally an ideal at the level of the clan/subclan as major reception units: for it occurs in all "fifths" save the threefold division among the "true" AITH 'ARI of *Khums* I and save, again, that of the threefold AITH HADHIFA subclans, two of them "true," of *Khums* IV. Two general principles concern the actual populations of the groups sharing in *haqq* distribution. The first is that, in Waryaghar eyes, the overall tribal division into "fifths" for the *haqq* division reflects the very widespread notion that the "five fifths" are all equal in size. Below this level, of course, the amount allotted to each unit of reception is a faithful, or relatively faithful, reflection of the size and hence the power of that unit, again as seen by the Aith Waryaghar. Nonetheless—although the fact is often overlooked or conveniently forgotten, in the egalitarian and quinary segmentary image presented by the Aith Waryaghar—the available census data, from 1928–1930 down to the present day, indicate with startling clarity that the "five fifths" are most certainly not equal in size. Nor does it appear that they were formerly equal, at least in the recent past, although the virtual doubling of the population of Waryagharland between the Rifian War and the 1960 census—all during a period after the "fifths" had ceased to be politically effective—has accentuated the imbalance. Documentation of this inequality will be given in Chapter 12. If the statistics did not tally with the ideology concerned, the Aith Waryaghar were unaware of the fact and would in any case have ignored it.

2: The second principle is that a comparison of the list of units of *haqq* reception with that of the overall lineage segmentation in detail indicates at once that the latter is considerably more all-embracing than the former. Why is there a discrepancy? Very simply, because the *haqq*-receiving units are a reflection of the fighting potential of a clan rather than merely all the lineage groups resident in that clan's territory. Moreover, such fighting potential may include both autochthonous and long-established lineages and accreted and "stranger" lineages; in a good many cases, as has already been shown, the latter have come to predominate. The *haqq*-receiving unit, therefore, is, as reflected by its spokesmen the *imgharen,* the cream of the clan crop, and lineages that were not considered to have a right to participate in the fine-sharing were precisely those of least account, those that did not fight or feud. The *haqq*-receiving units thus underscore the effective units of segmentation at all levels, in terms of the feud, while at the same time they indicate how the wheat was separated from the chaff.

3: It can be seen that the internal division of the share of the IMRABDHEN presents a somewhat different picture from that of the other "fifths" or clans. In the IMRABDHEN, the one clan in which all, or most, of the segments of the total genealogy are known or can be checked, the *haqq* is divided largely on a territorial basis rather than on a purely segmentary one (with certain exceptions, as noted above). In other words, in the distribution of *haqq,* the genealogical knowledge of the "holy" clansmen is superseded by territorial considerations involving a relative approximation or spatial contiguity; thus the division, in a sense, is complementary or even in opposition to the lines of segmentation, based for the most part upon genealogical fictions, that *haqq* distribution follows in the other "fifths." However, given the distribution of the IMRABDHEN throughout the length and breadth of the tribal territory, whether as subclan clusters or, in this case, as clusters of *haqq*-receiving units, or whether as scattered lineages resident in the territories of the other "fifths," this would seem to be only natural.

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All the above, on the subject of tribal *haqq,* is of course a reconstructed model. I have felt a certain minimal detail to be necessary here, because to the Aith Waryaghar themselves the subject of equitable distribution of such fines, as they conceived it, was of paramount importance. When we look at the system of *haqq* payments and distribution as it existed in clan or local markets, however, we get a somewhat different, although complementary, picture. The main point is that a subclan or lineage that might receive only an infinitesimal share of the total tribal *haqq* would generally find itself due for a considerably larger share in the event of distribution of fines at the level of the clan market. A few examples will suffice.

1. *Haqq* Distribution at the Wednesday market of Sidi Bu 'Afif (located in the plain of al-Husaima, and now defunct):

1/5—LOWER IMRABDHEN: AITH 'AMAR U-BUKAR, AITH MISA'UD, AITH 'AMAR U-SHA'IB, AITH YUSIF, and IFASIYEN.
2/5—AITH 'ARI: TIGARTH (less UPPER THAMASIND), IMHAWREN (less AITH 'ALLA), and AITH R-'ABBAS.
2/5—AITH YUSIF W-'ARI: AITH UGHIR IZAN and ISRIHAN.

In this particular instance, the amount of the *haqq* was set at 2,000 duros, and if this sum was not paid, the murderer's house was to be burned. In this market, the rationale behind the distribution of the fine may be discerned in the following episode, regarding one Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi, of Bu Minqad (Aith 'Ari).

The people of the Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa in the Upper Imrabdhen, who had been fighting among themselves, divided the *haqq* in half, one-half for Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa and the other half for the Hajj r-Hadi. They came to the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif to distribute the fine of 2,000 duros, after some members of the *liff* of the Hajj r-Hadi had killed one Si Misa'ud of the *liff* of Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa in the Sunday market of Thisar. This points up the relations between the constituents of the two markets, as follows:

Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi of Bu Minqad was the *damin* or guarantor for the peaceful behavior of the *liff* of the Hajj r-Hadi, while the members of the lineage of the Ifaqiren (Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren) took the same role for the *liff* of Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa. Each *liff* thus had its guarantor located near the Sidi Bu 'Afif market.

When Si Misa'ud was shot, the *imgharen* of the Sidi Bu 'Afif market called the guarantor Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi to pay the fine of 2,000 duros in the market. Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi objected to doing so because Si Misa'ud had been killed in another market and because, he said, it was not known who had killed him.

The first point was true, but the second was an outright lie. Infuriated, the *imgharen* of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Lower Imrabdhen arrived in force at Bu Minqad to burn the houses of Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi and his agnates. However, an affine of Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi, a man from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, appeared in the nick of time to resolve the matter peacefully. He brought ten rifles, worth 200 duros apiece, to the assembled councillors as a guarantee for Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi's payment of the fine. The *imgharen* agreed, and desisted from setting the torch to his house. Muh nj-Hajj Muhammadi was thus coerced into paying them the *haqq*, and then into paying his own *liff*-mates, after the *imgharen* had left. His destitution was now evidently complete, as we hear no more of him.

2. *Haqq* Distribution at the Monday market of the Aith Hadhifa:

At this market, before the fines were divided up, Sidi r-Hajj Muhammadi, the leading member of the Imrabdhen lineage resident in Iqanniyen (Aith 'Abdallah), was given some 50-60 duros as a "tip." The fine itself, amounting to 2,000 duros for murder both in the market and on any path leading to or from it, was then divided up in the following manner:

1/5—IMRABDHEN lineages resident in the AITH HADHIFA
2/5—AITH BU JDAT (AITH HADHIFA)
2/5—IRAQRAQEN (AITH HADHIFA)

3. *Haqq* Distribution at the Suq Aqdim (Old Market), and later, at the present Monday market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash:

The so-called Old Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, now no longer in existence, was set up by an *amghar* of Tifarwin, on its border with the neighboring community of Izakiren, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash lowlands. It was held on Mondays, and the communities providing its regular constituents were Izakiren, Tifarwin, Ighmiren, Imnudh, I'akkiyen, Ikattshumen, and Aith Umasin. The market *haqq* was split in half between the communities of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash (Izakiren and Tifarwin, plus, later on, Aith Ta'a, Taffiyen, Iriyanen, and Aith Bu Khrif) and those of the Aith 'Adhiya (Ighmiren and Imnudh, plus, later, Aith Bu Stta, Aith Bu Qiyadhen, Igar w-Anu, and Tamrakhth). I'akkiyen, Ikattshumen and Aith Umasin, not being segments of either, got nothing.[42]

After the death of the councillor from Tifarwin, three *imgharen* from Izakiren moved the market to its present location, and it became known as the Monday market of the Aith (or Bni) Bu 'Ayyash. In the new location, the Ikattshumen were now given a share of the fines, because they were of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and hence in the same overall *liff* as the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and their members therefore undertook to defend the mountains against the Aith 'Adhiya. The same held true for the I'akkiyen (of *Khums* IV) and the Aith Umasin (of *Khums* V), who now undertook to guard the market. The market grounds, it might be added, had been purchased for the paltry sum of 14 duros—one need only compare this to the price of a man's life within the same area at the same time, and with the price of land there today!

In this instance, we have a documented change in *haqq* distribution, which shifted according to the alignments and dictates of the *liff* situation. The new arrangement was as follows:

1/3—IKATTSHUMEN, AITH UMASIN, and I'AKKIYEN (outsiders).
2/3—IMNUDH, IZAKIREN, and IGHMIREN (AITH BU 'AYYASH).

The Aith Bu 'Ayyash (and Aith 'Adhiya) communities naturally received the lion's share. It need only be added that whenever the location of a market was up for change, the *amghar* or *imgharen* who wanted to effect the change had to obtain the "blessing" of the local *amrabit*.

4. *Haqq* Distribution at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt (Aith Turirth):

The *haqq* at this most important market was divided into the following five equal shares:

1/5—AXT TUZIN: the Axt Tsafth clan of the Axt Tuzin received this share because the land on which the market was located, beside the Upper Nkur River, had originally belonged to them. They had opposed the establishment of a market on their land, so the highland Aith Waryaghar, after overriding their opposition, allotted them one-fifth of the fine as compensation.
1/5—SIDI HMID N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD, who was given one-fifth all to himself out of deference to his holiness and that of his lineage, and because he was also honorary *amghar amqqran*, or top councillor.

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[42] This market had previously been located in Imnudh, in the Aith 'Adhiya, and then the division of fines had been made, it seems, according to yet another criterion: the number of Friday or *khutba* mosques in the clan territory, mosques big enough to accommodate a congregation for the Friday sermon. Under this dispensation, it appears that the I'akkiyen, logically, received a share with the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

1/5—AITH BU KHRIF (of the "true" AITH BU 'AYYASH).

- 1/5—AITH 'ARUS
  - 1/5—
    - 1/2—SAMMAR (AITH U-SAMMAR)
    - 1/2—IHARUNEN
  - 2/5— AITH YIKKUR
  - 2/5— AITH YIKHRIF
- 1/5—AITH TURIRTH
  - 1/5—
    - 1/2—AITH 'AMAR
    - 1/2—THIZIMMURIN
  - 2/5— *Liff* of HAJJ AM'AWSH (of BULMA)
  - 2/5— *Liff* of IMJJAT (DHARWA UFQIR AZZUGWAGH, of L-'ASS)

This is an excellent example of equal shares going to market constituents, one in which one whole share (or one-fifth) went to another tribe entirely, a second to a single individual who was at once a holy man (and a member of a "holy holy" lineage) and the top *amghar*, and a third to a subclan/community (which later became entitled to participate in the shares of its own clan market, on Mondays, in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, further north toward the plain). The final two shares went to two out of the three localized subclans of the Jbil Hmam. (The third Jbil Hmam subclan, the Timarzga, as indicated earlier, received their share of the tribal *haqq* from the Aith 'Ari; however, they got their market *haqq* from the Sunday market set up in the community of Ikhuwanen (in the tribe of the Igzinnayen, to be discussed below).

5. *Haqq* Distribution at the (former) Sunday market of Izimmuren (Aith Turirth):

The Sunday market of Izimmuren, on the west bank of the Upper Nkur, well above the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, was located right beside the house of the saint Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, the founder of the lineage of the same name and himself a member of the wider Upper Imrabdhen lineage of the Aith Kammun. The market was set up by the son to whom his *baraka* was transmitted, Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud.

This market withered and died when the Wednesday market took precedence for the region; while it existed, it stipulated that the *haqq* should be divided up as follows:

1/5—HAJJ BIQQISH of IKHUWANEN (ASHT 'ASIM, IGZINNAYEN).

1/5—HAJJ SI MUHAND W-'ARAB of THINIMRAR (ASHT 'ARU 'AISA, IGZINNAYEN).

1/5—SHAIKH 'AMAR NJ-MQADDIM of AITH YUSIF (TIMARZGA, AITH WARYAGHAR).

1/5—'AMAR UZZUGWAGH OF L-'ASS (*Liff* of IMJJAT, AITH TURIRTH, AITH WARYAGHAR).

1/5—MUHAND U-SA'ID OF BULMA (*Liff* of HAJJ AM'AWSH, AITH TURIRTH, AITH WARYAGHAR).

Four points are worthy of note here: (1) the *imgharen* themselves take the fore, rather than the clans or tribes they represent; (2) Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, under whose auspices the market was established, did not, himself, elect to receive any of the *haqq* (which would doubtless have tainted his *baraka*); (3) two-fifths of the total *haqq* was allotted to two *imgharen* of the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen—in a gesture which effectively established Sidi Muhand's spiritual influence, if not his hegemony, over the Igzinnayen clans in question; and (4) none of the above ever left the "planning stage," as no murders were ever committed in this now defunct market and thus no *haqq* was ever paid. Had the *haqq* been enforced here, it would have been 1,000 duros for murder both on any market path and, it seems, in the market itself. Sidi Muhand, however, did appear to provide an additional safeguard: he is held to have fixed the *diyith* or bloodwealth, destined for the victim's agnates, at 100 duros instead of the 30-40 duros at which it was evidently assessed in the plain of al-Husaima. It will now be clear that *diyith* payment was an academic question: it was almost never accepted.

Sidi Muhand, the *baraka*-possessor of his lineage, did not, it seems, receive any of the Imrabdhen portion of one-fifth of the total tribal *haqq;* as noted, his own share of this might have been as little as two pesetas, and for him to have traveled a long way on muleback for such a pittance would have been shameful. He made up for this in other, more remunerative ways; in summer, during the *r-'aiwad nj-urbu'* terraces for harvesting, which his brother Sidi Hmid effected, everyone in the region gave both of them substantial offerings of foodstuffs as *ziyara.*

6. *Haqq* Distribution at the Sunday market of Thiddas, Ikhuwanen (Igzinnayen):

This small but interesting market was established by the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen about 1919, and it lasted until the Igzinnayen were pacified by the French in 1926. After Moroccan independence thirty years later, it was once more renovated. In Biqqish's time, the *haqq* of this market was assessed at 1,000 duros, whether for murder inside the market or on one of the paths leading to it. The proceeds were divided up in the following manner:

4—IKHUWANEN (IGZINNAYEN).
4—IHARRUSHEN (IGZINNAYEN).
4—ASHT 'ARU 'AISA (IGZINNAYEN).
4—TIMARZGA (AITH WARYAGHAR).

It should here be noted that just as the Axt Tuzin shared in the *haqq* of the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, and as two *imgharen* of the Igzinnayen shared in that of the Sunday market of Izimmuren, so did the Timarzga subclan of the Aith Waryaghar share the fine of a market not properly their own. They were excluded from participation in the fines of their normal market (that of Wednesday at Tawrirt), but they managed to recoup here in the neighboring Sunday market (which is closer to them in actual distance) of their southern neighbors of the Igzinnayen. However, there was an excellent reason for including the Timarzga people in the market *haqq* at Ikhuwanen: Biqqish's daughter was married to a Timarzga man, and thus the whole Timarzga lineage of the Yinn 'Ari Wuqaddim, in the community of Aith Yusif, stood in an affinal, and hence a *liff*-allied, relationship to him (the Hajj Biqqish–Timarzga combine was later brutally broken up by 'Abd al-Krim).

The point here is that if a given group did not get its share of the *haqq* in one market, it obtained a share in another. The market *haqq* was a reflection (possibly slightly distorted) of the tribal *haqq* on a smaller territorial scale, but because it was distributed only among the councillors of the clans or subclans that provided regular attendants of the market in question, the amount of money that each councillor received was greater than that received from the tribal *haqq*. It is quite possible that in fact as opposed to theory, the collection of a full-scale tribal *haqq* was a rare event; the collection of the market *haqq*, to the contrary, was exceedingly common, given the argument—somewhat circular but nonetheless valid to the Aith Waryaghar—that the peace of the market was made to be broken.

SPONSORSHIP, PROTECTION, AND PACTS

The notion of sponsorship or guarantee (*dmana*) was mentioned earlier in connection with the *qanuns*, and in the previous section we noted the case of a guarantor or *damin* who nearly failed in his duty. Naturally, for example, if A wanted to borrow money from B, and B did not trust him to repay it, it was up to A to obtain a third party, C, who was on good terms with both of them, to act as his *damin.* (Likewise, a woman could act as *damna* for another woman.) In the guarantee of matters such as *haqq* payments, however, a *damin* could play a particularly crucial role—as a kind of *haqq* broker. Here his function was twofold: (1) to guarantee the good conduct of the members of the lineage group that he was sponsoring; and (2) to guarantee the payment of *haqq* by this group should it become necessary. The difficulties and the delicacy inherent in his position will be appreciated, and they lead us to some wider considerations regarding the twin issues of sponsorship and protection.

Nowhere in the Rif was there any cross-tribal sponsorship of the Central Atlas *tada* variety, in which a man from Tribe A who wanted, for example, to go to Tribe B's market had to have a sponsor in Tribe B in order to vouch for and protect him (insofar as market attendance was concerned). During the *Ripublik*, a man from Waryagharland was perfectly free to go to the markets of the Igzinnayen or the Aith 'Ammarth, for example, on any market day he chose; he did not need to take any precautionary measures on this score. Reciprocally, men of other tribes could attend Waryaghar markets.

However, the payment of *dhazttat* was always necessary for an ordinary traveler. This meant that a stranger going from his own tribe (or from a town) into the territory of another had to pay "protection money," which was called *dhazttat*,[43] to the leading *amghar* of the first community of the next tribe in which he found himself. The latter would then pass him on to the border of the next tribe and would provide him with five or six men to protect him. When the traveler reached the tribal border, the men accompanying him would return home. He would then pay *dhazttat* again to an influential *amghar* in the next tribe, who, in turn, would select five or six men to take him through that tribe's territory; and so on. A man going anywhere within the borders of his own tribe did not have to pay *dhazttat* (e.g., if in Waryagharland he were going from the Aith Turirth to the Monday market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, or down to Ajdir), for he was generally known personally or at least heard of as a fellow-tribesman; however, a dhu-Waryaghar going to the Axt Tuzin or the Aith 'Ammarth most emphatically did have to pay it.

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[43] *Dhazttat* is a Berber word which came into Moroccan Arabic as *zattata;* and its etymology is of very great interest. Laoust has shown, conclusively in my opinion, that it is derived from the Berber *aztta*, "loom," for the simple reason that in a good many Berber-speaking regions (even though there is no record of this in the Rif), a protector (known as *azattadh* or *ittf dhazttat*, one who collects *dhazttat*) gave his protege (or *yuxsha dhazttat*, one who gives *dhazttat*) a woolen jillaba or a silham to wear which could be identified at a distance. Thus, while the protege was in that particular tribe's territory, he was not shot at. Cf. E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berberes*, Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1920, p. 126. The institution has been well described by a good many early European travelers in Morocco for the simple reason that they all had to pay it themselves. For the Moroccan Arabic *zattata*, cf. Louis Brunot, *Glossaire*, vol. II of *Textes Arabes de Rabat*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome XLIX, Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1952, pp. 335–336.

Jews and members of the low-status groups (such as *imdhyazen*, blacksmiths, and the others discussed at the beginning of this chapter) were exempt from *dhazttat* payments, as were members of nonfeuding lineages: if a man was beyond the political pale, he was beyond it in every way. Also exempt was an *adhrib* or exile fleeing a bloodfeud or a *haqq* payment to the council members. But nobody else was exempt, and travel in another tribe's territory for any reason other than marketing or exile required the *dhazttat* protection.

Dhazttat could be paid in money or in kind, and the usual amount is said to have been 10 to 20 duros. The *dhazttat* system was based upon the notion that any tribe other than one's own was a potential (and generally a real) danger zone. An *amghar* who received *dhazttat* could of course safeguard a traveler only to the point at which his own fragile authority ended, and there the traveler would be taken up by a council member of the next tribe. The institution was thus cross-tribal. Moreover, because noncombatants were exempt, both the payment and the reception of *dhazttat*, like that of *haqq*, were marks of the egalitarian majority and of their full participation in the political system.

However, there were and are other uses to which this concept is put: today, for example, the term is most often employed to refer to a bribe that one slips to the *qadi* in order to influence a legal decision in one's favor. The word carries an "under-the-counter" connotation, and in the past this was especially so with regard to hired killings: while *dhazttat* was paid for protection, it was likewise paid for elimination. In this last instance, the recipient of the *dhazttat* was called *nghith s-tin'ashin*, lit. "he kills for money," and such a man received his fee "underneath his jillaba."

Although hired assassination was not as fully institutionalized in Waryagharland and in the Central Rif as it was, for example, in Kabylia (where many men are said to have made virtually their whole living from this dubious pursuit), it was nonetheless quite common, at least on a "one-time" basis. Although I have never heard of any professional killers, as understood in Kabylia or in the Moroccan Central and Anti-Atlases, I have no less than four documents—two from the Aith Turirth and two from the Igzinnayen—that deal with specific instances in which *dhazttat* was paid for murder. Naturally, given the kind of killing involved, both the man with the gun and the man who paid for the bullet tried to keep the matter as secret as possible; but once the truth was known, testimonies had to be made, and the documents are very candid. Those from the Igzinnayen (MSS. 9 and 2 of my documents from that tribe, dated October 9–10, 1862, and March 20, 1905, respectively) refer to a case in which a man of Izkrithen was hired for 300 *mithqals* to kill one from Ikhuwanen, and to a killing within the community of Wawnkwarth in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa in which the perpetrator received 60 duros in silver.

The Aith Turirth materials reveal another fact about the political behavior of the Iznagen lineage (in the community of Tigzirin): since its members were only on the fringe, so to speak, of the feuding lineages, they were notorious for paying *dhazttat* to men of those lineages for the purpose of eliminating one another. One of the Aith Turirth documents (my MS. 4), dated January 1884, describes what may, however, be an intra-Iznagen murder (the text is not entirely clear), for which the killer received 70 duros. The other one (my MS. 1), dated May 1897, states with classic candor:

> Praise be to God. Let it be known that the man Mhand n-Mzzyan nj-Mqaddim of the community of Bulma [lineage of r-Mquddam] was obliged by God to kill his own father's brother Misa'ud nj-Mqaddim, of the same community, for money. He had received this money from the sons of 'Abdallah n-Haddu Uznag, nicknamed "Dawdaw" [whence the Iznagen sublineage of Idawdawen] because the above Misa'ud had killed the above 'Abdallah n-Haddu at a much earlier date. Then the son of the dead man Dawdaw agreed to give the above Misa'ud [N.B.: This should probably read "the above Mhand n-Mzzyan"] money, as the other [the late 'Abdallah] had been killed in times past, but his spirit lingered on until now. Misa'ud's representative was his paternal uncle Muhammadi n-Tbu'azzat, who was asked to pay bloodwealth by Dawdaw's agnates. He was Dawdaw's guardian [*'asib*]. He returned to Dawdaw, presented himself to the witnesses and said "Yes," on his soul, that Misa'ud had told him that he had killed 'Abdallah n-Haddu and that he had no intention of paying either *haqq* or bloodwealth. Misa'ud had killed,

and was then killed in turn. For this reason there was no reclamation [*bara'a*, in the text: for there was one dead man on each side] from the property of the dead man from the aforementioned blood-wealth. The sons of Dawdaw testified also that everything was now equal, and made peace [*istalaha*, from *sulh*] in big things and little things, with the sons of Mzzyan [i.e., with Mhand n-Mzzyan], and they testified that the affair was now finished between them and that they were quits. . . . The undersigned writes this down so that all will know, at the end of Dhu l-Hijjat al-Haram in the year 1314 [May 1897]. The servant of his God, may God bless him. Muhammad bin Muhammad Shihi at-Tighza'i at-Tuzani" [N.B.: an *'adl* or notary from the despised lineage of the Ihawtshen].

A very interesting case of *dhazttat* paid for a hired killing concerns the Hajj Haddu Tahir of the lowland Aith 'Ari community of Aith Musa w-'Amar. Someone once insulted him, and, as he was a man of some consequence, both an *amghar* and a *hajj*, he would not stand for it. So he promised his *akhammas* a new jillaba and a considerable sum of money if he would dispose of the calumniator. The *akhammas* duly went out on his master's errand, but he appears to have had a change of heart somewhere along the way, for he came to the conclusion that he personally had no quarrel with the other party, and that hence there was no reason to kill him. Therefore, with the prospect of a handsome reward in his pocket, he announced upon his arrival home that he had shot the man and had returned undetected. However, the Hajj Haddu soon learned the truth, and, furious, he locked up his *akhammas* for three days without food or water. He then cut off his ears and sent him packing.[44]

Cases of this sort readily indicate just how cheaply human life was rated. It goes without saying that virtually all men were armed at all times, and that when they went to mosque or market their rifles were slung across their backs and their daggers were at their sides. Women, of course, were theoretically immune from the eternal round of vengeance: for the Aith Waryaghar, in addition to their intense jealousy about their women, also stress the notion of *hurma n-tmgharin*,[45] the respect due to women. This respect is extreme, and one of its manifestations during the Ripublik was in the fact that any man who happened to be walking behind a woman was temporarily immune from the vengeance of another man, who was thus forbidden to shoot him. In the same way, a wedding procession carries great *hurma* or respect because of the bride. (Today such *hurma* is manifested even toward the women of the Ihawtshen lineage, the lowliest in the Aith Turirth: when they go to the spring to fetch water early in the morning and late in the afternoon, all men in the vicinity must leave the path clear for them, out of respect. Should any man go there to fetch water at the same time as the women do—most unlikely, as this is women's work—they have the right to lodge a complaint against him. It will also be recalled that a guard is always placed at a safe distance from any women's market in order to keep men out.) However, in actuality women did occasionally get killed, and occasionally did their share of the killing; the feud was highly contagious.

An elderly Aith Turirth informant (who was *shaikh* of the Jbil Hmam subclans in 1955) said that in some parts of the Aith 'Arus, notably in the community of Bu Sa'ida, "there has never been any respect for anybody or anything"—only an eternal round of violence, murder, and sudden death, in which bonfires (*dhimssi*) were eternally lit on the mountaintops as a signal to all and sundry to pick up their rifles and come running to the scene of battle. (Indeed, popular imagery makes the violence of the Aith 'Arus out to be a virtual caricature of that of the rest of the Aith Waryaghar. In the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, the market crier would announce the *imsa'ramen*, "madness" or "frenzy," with monotonous regularity: a state of hostility had broken out between two more lineages of the Aith 'Arus.)

* * *

We now come to another aspect of the concept of protection: protection in the form of special pacts. There were and are essentially two kinds of pact, each involving a very different kind of ritual and having very different objectives. These institutions of *'ar* and *'ahd* have been given preliminary descriptive treatment by Coon for the Central Rif, and have been analyzed by Westermarck for other parts of Morocco.[46] Coon renders *'ar* as "shame-compulsion" and *'ahd* as "oath"; Westermarck considers *'ar* to be a "conditional curse" and *'ahd* to be a "vow, solemn promise, covenant." In my view, Coon is perhaps closer to the point on *'ar* than is Westermarck, and Westermarck is rather closer than Coon on *'ahd*. However, since these are both very much key institutional terms, such translations only enable us to obtain partial views of the picture.

In comparing these two institutions with each other,

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[44] Hart, op. cit., 1954, pp. 64-65.

[45] The term *hurma* is derived from the Arabic root *h-r-m-*, and closely allied to it are the notions of *hurm*, or sanctuary inside a given space surrounding a saint's tomb (as well as within the tomb itself), and *istihurm*, the exiled murderer, who after fleeing his own tribe, puts himself under the protection of the wife of an amghar of the tribe in whose territory he has sought refuge, by putting his hand on the handle of the quern.

[46] Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 162-164; and Westermarck, op. cit., 1926, vol. I, Chapter I, pp. 518-569.

Coon and Westermarck both follow Rifian procedure, for they are easily comparable. It must, however, be emphasized that despite this comparability, they are very different, both in ritual content and in objectives.

'Ar is a special form of supplication in which the petitioner, through sacrificing an animal, shames or even coerces the petitionee into helping him against his will: for not to comply with the request once the sacrifice has been made would bring tremendous shame upon the party solicited, whose honor is now at stake. In this sense the *'ar* concept is very closely linked to the *hashuma* or shame concept, and Coon is certainly correct, although he does not discuss *hashuma* as such. But *'ar* is also just as closely linked to the concept of *'afu* or pardon, which the individual whose aid is being solicited is forced to give his petitioner, through doing all that is in his power to fulfil his request. In Waryagharland this request was almost always specifically a plea for material aid in a bloodfeud on the part of a lineage on the losing side (and thus the parties to it were usually groups rather than individuals). In any event, the point is that A, in requesting help from B in this way, stands in a subservient position to him, but by the same token, A's "conditional curse" on B is deemed to take effect when B does not provide the assistance requested. (Westermarck notes a similar "conditional curse" inherent in the ritual action of the *adhrib* who, fleeing his pursuers, puts his hand on the handmill inside the house, and in so doing, becomes an *istihurm*, a refugee: for the handmill not only belongs to the lady of the house, it is also a symbol of destruction.)[47]

The animal most typically used in an *'ar* sacrifice is a bull. The petitioners lead it to the mosque of the group being petitioned, and their spokesman sacrifices it there, uttering the invocation *Bismillah, Allahu Akbar*, and ritually cutting its throat in such a fashion that its blood spurts all over the threshold. Should the sacrifice be effected at the doorstep of the house of a powerful *amghar*, the women run out and pick up spoonfuls of the blood, which, mixed with water, is then given to children to cure whooping cough. (The same is done when the household head himself sacrifices the traditional ram at the 'Aid l-Kbir.)

The symbolism here is that the act of sacrifice, *dhaqqarsth*, involves the deprivation of the life of an animal, a living organism, which has a spirit (*ruh*) just as any human being has; and the pardon asked of God by the petitioner for taking the life of this animal is what compels or shames the petitionee into performing the action so demanded. The meat of the sacrificed animal is cooked and is partaken of by all present—petitioners, petitionees, and everyone—for the subservient position of the petitioner does not preclude the observance of the principle of commensality.

Two striking cases of *'ar* sacrifice, both of them from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, are recounted below. One case dates from about 1950-1951, and it illustrates beautifully how pressure can be successfully exerted on even the highest-placed officials; the other case dates from the *Ripublik* and illustrates what can happen when a man petitioned through *'ar* does not honor his petitioner's demand.

The Qaid r-Hajj Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (died March 1955) had been, first, an *amghar* of note in his own community of Aith Bu Khrif, and, later, a *kbir mhalla* (top military commander) of very great prestige under 'Abd al-Krim, before he was made *qaid* under the Spanish administration in 1926. He was a walking encyclopedia of Aith Waryaghar Custom, and he was also perhaps as near to being a "Grand Qaid," in the sense epitomized by the Glawi in the French zone, that the Spanish zone ever produced. I have had occasion to refer to him earlier and will do so again: as an informant, he was an anthropologist's dream. He was also the toughest old man I have ever known in my life. He was said—by his detractors, admittedly—to have been indirectly responsible for the deaths of some seventy people, between 1926 and his removal from office in 1950-1951.

The *'ar* factor was instrumental in the Qaid Haddu's removal from office, and thus the circumstances of his removal are of very great interest. His constituents, or at least the most vocal elements among them, brought about his dismissal, going over the head of the Spanish Army major who was at the time the *Interventor Comarcal* in Ajdir—and a staunch supporter of the Qaid Haddu. A number of men went to Tetuan, the capital of the Spanish Zone, to protest unofficially to the High Commissioner, then General Varela; while in Tetuan, they soon found out that a similar unofficial delegation from the Sinhaja Srir tribe of the Zarqat had also come to Tetuan with precisely the same idea in mind about their own Qaid Sha'ra in Targist—who was also favored by the *Interventor Comarcal* there. The two groups quickly made common cause, the Aith Waryaghar delegation implanting in the minds of the Zarqatis that it might be a good idea for both of them to sacrifice a bull at the main door of the principal Spanish Catholic church in Tetuan, where the High Commissioner went to mass every Sunday with his wife. The following Sunday, the petitioners did exactly that; the total confusion on the part of the High Commissioner, his wife, and the officiating priest, as they saw a bull sacrificed by a crowd of turbanned and bearded Rifians on the church steps, may be imagined. All of the Rifians were granted an audience with the High Commissioner the very next day. (It may be noted that in this case, the meat of the bull that was slaughtered was given to the poor, but then the site of sacrifice itself was rather exceptional!)

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[47] ibid., 1926, vol. I, p. 529.

The upshot of the joint complaints was a telegram from the High Commissioner to the *Interventor Territorial del Rif* in al-Husaima (then Villa Sanjurjo), saying that Haddu and Sha'ra were to be removed from their *qaid*-ships and that the two *interventores comarcales* of Ajdir and Targist were to be transferred. The telegram arrived as a real blow: one gathers that not a single Spanish officer wanted to take the responsibility of informing the Qaid Haddu of his dismissal. As it happened, he only heard the news by accident. He was, of course, furious as well as mortally offended, and he went directly back to his house in Aith Bu Khrif and did not reappear for at least a year. The *qaid*-ship was eventually filled again in 1954 (after a three-year vacancy) by Hmid Budra, a lowlander of the Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; he had previously been Qaid of the Uta and, before that, 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of War. Budra, too, was a hard man, one who had spent considerable time in Spanish jails in Melilla in the early years of the protectorate—but he was not as hard as Haddu.

The other case involving *'ar* is somewhat more intricate, and cannot properly be explained without a description of the events that led up to it. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda was one of the most powerful *imgharen* of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. He always went to the Monday market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash with sixty or seventy armed men, and throughout most of the subclan territory he was listened to with respect.

One day a man from ar-Rabda got into an argument with one of the Hajj Muhand's sons (possibly over a woman) and shot him. The murderer escaped as an *adhrib* to the Aith Bu Stta lineage (also of the Aith 'Adhiya) located in Aith Bu Khrif. He took refuge there with a certain Hajj Mhand, who was on very good terms with the Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda. Word of this came back to the Hajj Muhand, and, one Monday in the market, he approached the Hajj Mhand and asked him, in the interests of justice, to turn his son's murderer over to him. The Hajj Mhand then began to argue over the matter with his own son, who had become friends with the murderer in the interim and did not want to hand him over, knowing the fate that would be in store for him. The word of his failure to get rid of the murderer then came back to the Hajj Muhand, who appears to have been a good and a just man; he did not, for the time being, press the matter.

The Hajj Muhand, however, had another son, a hot-headed boy of seventeen named 'Abdssram, who decided that this state of affairs had gone on long enough, and that it was time to take matters into his own hands and to exercise the standard Aith Waryaghar right of self-help. So he purchased a rifle, and one Monday he took it to the market with him; when his father decided that it was time to load up the mules and go home, he could not find 'Abdssram anywhere. So he put two and two together, and went as fast as his mule could carry him along the path to Aith Bu Khrif.

But he arrived too late. 'Abdssram, hidden at a vantage point behind a lentiscus bush, which was (unfortunately) rather far away from the path but not out of rifle range, had spotted the murderer and the son of the Hajj Mhand coming along the path. He had already noticed that when they left the market, the murderer of his brother was riding the mule and the Hajj Mhand's son was on foot; although he was now too far away to distinguish between the two, he took aim and fired at the man on the mule, who toppled off, dead. 'Abdssram did not know that the two had changed places midway, and he realized too late that he had killed the son of his father's friend. The murderer who was the intended target ran off into the mountains, with 'Abdssram firing after him repeatedly; but he missed him, and the man got away.

No *haqq* was paid; however, not only was public opinion strongly against 'Abdssram for his rash action, but his own father was furious as well. 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand had to get away in a hurry, so he took a boat for Tangier, the urban haven of *idhriben* from Waryagharland; there he stayed for four years, during which time he married. However, he had a strong desire to return home and see how things had gone in his absence, so he gradually made his way back. His return was unknown to his father, and he had to stay in hiding in the mountains, though from time to time he would slip back to ar-Rabda, where his mother gave him food on the quiet.

One Monday, when the Hajj Muhand was in the market, a man from Imnudh casually boasted that he had a new rifle that could kill anything, at any distance, and that not even the Hajj Muhand was immune. To prove his point, this man shot his gun off in the air, in the general direction of the market. The bullet missed its mark by far, but the Hajj Muhand was enraged that anyone should even suggest that he be done in.

The news of this incident and the identity of the boaster reached 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand in the mountains, and he went off with his gun to Imnudh. He lay in wait for the boaster in a clump of cactus near the latter's house, and when the man arrived, 'Abdssram, now no novice in the gentle art of bushwhacking, blasted him into eternity. When the Hajj Muhand heard this news, he welcomed back his long-lost son with open arms.

Now, of course, a state of feud existed between the people of ar-Rabda and those of Imnudh. The Hajj Muhand, more anxious now than ever to rid himself of his debt to the Hajj Mhand of the Aith Bu Stta, decided that the time had come for an *'ar* sacrifice. He went to his old friend's house with some of the Imrabdhen of the Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, and slaughtered a bull on the doorstep. All present partook of the meat, and after they had eaten, the parleying began. The bloodwealth for the death of the Hajj Mhand's son some four years earlier was fixed at 100 duros. This sum the Hajj Muhand paid over willingly and at once, as he was anxious that his long-standing friendship with the Hajj Mhand should continue, despite all that had happened. But afterward the Imrabdhen who had accompanied him in order to make the overtures for peace told the Hajj Muhand that they had smelled a rat; and indeed, the Hajj Mhand gave the whole of the bloodwealth payment to the people of Imnudh in order to buy rifles and ammunition to continue the feud with ar-Rabda. This fact illustrates again the ever-present Aith Waryaghar tendency to break rules of their own making. The society at large lived by the gun rather than by the rulebook.

The Aith ar-Rabda were greatly outnumbered, but their men, as the story goes, were more valiant, and in the fighting that ensued, 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand often played a lone hand. One night he went to Imnudh with the intention of bagging some of his enemies, and crept into the house of one of them to find him asleep with his wife. He resisted with great difficulty the temptation to kill the man, but in order to make known his visit, he left a bullet by the bedside. When he later met the man face to face in combat, he asked him if he had happened to find this cartridge. The man replied in the affirmative, and wondered what it was all about. 'Abdssram told him what had happened, and the man from Imnudh replied that although he was at feud with the Aith ar-Rabda, he would always consider 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand as a personal friend.

Thus it seems that 'Abdssram preferred his targets to be moving ones. On another occasion, when he went up to Imnudh again to carry on the fight, he fell down a ravine and broke his leg. He painfully crawled up behind a tree and shot five of the Aith Umnudh before getting away again, but the details of how he managed to escape with a broken leg were not recounted. He is said to have killed eighteen men in all, and he capped his career as *amghar* by becoming 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of War on the eastern front (while Hmid Budra, mentioned above as the successor of the fearsome Qaid Haddu, held the same job on the western front). He defected, however, to the Spaniards, who offered him money, and he miraculously escaped the wrath of 'Abd al-Krim to become a *qaid* in the subsequent Spanish administration. He only died in 1948, aged nearly 90.

'Ahd, to which we now turn, is a pact, vow, or covenant (following Westermarck, and when it is established at the intergroup level) of eternal friendship between individuals or groups of equal status. ('Abdssram's decision to desist from shooting the sleeping man in Imnudh did not involve a pact of *'ahd*, but given the subsequent unbreakable friendship of the two men, it might have.) It is not, strictly speaking, an oath, and it never involves sacrifice. It is, however, taken in a mosque or at the tomb of a powerful saint, and it is taken on a copy of the Qur'an—which the Aith Waryaghar in any context of vows or oaths refer to as *l-Mushaf*. There are two principal techniques, and a third that can be considered as a variant. In the first case, one finds the ritual formula *'Ahdik Ullah wa shibbak Nbi r-Rasulu 'llah*, "Let the *'ahd* of God and of His Prophet the Messenger of God be a tie to bind you," to which is added *kh-dhit-tawin-inu kh-uziddjif-inu*, "On my eyes and my head be it"; in the second, the *fqih* recites the Surat al-Fatiha, the opening chapter of the Qur'an. In the first instance, in terms of pure ritual technique, one man puts his right hand on top of the Qur'an, and the other puts his right hand on top of the first man's; the second and more common technique is a clasping of the right hands of both parties over the Qur'an (rather than upon it), so that palms touch and fingers are intertwined. After this, the two men say *Nishnin nma'had*, "We are in *'ahd.*" Once their fingers are thus intertwined, neither party may cheat or betray the other; if one of them should do so, God will punish him within forty days. (It is of interest that members of the 'Alawiyin or I'alawiyen religious order in the Timarzga always greet each other in this manner, while those of the Darqawa in the Aith Turirth

greet each other with a special handclasp that also counts as *'ahd*.) The third or variant form was called *iswas g-ufus-ines*, "he drank from his hand." Here two individuals who disliked or distrusted each other, and who had decided that it was better to become friends, would pass by a spring. Each one cupped some water in his (or her) hands (women can make *'ahd* with each other as well) to give to the other to drink, and thus the bond of *'ahd* was forged between them. This last was a common practice during the *Ripublik*, but not today.

'Ahd is often made between persons who are already friends, in order to strengthen their friendship; it is, to this day, made regularly between business partners so that neither will cheat nor deceive the other. It is also made between the bride and the groom when, for the very first time, they are alone together. Each has a bowl containing henna and three hardboiled eggs (*thimddjarin nj-hanni*, "eggs of the henna"); the groom eats the eggs in the bride's bowl and she eats those in his, and thus they make mutual *'ahd*.[48]

'Ahd may be made as a covenant between two lineages, as in the following account. When the Iznagen came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen to their present habitat of Tigzirin in the Aith Turirth, none of them had any guns. However, one of their women, through her deceased first husband, owned some land in Aith Bu Khrif: this they sold, and purchased rifles with the proceeds. The second husband of this woman, objecting to the sale of the land, beat her; she escaped to her agnates, who in turn beat the husband, with sticks, when he came around to protest. The husband then went to the lineage of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh in Bulma and asked them to help him obtain his "right," his *haqq*. The members of this powerful lineage, plus those of several other Aith Turirth lineages, then went to extract the *haqq* by force. But the Iznagen did not agree to pay it. Shots were fired for two weeks and ten men were killed. Finally, the Iznagen escaped to the Axt Tuzin, for they had only thirteen rifles and their adversaries had, it is said, three hundred.

A little later, however, the six leading lineage headmen of the Iznagen came to Sidi Muhand n-Sidi l-Hajj Misa'ud, the *baraka*-holding *amrabit* resident in the Aith Turirth, bringing gifts of a tea tray and a sheep; they asked him to intercede with the other Aith Turirth lineages on their behalf so that they might return home.

So Sidi Muhand asked the Aith Turirth to come and make *'ahd* with the Iznagen, but they did not wish to do so. Only 'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass and one member of the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id lineage in Ignan came to see Sidi Muhand, who told them that he himself wanted to see a truce established with the Iznagen. As for whoever else might wish it, he added, he would pray for him to have health, happiness and a long life. 'Amar Uzzugwagh agreed, and Sidi Muhand then arranged for the *'ahd* to be made in his own mosque. In the ritual that followed, Sidi Muhand was the first to put his hand on top of the Qur'an, then 'Amar Uzzugwagh, and finally, the Iznagen men. The Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh lineage took umbrage at this pact, and so Sidi Muhand prayed that no good would ever befall them in the future.

Thus the *liff* alliance between 'Amar Uzzugwagh and the Iznagen came into being. The latter now came to live permanently in Tigzirin, for they had acquired a powerful ally in the nearby community of l-'Ass. This act set the stage for many significant events to follow; these are discussed in Chapter 12.

THE COLLECTIVE OATH[49]

'Ar is an act of supplication, coercion, or compulsion, through sacrifice, by means of which the petitioner shames the person whose help is desired into doing something against his will; *'ahd* is a pact, or vow (if between individuals), or covenant (if between groups) between parties of equal status. We have noted that *'ahd*, although highly binding on both parties concerned, is not, strictly speaking, an oath. What, then, is an oath?

Aith Waryaghar recognize the difference between *'ahd* and oath by giving the latter a different label entirely, either *imin* or *dhzaddjith*. (The first term is more common in Waryagharland, the second in the Igzinnayen and Axt Tuzin; however, the two are interchangeable.) There are two main differences: first, although the oath is also taken in the Friday Mosque and on the Qur'an, like the *'ahd*, it is a denial or protestation of innocence made by a person accused of a particular crime; second, until the advent of 'Abd al-Krim, one of whose major reforms in Customary Law was the "decollectivization" of oaths, it was plural or collective in character. This meant not only that the accused individual himself swore, but that he also had to produce a certain number of cojurors, called *yuxshin n-r-imin* or *izuddjen*, chosen by himself from among his own agnates, to testify to his innocence. Although the number of cojurors varied according to the gravity of the offense, it was generally the plaintiff or plaintiffs (*iziddjith*) who stipulated how many of them the accused must produce.

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[48] A standard Rifian *izri* or couplet sung by unmarried girls at marriage ceremonies runs: *Awah nma'had khadh zaqqa n-dmzidha, [illegible] [illegible] ighdar waghdar ntta*, "Let us make *'ahd* on the roof of the mosque; if my lover betrays me, he too will be betrayed."

[49] I am indebted to Professor Ernest Gellner for having suggested to me the importance of collective oath in other parts of Berber Morocco; but my interpretation of it, and of the assumptions underlying it, for the Rif is, as far as I know, my own. Between the Rif and the Central Atlas, for example, some of the fundamental premises of oath are rather different. Westermarck (op. cit., 1926, vol. I, pp. 509–514) discusses collective oath under the rubric of "compurgation" and "conjuratiors," but he has little or nothing to say regarding the premises upon which this crucial jural institution is based; and he fails to see its significance.

Although, generally speaking, trial by collective oath among Rifian tribes never reached the degrees either of complexity or of sophistication that it attained, for example, among the Berber tribes of the Central Atlas, it was nonetheless the linchpin in the jural system of the Aith Waryaghar during the *Ripublik*. Before it is described, however, one point that is basic to the logic underlying the oath must be clarified. It is a point that would seem obvious, but it is nonetheless one about which some French writers appear to be rather confused. This is the fact that cojurors are not at all the same thing as witnesses; even the terminology is different: witnesses are *shuhudh* (sing. *shahidh*). The Shari'a states explicitly that twelve ordinary witnesses (which just happens to be the same number as that of cojurors required in a case of suspected murder) are equivalent to two notaries, the testimony of one notary being worth that of six ordinary witnesses. Furthermore, and very logically, if there are witnesses to a crime, there is no oath, for the accusatory testimony of witnesses always, naturally, overrides the denial of the accused man—and, during the *Ripublik*, of that of his cojurors. Moreover, although the number of witnesses and the number of cojurors in a murder case was exactly the same, twelve, and apart from the fact that the function of the former was to accuse and that of the latter to deny, witnesses may not be members of the agnatic lineage of the accused individual. It is preferable that they be neither uterinely or affinally related to him, and best that they are not kin at all. Cojurors, on the other hand, were always agnates and lineage-mates of the accused. The number twelve here may be, and probably is, an example of Custom functioning in imitation of Law.

Marcy has correctly noted that among Berbers, collective oath plays a role that is, in theory, complementary to testimony, but that its importance in fact arises from the insufficiency of other means of proof:[50] if he can possibly help it, a man is not likely to commit a crime in front of witnesses. This distinction between trial by collective oath and testimony by witnesses is crucial; as the Aith Waryaghar regard the matter, witnesses and cojurors are at polar opposites conceptually, and this fact is fundamental to the whole structure and function of the Waryaghar oath.

The number of cojurors could vary between six and fifty, but it was almost always either six (the accused and five agnates) or twelve (the accused and eleven agnates[51]). The plaintiff always stipulated the number of cojurors needed, and the accused had to produce them; however, given the very set rules of oath-taking, such stipulation was a mere formality. Six cojurors were required for lesser offenses, such as suspected theft of irrigation water or of livestock, or damage to property; twelve, as indicated, were needed for murder. However, while twelve was ordinarily the maximum number of cojurors and murder was the maximum offense necessitating this number, this only applied within Waryagharland. Should an oath involve the Aith Waryaghar with a neighboring tribe, in a matter such as a large-scale land dispute over tribal boundaries, or an intertribal homicide, then the number of cojurors the accused had to produce went up to fifty. (This meant the accused himself plus forty-nine classificatory agnates, i.e., fellow-clansmen or fellow-tribesmen:[52] the latter were naturally far more ready to help out their own men in an extratribal crisis than in an intraclan or even an intratribal one.)

A documented case: once at the Wednesday market at Buridh in the Igzinnayen, a man from the tribe of the Marnisa wanted to kill his own *qaid*, 'Amar n-Hmidu. He had concealed a pistol in a handful of esparto grass, but someone else saw him do so and tipped the *qaid* off. The would-be killer then threw the esparto grass and pistol to an innocent Waryaghar bystander from the Timarzga, who happened to be nearby. The Marnisa *qaid* now accused the Timarzga man of having hired the other to kill him, but the Timarzga man protested his innocence. The *qaid* then told the man that he had to swear to this with fifty cojurors; so the man in question, with forty-nine others from the Aith Waryaghar mountains, went to the Marnisa to take oath. By this time, 'Amar n-Hmidu had cooled down and realized that his accusation was probably wrong, so instead of making the accused and his cojurors take oath, he invited them all to dinner.

We may surmise that it was sometimes stretching things to the limit for a defendant to find even eleven agnates to act as his cojurors, to say nothing of forty-nine; hence it stands to reason that in the latter instance the "agnates" had to be fellow clansmen or fellow tribesmen. To qualify as a cojuror, a man had to be of age to fast during Ramadan (in other words, to have attained puberty). Although women may swear today (but only at home, not in the mosque), they were barred from doing so during the *Ripublik*, a fact that clearly points up their jural status as minors. Oaths were permitted during the month of Ramadan, but not on Muslim feast days such as the 'Aid s-Sghir (which immediately follows it) or the 'Aid l-Kbir (in the last month of the Muslim lunar year).

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[50] G. Marcy; op. cit., 1949, p. 69.

[51] One informant from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash dissented on this matter, saying *r-imin nj-khamsa n-aithma-s*, "the oath of five agnates," i.e., the accused plus four agnates.

[52] Oaths involving members of two clans or two "fifths" were generally sworn at the Aith Hishim mosque of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, in the lowlands, where one informant also said that full-scale tribal *igrawn* (pl. of *agraw*), council meetings, were also occasionally invoked.

If one man accused another of some crime or misdeed, and the latter denied it, they would then both agree to go to the "Mosque of the Sermon" or congregational mosque[53] on the following Friday at noon, so that the accused could swear. Like an *'ahd* pact, an oath held equally for groups as for individuals, but otherwise the two phenomena were very different. The plaintiff or plaintiffs had to be present at the mosque when the accused and his cojurors arrived. When all were assembled, they removed their footgear and weapons and went inside. The oath itself was generally deferred until after the *fqih* had delivered the sermon to his congregation. When this was over, he would ask the accused and his cojurors the nature of the oath that they were about to take; then he made each one of them repeat it with his right hand on the Qur'an after recitation of the oath formula *Bi-llahi alladhi la ilaha illa huwa*, "With God, aside from Whom there is no God other than He." The accused himself swore first, followed by all his cojurors individually. (There may possibly have been some instances in which the Qur'an was not employed as a vehicle for swearing; some informants say that these cases were more the rule than the exception, and that in them the oath formula was restricted to *Bi-llah*, "With God," only. Other informants, the majority, deride this practice and say that it was only followed by the ignorant. In any event, it would seem that the Qur'an was more often used than not, and that oaths were only sworn at saints' tombs if there were no Friday mosque in the vicinity. This contingency was most unlikely.) After the oath had been taken, the *fqih*, who had witnessed it from the *mihrab* (recess indicating direction of prayer) of the mosque, drew up a document in Arabic known simply as *tbriyith*, "letter"; this certified that the named accused had sworn on such and such a date with such and such a number of his co-jurors, also named, to the effect that he had not committed such and such a crime against the named plaintiff. Finally, he gave this document to the accused so that the latter could produce written evidence of his innocence.

It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer the most dire consequences: either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God very shortly thereafter, or some other equally horrendous calamity would befall him. A broken oath was called *izuddj khaddakhs:* the phrase was employed when, for example, a third party appeared after the oath was taken and announced that he had actually seen the accused commit the crime in question (this, however, was not the accusing oath of the Central Atlas, which, in contrast to the oath of denial, did not exist anywhere in the Rif). Once it seems that a sublineage of the Iznagen in Tigizirin of the Aith Turirth swore falsely at oath after one of their men had killed a member of another Iznagen sublineage; every single man who had perjured himself sickened and died afterward, as an Act of God.

If one of the accused's agnates did not, for any reason, want to swear, it was up to the accused to find a substitute for him. Furthermore, if the accused failed to turn up at the mosque in order to take oath at the stipulated time, he had to pay the damages due. Any missing cojuror also had to pay if he did not have a valid excuse for his absence (illness, or a marriage or a death in the family, etc.). Thus the burden of proof lay, in effect, upon the whole lineage of the accused individual. Missing men were generally given until nightfall to appear. But after a certain time, the nonappearance of the accused, or his refusal to take oath, was considered sufficient proof of his guilt, and he had to pay whatever damages he had caused to the plaintiff. If, of course, the plaintiff himself failed to appear, there was no oath at all. Any unavoidable detainment, of the sort mentioned above, on the part of the accused or of any of his cojurors resulted in the postponement of the oath until the following Friday.

The following case from the Timarzga again involves both *haqq* and oath. One Wednesday afternoon, a man from the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage lay in wait for two men of the Yinn 'Abdallah who were passing through Aith Turirth territory on the way home from the market. He shot them both and had to pay a *haqq* of 2,000 duros (1,000 for each dead man) to the *imgharen*, as was customary. But the Yinn 'Abdallah were still not satisfied, and the following evening two of them killed the father of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim man on a path near his house. The men of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim then went to the adjudicator and saint Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud on the next market day in order to ask him to force twelve members of the Yinn 'Abdallah to swear an oath attesting their innocence. There had been no witnesses to the last murder, and, knowing this, the Yinn 'Abdallah men even volunteered to swear with double the necessary number, i.e., with twenty-four cojurors. But Sidi Hmid, after consultation with the other council members, smelled a rat, vetoed the projected oath, and made the Yinn 'Abdallah, in their turn, pay 1,000 duros as *haqq*. This case history not only demonstrates the principles of *haqq* discussed earlier, but emphasizes the dangers of perjury at oath as well.

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[53] Oaths were always taken at the *dhamzyidha nj-khutbath*, the congregational mosque. The Mosque of the Mujahidin in Ajdir served the lowlanders of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; those of the Aith 'Ari went to the mosque at Imhawren; those of the lowland Aith Bu 'Ayyash went to that of the Ishshuyen in Ikattshumen; those of the Upper Aith Bu 'Ayyash went to the mosque of Sidi r-Hajj [illegible] Tazurakhth; the Upper Aith Hadhifa swore at Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd l-Qadar, while the lower ones swore at the Bihban mosque; the Aith 'Abdallah swore for "small things" at the Tizra mosque in [illegible], but for "big things" they swore at the mosque of Sidi r-Hajj Sriman at Ibarhuthen in the Aith Yittuft; the Lower Imrabdhen swore at Zawith n-sidi Yusif, the Upper Imrabdhen at Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa; and the Aith Turirth, Aith 'Arus and Timarzga all swore at their respective Friday mosques.

The above account of the structure and function of the collective oath in Waryagharland is wholly a reconstruction; in 1921 or 1922 'Abd al-Krim abolished collective oaths for the reason that they had no basis in the Qur'an and the Shari'a. At the same time, he did away with a great many other features of Custom, which he stigmatized in the same fashion. It might be added that thirty-five years later the administration of newly independent Morocco was similarly to do away with collective oaths in the Berber regions of the Atlas. What, one may ask, could better demonstrate that the dreams entertained by Emilio Blanco Izaga and others about Spanish reinstatement of Customary Law in the Rif were a classic example of wishful thinking? There seem to have been some cases in which collective oath was resorted to during the protectorate,[54] but I would venture to say that they were few and far between. The impress of 'Abd al-Krim in this domain, as in others, had been great. Oaths may still be taken today, as before, at the Friday mosque and on the Qur'an, but they involve only the plaintiff and the accused. Cojurors, that hallmark both of Berber oaths and of Berber lineage solidarity (in itself a deceptive issue), are a thing of the past.

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[54] One such case is recorded in a Spanish administrative report dated April 1945, in which the Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains made ten men from the Aith Ughridh swear in the mosque of the Aith r-Qadi that they had a right to half the irrigation water in a place called Dharmat: it seems that this right had been contested.

12. ALLIANCES AND THE BLOODFEUD AS THE DOMINANT POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

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Many have been the allusions already made to the bloodfeud—which the Aith Waryaghar refer to as *adhawth*, "hatred, enmity"—and to the system of alliances called *liff* (pl. *lfuf*, lit. "faction, party, league": the term is borrowed from Moroccan Arabic, albeit with a slightly different significance in the Berber context). The central points to be borne in mind here are two: (1) that the egalitarian majority of the Aith Waryaghar who participated in the political and jural systems also participated in the systems of alliance and in the bloodfeuds that they engendered; and (2) that lines of alliance, and hence lines of feud, more often than not did considerable violence to the segmentary model of their own society, the model of "five fifths," as conceived by the Aith Waryaghar themselves. This second point was as true at the upper levels of segmentation as at the lower ones. The distribution of *haqq* fines, again generally invoking the principle of "five fifths," was essentially a compromise (at least in some of its details) between the segmentary and territorial systems of the tribe, while on the other hand, at a lower level, trial by collective oath was the expression of lineage solidarity in the face of outside accusation.

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The *liff* alliance structure of the Aith Waryaghar is perhaps the Rifian *liff* system at its most prototypical, given the fact that it has certain complications due to the territorial discontinuity of subclans. The discussion must be prefaced with general observations on the overall nature of Rifian *liffs:* for each Rifian tribe had its own *liff* system.

RIFIAN LIFF SYSTEMS: GENERAL

Laff, in Literary Arabic, conveys the derivative idea of "circumambiance, circumvention, subterfuge";[1] this is clearly related to the function of the institution in Moroccan and particularly in Berber society, especially as regards shifts in alliance. In anthropological terminology, the Moroccan Arabic word *liff* has usually been rendered, in the past, as "moiety," by myself as well as by others.[2] The reason for this is that, for better or for worse, the term "moiety" (from Latin "half") already has an accepted meaning in the anthropological literature: narrowly speaking, there must be a division into two parts of approximately equal size, and they must be exogamous—although much has been written about "nonexogamous moieties."[3] In the present instance, what specifically characterized Aith Waryaghar *liffs* was not so much a factor of endogamy or exogamy as one of hostility. It may be said that marriages did in fact usually occur within the *liff* (making it generally endogamous), at whatever level such an alliance may be conceived to operate; but that this was not always so is demonstrated by the fact that a primary concern of each *liff* was to gain new and more allies, as well as to be able to count upon those it already had. It did so, of course, through marriage and the establishment of affinal ties. Thus what we have is not so much "hostile moieties," but rather a system of dual factions in which hostility is built in and implied. "Faction," furthermore, is a basic connotation of the term as understood in Morocco.[4] In Waryagharland and in the Rif in general, members of opposite *liffs* did not engage in ballgames, as the members of certain South American Indian societies did or do: they shot at each other, with intent to kill. Finally, at least in theory, only adult males were involved.

Rifian *liffs* may be categorized in two general types

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[1] Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Literary Arabic* (translated by J. Milton Cowan), Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961, p. 871. The root meaning of the verb *laffa* is "to wrap, to envelop." The Berber term *amqqun*, known in the Sus, is not employed in the Rif.

[2] Cf. Coon, op. cit., 1949; E. Gellner, "The Far West of Islam," British Journal of Sociology, IX, 1, 1958, pp. 73–82: and Hart, op. cit., 1954, 1958, 1965 and 1967. The French tend not to translate this key term, and the Spanish render it as *bando*.

[3] A. R. Pilling, "Moiety," in J. Gould and W. L. Kolb, Eds., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock, 1964, pp. 436–437.

[4] Henry Mercier, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Francais*, Rabat: Editions La Porte, 1951, p. 103. In addition, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Louise Sweet for calling my attention to the sociological possibilities inherent in this concept. Cf. D. M. Hart, "Clan, Lineage, Local Community and the Feud in a Rifian Tribe," in Sweet, Ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*, 2 vols., New York: Natural History Press, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 3–75.

that are not mutually exclusive: (1) the "permanent" (or "relatively permanent") type, which operated at the upper levels of segmentation and split the whole tribe into two hostile factions that were conceived to be of approximately equal size (although, as we shall see, this was by no means always the case in practice); and (2) the "temporary" type, which was operative usually within a clan, a subclan, or even a lineage itself, and which was in its own way a reflection of the overall tribal *liffs*. Type (1) has to be qualified as "relatively permanent" because, among the Igzinnayen, for example, even "permanent" alignments could shift if sufficient provocation should occur—while shift in alignment was the rule for the "temporary" type. Ideally, at those times when the "permanent" upper level factions were not invoked, the "temporary" lower level ones were fighting against each other, and vice versa. Informants (no matter what their personal involvement was) say unanimously that house-to-house fighting was quite literally the rule. Indeed, given the highly dispersed character of individual households and of the local communities to which they belong, it is not difficult to see why. Bloodfeuds generally began over women on the one hand or over land and water rights on the other. The endless sequence of "breach-counteraction-breach-counteraction-breach-*ad infinitum*," as Bohannan[5] puts it, may be seen as a result of a number of factors, among which pride, poverty, and population pressure were all significant. In the highly egalitarian social and political structure of the Aith Waryaghar, self-help or action on one's own behalf is a first principle.

The two types of *liffs* were far from being mutually exclusive, for on the cogs of the small clan-level or lineage-level "temporary" *liffs* turned the wheels of the larger tribal-level *liffs*. It was a question of interdependence, and shifts on the lower levels are simply more frequent and more easily discernible or accounted for, in detail (through the memories of old informants), than are the rarer shifts on the higher levels, which do have an aura of permanence about them. In other words, Rifians remember exactly why X may have turned against his own agnates or why Lineage A started to fight Lineage B when both are member lineages of Clan Y; however, if two or more clans were involved, the mere fact that X, perhaps through a strategically contracted marriage, was responsible for a shift in allegiances suffices in their minds to explain the matter.

Gellner has suggested that for any *liff* system to be properly so called, (1) it must not only be distinguishable from the segmentary system(s) of the tribe or tribes under consideration, but (2) it must also be permanent; (3) it must be transitive, such that if A is in *liff* with B, and B with C, then A is logically in *liff* with C; and (4) it must produce a chessboard pattern over the countryside and tribal groupings.[6] Except for the chessboard theory (which is not Gellner's but Montagne's, in any case, and to which we return below), so far, so good; but at the point where Gellner's analysis breaks off, only three groups are involved. Furthermore, according to Rifian conceptualizations of *liffs*, there were very definite limits as to how far a given *liff* system could spread, and although a hypothetical D, E, or F might be involved in theory, they almost never were in practice.

Robert Montagne, an otherwise brilliant scholar whose influence on official thinking in French protectorate circles was enormous, eventually became blinded by his interpretation of his own field data from Berber tribes in the Western High Atlas and the Anti-Atlas, and came to see *liffs* as a continuum of chessboard squares or blocks throughout North Africa and the Arab Near East.[7] More recently, Patai has again taken up what is essentially Montagne's thesis, with far more persuasive if, in my opinion, no more conclusive argumentation, although he sees the phenomenon as one of "dual organization."[8] Today it is virtually impossible to check the accuracy of Montagne's data for the Western Atlas, given the time and circumstances under which they were gathered; but even for the Anti-Atlas, I would tentatively submit that his hypothesis is incorrect. Certainly for the Rif and for Northern Morocco in general, on which he comments in broad comparative terms in his major work of 1930, his hypothesis can only be categorized as an epitome of misrepresentation.[9] What Montagne's text says, in effect, is that the whole of Northern Morocco was once a chessboard comprising the two opposed *liffs* of the Ghumara and the Sinhaja, in which every single tribe in the region participated either on one side or on the other.[10] Its alignment was, according to his scheme, dictated by its attitudes, friendly or hostile, to neighboring tribes.

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[5] Bohannan, op. cit., 1963, p. 290.

[6] Personal communication, 1958, previously quoted and commented upon in Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44. See also Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas*, op. cit., 1969, pp. 64–67.

[7] R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, 1930, *passim*; "Un Episode de 'Siba' Berbère au XVIIIe Siècle d'après la *Rihla* de Sidi Mohammed ez-Zarhouni de Tasaft (Traduction Justinard)," *Hespéris*, XXVIII, single fasc., 1941, pp. 85–98; and *La Civilisation du Désert*, Paris: Hachette, 1947, *passim*.

[8] Raphael Patai, *Golden River to Golden Road*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962, Chap. VII (pp. 177–250).

[9] This is most ironic, because in this same work he has a most perceptive and accurate footnote (note 2, pp. 175–176) on the overall characteristics of Aith Waryaghar social structure. I have commented on it at length elsewhere: Hart, op. cit., in Sweet, Ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*, 1970.

[10] Montagne, op. cit., 1930, especially the map facing p. 208.

Montagne, however, was by no means alone in positing the existence of these two broad and virtually mythical *liffs*, for references to them may also be found in the works of Truchet,[11] Ortoneda Jiménez[12] and Coon,[13] as well as in an unpublished manuscript of Emilio Blanco.[14] Although none of these sources entirely agrees with the others in detail, the substance of all of them, in this respect, is the same; Montagne's account, which is the most complete, may thus be taken as the type source. (In it, for example, among the tribes of the Central Rif, the Ibuqquyen, the Aith 'Ammarth, and the Thimsaman are considered to have been members of the "Ghumara" *liff*, while the Aith Waryaghar, the Igzinnayen, and the Axt Tuzin are said to have been on the side of the "Sinhaja." Coon would even assert that it was the presence of the two first-mentioned tribes in the "Sinhaja" *liff* that caused this *liff* to win the war.)

Before moving on to my own hypothesis about Rifian and Aith Waryaghar *liffs*, there are at least four basic considerations that invalidate the Montagne chessboard theory: (1) in my own experience, no Rifians have any knowledge of the putative traditional "Ghumara-Sinhaja" war; (2) even when Montagne and Coon, each independently of the other, were in the region in the late 1920s, these two *liffs* had very patently lost whatever structural relevance they may once have had; (3) all Rifian *liffs* themselves—of which those of the Aith Waryaghar may be considered a type case—were conceptualized and functioned very differently from the way Montagne describes them; and (4) Montagne's rule-of-thumb about two neighboring tribes or clans not being in the same *liff* is frequently belied by his own *liff* distribution maps. Montagne was very right in stressing the importance of *liffs*, but he knew nothing of segmentary systems. He was, furthermore, either unaware of, or refused to see, the limits of Rifian *liff* systems, and it was this fact in particular that led him into making the grossest of errors.

But there is more to it than this. These limits to the system, to be discussed below, operate not only within the context of every single tribe participating in it, but also, and in a somewhat different way, in the Rif as a whole. Although the Sinhaja Srir tribes seem to have shared the Rifian *liff* system, those of the Jbala and the Ghmara apparently did not.[15] This fact alone is not only of great geographical and distributional significance in imposing a western limit upon Rifian-style *liffs*, but, in itself, it knocks the props out from under Montagne's hypothesis, at least insofar as Northern Morocco is concerned. The southern limit of the Rifian *liff* system has unfortunately not been properly established, and even though one old and normally very reliable informant stated that it extended as far south as Fez, this would, on the face of it, seem doubtful. This belief, however, may have been partially responsible for 'Abd al-Krim's invasion of the French zone in April 1925, and for his implicit declaration that the southern Jbalan tribes located just north of the Wargha River were an integral part of the "Greater Rif," in which the Sinhaja Srir, Ghmara, and Northern Jbala tribes were also, of course, included.[16] However, a far more likely account from the Igzinnayen indicates that the system extended from their tribe north to the Mediterranean, and that it was thus kept entirely within the confines of the Rif. The eastern limit is even less precise; unpublished Spanish documentation[17] clearly shows that the Aith Sa'id and the tribes of the Iqar'ayen around Nador and Melilla participated in the system, but whether the eastern transhumant tribes of the Ibdharsen (or l-Mtalsa) and the Aith Bu Yihyi did, to say nothing of the Aith Iznasen and the Rifianized Arabs of the Ulad Stut, I do not know; therefore the Mulwiya River, at the present state of our knowledge, might possibly mark a provisional boundary.

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[11] Truchet, "Les Sanhadja," *Bulletin de la Société de Geographie du Maroc*, III, 1er Trim., 8, 1919, pp. 67–97. Truchet makes the point (p. 74), however, that a war between two tribes of these two opposed *liffs* did not necessarily involve a war between all the others, and that never were more than two or three tribes involved in any fight at any given time.

[12] Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, *Estudio sobre la Region del Rif*, *Ceuta:* Imprenta Imperio, 1930, p. 37.

[13] Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17–18.

[14] Blanco, op. cit., MS., 1935.

[15] We deduce the similarity of the Sinhaja Srir system from unpublished and undated Spanish administrative reports in the files of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, consulted in Madrid in 1960; and the lack of *liffs* in the Jbala and Ghmara we attribute both to verbal information in 1963 from Sr. Carlos Pereda Roig (who said that these tribes never indulged in such "Rifianisms") and to a short field trip to the Ghmara in 1965. Neither did the same Ghmaran tribes have *haqq* fines for murder—another "Rifianism," it would seem.

[16] An interesting although almost certainly incorrect statement is made by Rupert Furneaux, *Abdel Krim: Emir of the Rif*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1967, p. 146, to the effect that 'Abd al-Krim's excuse for the invasion of the French Zone was that he was in *liff* with the Jbalan tribe of the Bni Zarwal, whom the French had recently occupied. It is interesting in that 'Abd al-Krim might have said this for purely political reasons; but otherwise, according to the logic of Rifian *liffs*, such a thing would have been a sheer physical impossibility. No tribe can be in *liff* with any other which it does not actually border, and in any event the Bni Zarwal are Jbalan and hence presumably did not have a *liff* system. Even Montagne places them in the "Ghumara" *liff*, while the Aith Waryaghar are "Sinhaja." However, 'Abd al-Krim was a very complex personality, and he was more than something of an opportunist. In saying so, we do not wish to imply anything unfavorable about him. If he had not been such, he would not have achieved the renown that he did.

[17] In the possession of the widow and daughter of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga in Madrid, and consulted by me in 1960.

So much for the distributional aspects of the problem; suffice it to say that all the core tribes of the region were active participants in the system, which we now describe and analyze as it existed specifically in Waryagharland.

Upper-Level Liffs in Waryagharland

The overall "permanent" *liff* structure of the Aith Waryaghar, that which in the memories of elderly informants was always invoked in the event of a full-scale tribal conflagration, represents a very interesting consequence of both the segmentary system and the territorial system, but it is not a part of either. The system is presented in Table 12.1, under the headings of Faction A and Faction B.

TABLE 12.1

Factions A and B: The Top-Level Liffs of the Aith Waryaghar

Faction A	Faction B
a) *Within Waryagharland:*	
1. AITH YUSIF W-‘ARI (*Khums* I)	AITH ‘ARI (*Khums* I)
2. AITH TURIRTH (*Khums* I)	TIMARZGA (*Khums* I)
3. "TRUE" AITH BU ‘AYYASH or AITH BU ‘AYYASH (b) (*Khums* III)	AITH ‘ADHIYA (*Khums* III)
4. AITH HADHIFA (*Khums* IV)	AITH ‘ABDALLAH (*Khums* II)
5. AITH ‘ARUS (*Khums* IV)	
6. I‘AKKIYEN (*Khums* IV)	
7. IMRABDHEN (*Khums* V)	
b) *Outside Waryagharland:*	
1. AITH ‘AMMARTH: Clan of IJA‘UNEN	THIMSAMAN: Clan of TRUGUTH
2.	AXT TUZIN: Clan of AXT ‘AKKI
3.	IBUQQUYEN: Clan of IZIMMUREN
4.	AITH YITTUFT: Clans of AITH ‘AISA and IZARWALEN

Several points of importance emerge here. First of all, if we compare the above information with that on the *khams khmas* of the Aith Waryaghar in Chapter 10, Figure 10, we see at once that the *liff* structure does not fully correspond with that of the *khmas* (or with that of the clans or subclans, except in certain cases), but tends rather to cut across it. This is clearly shown in the case of *Khums* I, in which the lowland clans of Aith Yusif w-‘Ari and Aith ‘Ari were opposed to each other, as were the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga, correspondingly and at the subclan level, in the mountains. *Khums* III, that of the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, showed essentially the same situation, with the "true" Aith Bu ‘Ayyash or Aith Bu ‘Ayyash (b) opposed to the Aith ‘Adhiya, even though the *khums* as such forms a single bloc of territory, which that of the Aith Yusif w-‘Ari/Aith ‘Ari does not. *Khums* II, that of the Aith ‘Abdallah, also forms a homogeneous territorial unit, but its members stayed together in the total *liff* system, as did those of *Khums* IV, the territorially discontinuous Aith Hadhifa (on the other side, against the Aith ‘Abdallah). Also, there seems little doubt that the overall *liff* systems crystallized around disputes or fights between the Aith Yusif w-‘Ari and the Aith ‘Ari in the plain, between the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga in the mountains, between the Aith Hadhifa and the Aith ‘Abdallah, and between the "true" Aith Bu ‘Ayyash and the Aith ‘Adhiya, all of which pairs have borders in common. The Aith ‘Arus, I‘akkiyen, and Imrabdhen, who all normally fought internally (as did, indeed, all the other groups above), then put aside their own internal squabbles in order to help Faction A.

This brings up a second problem, in terms of territorial distribution. Aside from the striking fact of a general pattern of hostility between immediate clan or subclan neighbors, within the overall framework of the tribal territory, there is another feature of extreme importance in the overall Aith Waryaghar *liff* system, one that appears to be unique to this tribe in all the Central Rif. This is its basic disequilibrium, its basic imbalance—an imbalance, indeed, that defies the logic of the equilibrium theory behind *liff* systems in general. This disequilibrium is all the more interesting in that the Aith Waryaghar themselves do not perceive it (or, at least, they do not do so explicitly). The plain fact in Waryagharland is that Faction A is bigger than Faction B. A few population figures taken from the 1930 Table of Command for the Aith Waryaghar (the nearest adequate census materials existing for the period of the *Ripublik*) will bear this out. The further discrepancies on this score in later censuses will not be taken into account here. The estimates for "fifths" and for *haqq* payments will be listed first, and those for *liff* alignments will be listed second.

The "fifth" and *haqq* payment estimates are given here merely to indicate that the "five fifths" of Waryagharland were not in fact of as equal size (nor of course, are they today) as the Aith Waryaghar themselves would have us believe; while the *liff*

TABLE 12.2

"Fifth," Haqq and Liff Membership as Estimated from the 1930 Table of Command

A)	*"Fifth" Population Figures as Estimated from 1930 Table of Command:*				
1.	*Khums* I:		AITH YUSIF W-'ARI	—	6086
			AITH TURIRTH	—	1804
					7890
			AITH 'ARI	—	3445
			TIMARZGA	—	1680
					5125
			Total: *Khums* I	—	13,015
2.	*Khums* II:		AITH 'ABDALLAH	—	6053
3.	*Khums* III:		AITH 'ADHIYA	—	4580
			"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH or AITH BU 'AYYASH (b)[18]	—	5803
			Total: *Khums* III	—	10,383
4.	*Khums* IV:		AITH HADHIFA	—	4742
			AITH 'ARUS	—	1898
			Total: *Khums* IV	—	6640
5.	*Khums* V:		IMRABDHEN	—	8659
B)	*Liff Membership as Estimated from the 1930 Table of Command:*[19]				
	Faction A:	(I)	AITH YUSIF W-'ARI	—	6086
			AITH TURIRTH	—	1804
		(III)	"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH or AITH BU 'AYYASH (b)[20]	—	5803
		(IV)	AITH HADHIFA	—	4742
			AITH 'ARUS	—	1898
		(V)	IMRABDHEN	—	8659
			TOTAL:	—	28,992
	Faction B:	(I)	AITH 'ARI	—	3445
			TIMARZGA	—	1680
		(III)	AITH 'ADHIYA	—	4580
		(II)	AITH 'ABDALLAH	—	6053
			TOTAL:	—	15,758

estimates speak most eloquently for themselves. It is of course possible to postulate a previous equilibrium of sorts between Faction A and Faction B before the advent of the intrusive Imrabdhen upon the scene: as we have seen, the latter were probably brought in upon the side of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Faction A through the marriage by Sidi Mhand u-Musa to a daughter of an *amghar* of the latter clan.

By such a reckoning, the Imrabdhen then became the "fifth wheel," so to speak, to add the extra weight needed in order to place a really decisive overbalance on the side of an already predominant Faction A, which, according to most informants, generally did win most of the intratribal wars that occurred. Thus two and two were added up to make five. In an earlier publication,[21] I expressed the view that a crucial determinant of the makeup of a given *liff*-system was whether the number of maximal or primary segments, whether constituted by "fifths" or by clans, was odd or even. I also argued that in tribes possessing an even number of maximal segments (by whatever name these may be called), the *liff* affiliations were determined automatically (as among the Aith 'Ammarth, who have four clans, with two aligned against the other two), whereas in tribes possessing an odd number

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[18] The figure for the I'AKKIYEN subclan is included in this estimate.

[19] An earlier report, dated 1928, would provide the following figures on the relative military strength of the two factions: Faction A: (I) AITH YUSIF W-'ARI, 983 armed men, and AITH TURIRTH, [illegible]; (III) "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH or AITH BU 'AYYASH (b), [illegible] armed men; (IV) AITH HADHIFA, 1200, AITH 'ARUS, [illegible], and I'AKKIYEN, 300; and (V) IMRABDHEN, 1772. Total: [illegible]. Faction B: (I) AITH 'ARI, 785 armed men and TIMARZGA, [illegible]; (III) AITH ADHIYA, 1495; and (II) AITH 'ABDALLAH, [illegible]. Total: 3750. Although these figures, denoting armed men only, are certainly more suspect than the 1930 ones and are obviously based only on estimates by informants, the proportions are nevertheless roughly the same: Faction A is nearly twice the size of Faction B.

[20] The figure for the I'AKKIYEN subclan is included in this estimate.

[21] Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204–206, note 44.

of segments, one of two things would happen: either one segment would become odd-man-out, and would thus opt for complete neutrality (as in the Ibuqquyen and the Thimsaman), or it would opt in, and then become split down the middle (as in the Igzinnayen and the Axt Tuzin, although the details of each case are somewhat more complex than this). This argument was based upon the assumption of an overall equilibrium theory, and today, while I do not entirely reject it, I no longer concede it the primacy I did at that time. It still remains a consideration, but a secondary one, like the possibility that three, as well as two, *liffs* could exist in a given tribe at a given level at a given time (as one informant said was the case among the Igzinnayen[22]). In the light of my later rethinking about the overall factional alliances in Waryagharland, there is absolutely no question that the Aith Waryaghar *liffs* are weighted in favor of Faction A.

Why was this the case? The Imrabdhen, the "fifth wheel," seem to provide the answer. Through their alliance to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, it was they who, even if they did not create the disequilibrium (which, on a numerical basis, was already discernible), nonetheless added the final weight to it. They did so, paradoxically, despite the fact that a certain few of their individual lineages traditionally restored equilibrium through peacemaking (while the majority of their lineages, to all intents and purposes might as well have been "lay" lineages).

If we look again at Table 12.1, we can see that a certain attempt at balance in the *liff* system was sought in alliances outside Waryagharland, with the neighboring clans of certain neighboring tribes. This fact brings up another crucial question: what were the limits of any given *liff* system? We may here recall Gellner's remarks about the permanence and transitiveness of *liffs* as presented by Montagne for the Western Atlas. In principle, these observations hold true for the *liff* systems of the Rif, but only up to a point, for each individual *liff* system had well-defined limits—it was, in a sense, the chessboard to which Montagne so liked to compare it, but a very small chessboard, and perhaps rather one of a series of chessboards. But, as stated previously, I think the chessboard analogy is basically misleading. I prefer to think of the system as a series of interlocking, halved, and/or bisected concentric circles. As shown in Figure 12.1, each contains a core inner circle of a heavy line, representing a single tribe, and an outer circle of a dotted line, representing the surrounding clans of neighboring tribes; the latter were all themselves involved in their own similar *liff* systems, but gave "under-the-counter" assistance in arms and money to the clans they favored (and to the *liff* to which these clans belonged) in the warring tribe, when they themselves were not at war.

This accounts for the presence, as indicated in Table 12.1, of a clan of the Aith 'Ammarth on the side of Faction A, and of clans of the Thimsaman, the Axt Tuzin, Ibuqquyen, and the Aith Yittuft on the side of Faction B. The result, of course, was to help to "even up the score" and thus to right the internal imbalance by external means (indeed to create a mild overbalance in favor of Faction B).

Fig. 12.2 is a paradigm of the *liff* systems of all six of the Central Rifian tribes, more or less as they actually existed on the ground. The resemblance here to the slices of a pie is not entirely coincidental.

Each Rifian tribe had its *own liff* system, on the overall tribal level, in which neighboring clans of bordering tribes might sometimes be involved, but *never*, to my certain knowledge, was a whole neighboring tribe involved. It is precisely at this point that we find the effective limit of the system: no tribe would be in *liff* with another tribe with which it did not share a common border. Furthermore, each tribal circle might be partially affected by one of its neighbors, but never totally. Thus, in essence, each wheel rotated independently of the others, although sometimes cogs might come together and mesh. In the Aith Waryaghar case, the issue was rendered rather more complex by the territorial discontinuity of participant subclans, and by the presence of the Imrabdhen, which created a very strong imbalance in the system. But these factors do not obscure the way in which the system worked—and work it did, despite the imbalance.

عدو

The term for "feud," *'adhawth*, means properly "state of feud." Any espisode in the feud, or any battle or fight, is termed, *aminghi* (pl. *iminghan*, from the Berber root *ngh*, "to kill"). The Aith Waryaghar make a conceptual distinction between "outside fights" (*iminghan n-barra*), which involve the upper-level "permanent" *liff* systems above, and "inside fights" (*iminghan n-dhikhr*), between or within lin-

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[22] This possibility has been touched upon by Blanco (MS., *Conferencia Sobre* Derecho *Consuetudinario Rifeño*, op. cit., 1935) and much more recently by Jeanne Favret ("Relations de Dépendance et Manipulation de la Violence en Kabylie," 1968); and the notion is an interesting one. However, it seems to me to be certain (and the Igzinnayen case would illustrate this) that through various forms of pressure or coercion, and possibly through *'ar*, the third *liff* would eventually fall into line with one or other of the first two (or possibly, by splitting, with both of them). André Adam (*La Maison et le village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas*, Collection Hespéris, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1952, p. 41) takes Montagne to task over another argument of a similar order, i.e., the fact that *liffs* constitute a permanent insurance against the risks of war. Adam correctly implies that the function of *liffs* may just as easily have been to start wars as to stop them; and as I have remarked elsewhere (Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 206-207, note 47), we have in this rather futile debate a kind of "chicken vs. egg" situation.

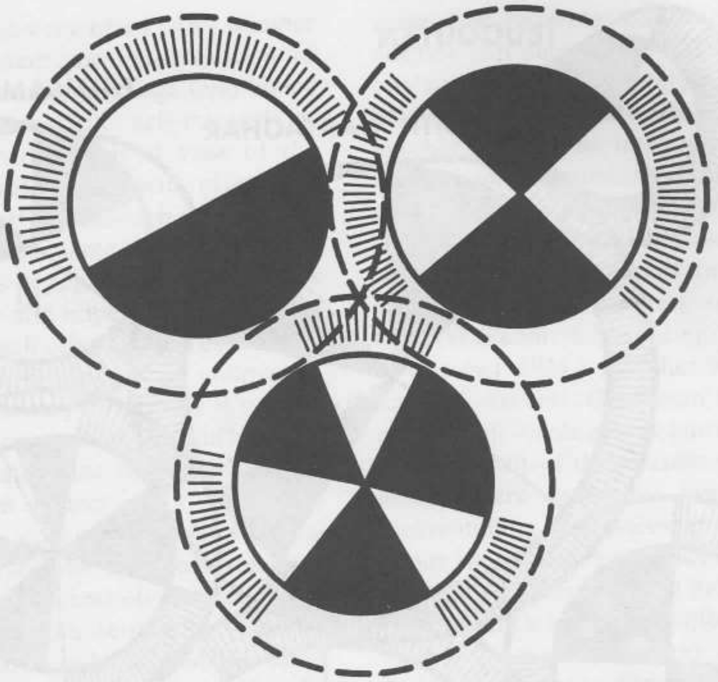

Fig. 12.1: Rifian Liffs: Interlocking, Bisection and Trisection: The heavy inner circle represents a single tribal territory, the dotted outside one the clans concerned of neighboring tribes. White and black segments within a single tribal territory (i.e., within a single inner circle) represent the clans making up the opposed and hostile factions, while shaded areas in the outer circles represent clans of the neighbor tribes that may be hostile in one context and friendly in another.

ages, and to which we turn in the section to follow. The whole issue of ''outside fights'' is itself relative, and the occasions when the Aith Waryaghar actually made war on total outsiders will be discussed in some detail later. The point that cannot be stressed enough here is that, during the *Ripublik*, conflict among these people was a question not of war but of blood-feud. As the society itself is highly ''internalized,'' with an intense local community life, it is only logical that conflict be ''internalized'' as well. In the cases of certain transhumant Berber tribes in the Central Atlas, for example, conflict was generally ''externalized,'' and the fact that the enemy was of another tribe gave rise to conflict situations that were ''outer-directed'' and that resulted in the inevitable clash of expanding segmentary systems. In the Rif, on the other hand, the enemy was ''within,'' explosion became the result of expansion, and conflict was usually ''inner-directed.'' The Aith Waryaghar believe that enmity begins at home.

To close this section, I give a typical example, as remembered by informants, of the overall fighting between the two major *liffs*. The major war between the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari occurred during the reign of Mulay al-Hasan I, 1873–1894, and lasted for seven years. It is said that it started over ''a small thing.'' The *imgharen* of each clan had reached the decision that their women should not attend the Sunday women's market across the Nkur River in Thimsamanland, for they regarded this as shameful: the Aith Waryaghar simply did not want the men of the Thimsaman to catch any glimpses of their women. However, one day two women of Ajdir (Aith Yusif w-'Ari) went there. At the time, the top *amghar* of all Waryagharland was Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa of the Aith 'Ari, and at the next *agraw*, he asked why these women had broken the rule and gone to the market, stating that each of them should pay a fine of one duro. Si Ziyyan of Ajdir, backed up by Sidi Misa'ud of the Imrabdhen, countered by saying that they were not going to pay. An altercation ensued, and then each party went to get its allies: the whole tribe finally became embroiled, on the lines indicated above. The Aith 'Ari and their *liff* (Timarzga, Aith 'Abdallah, and Aith 'Adhiya) enlisted the aid of the clans of Truguth in the Thimsaman and of Axt 'Akki in the Axt Tuzin; the Aith Yusif w-'Ari *liff* then paid 3,000 duros to the Aith 'Ammarth to come in and help them burn

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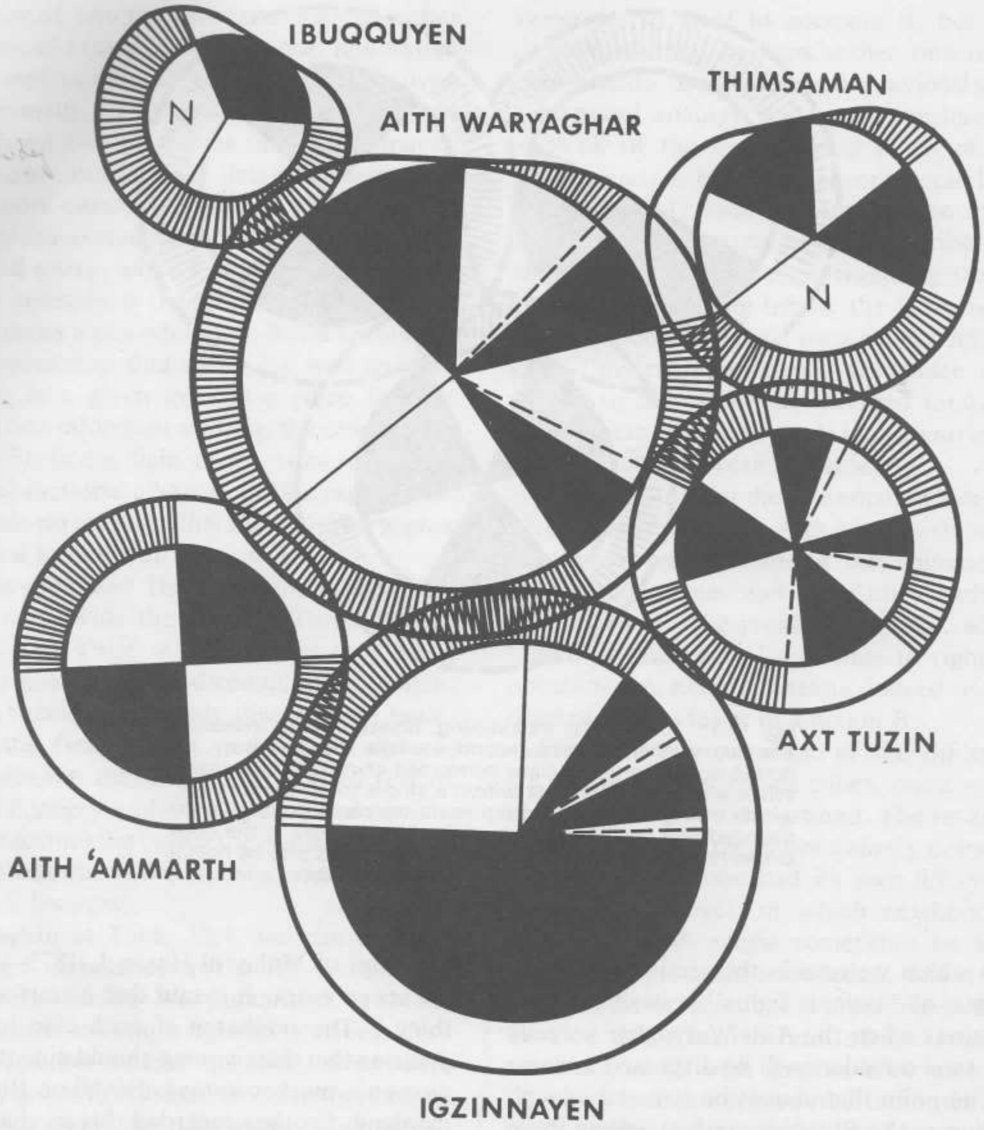

Fig. 12.2: Paradigm of *Liff* Systems of Six Central Rifian Tribes.

----- = clans (and in Waryagharland, "fifths") split in two by *liff*.
N = Neutral clans.

the Aith ʿAri communities of Upper Thamasind, Bu Minqad, and Aith Musa w-ʿAmar. It is evident that at the end of seven years the Aith ʿAri *liff* was losing, but it seems that when Mulay al-Hasan I himself sent an emissary to stop the Aith Waryaghar from killing each other all off, they acceded to his request. (Or so tradition has it: it is perhaps more probable that each side wanted a truce for agricultural and recuperative purposes). It is also said that the overall *liff* alignment given above came to an end when Bushta l-Baghdadi and a Moroccan Army *mhalla* marched up to the Rif from Fez in 1898 to punish the pirates of the Ibuqquyen. This is another story in itself (see Chapter 13), but the apparent result in Waryagharland was that henceforth until the advent of ʿAbd al-Krim, conflict became even more internalized, and some two hundred lower-level "temporary" *liffs*, to which we now turn, sprang to life.

The Aith Waryaghar *Liff* System at the Lower Levels

On lower levels of segmentation, "temporary" *liffs*, operating within clans, subclans, and local communities (and indeed within lineages, for the *liff* system went from the lowest to the uppermost levels), could shift and change, and did so very often. Any number of reasons might be invoked: the incorporation of new lineages into the *liff* through marriage (and hence alliance through affinal kinship), self-interest or treachery (depending upon the point of view of the person or group concerned) on the part of one of the constituent lineages, perhaps through its susceptibility to bribery, etc. These same shifts could be transmitted to higher levels of segmentation, and thus the factors of permanence and impermanence should be regarded as relative to each other, and as essentially elastic. This elasticity and fluidity is, of course, as characteristic of the segmentary system as it was of the *liff* or factional system, given the differential proliferation and the unequal size of segments, but the two phenomena remain distinct.

Since the basis of *liff* systems was partially segmentary and partially territorial, the factional relations that they expressed were never entirely derived either from lineage relations or from territorial relations between local communities. In order to push this point further, I would fully endorse Favret's view (for the Kabyles) that what relations of alliance do is: (1) to reinforce, (2) to contradict, or (3) to replace lineage or clan relations, when necessary.[23] At the clan level, it was full-scale reinforcement in the case of the Aith Ammarth, as noted above; it was partial replacement in the case of the Ibuqquyen and the Thimsaman—each of which had one neutral clan that managed, apparently, to remain neutral; it was virtually total replacement, after a big shift in the overall alliance, in the case of the Igzinnayen (who had, it seems, previously shown reinforcement); and it was contradiction in the case of the Axt Tuzin *and* of the Aith Waryaghar.

This contradiction was apparently total in the Axt Tuzin case, in which all five clans (not necessarily "fifths," in this case) were split right down the middle. In the Aith Waryaghar case it was, as we have seen, only partial at the level of the "fifth," the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari (and their smaller mountain duplications of the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga) being of the same "fifth," but bitterly opposed to each other in *liff*; exactly the same was true of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" and the Aith 'Adhiya. It should be remembered that the overall *liff* or factional alignment fell back into place, and into its usual imbalance, in the event of any one really full-scale conflict throughout Waryagharland. However, it should also be stressed that the contradictions between the factional system and the lineage system become even more apparent as one moves down the scale. For example: one is born into one's lineage, but one can choose one's friends and, up to a point, one's *liff*. One has property rights in one's community of origin, but one may also have them elsewhere—in another community, or even in another clan or tribe—because one's paternal grandfather, for example, was given land there or purchased it there from a resident. (In this way the Bulma lineages of Ibutaharen and r-Mquddam and the Imjjat lineage of l-'Ass have three shares of land in Ifzaren, near Thara Mghashth in the Axt Tuzin, which they purchased for 65 *riyals* in October 1924.) In other words, the ties that one has are, to use Gluckman's well-known term, the product of "multiplex relationships."[24]

The result of this increasing contradiction, insofar as *liffs* were concerned, was of course the shifting and switching of alliances; thus, as Favret also remarks about the Kabyles, the idyllic picture of a solidary group of agnates ready to help and defend each other through thick and thin is often far removed from the mark.[25] As was made clear in Chapter 11, the "dog-eat-dog" scramble for power among the *imgharen*, for example, effectively insured that in Waryagharland there were no positions of power, only positions of relative authority. To this fact the long lists of *imgharen* provided me by informants from all clans bear most eloquent witness: X of the Aith A cancels out Y of the Aith B. In the last analysis, such competition begins at home. If it is not necessarily couched in terms of "sibling rivalry," it is, at the very least, expressed in terms of rivalry among close agnates. These agnates may come close together for, say, purposes of collective oath in order to negate the accusation of an outsider, but economic competition over land, quarrels over inheritance, and competition for women and over status (or honor) generally begin between patrilateral cousins or even brothers. Many are the times I have heard men speak disparagingly of their agnates, and often only in a half-joking manner. Far less often did I hear men say nasty things about their affines.

Strength, force, and wealth are all equated, and the poor and the weak are out of the running, at least politically, although they too may keep their heads barely above water through cynicism and denigration of those who are currently strong. The egalitarianism principle is known to all and used by all, but it is also recognized by everyone that those who are "more

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[23] Favret, op. cit., 1968.

[24] Max Gluckman, *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1955, p. 19.

[25] Op. cit. Favret cites, in this connection, the "classical" position adopted by Fortes (op. cit., 1953, reprinted 1960), as well as Evans-Pritchard's famous observation to the effect that "a state of feud is incompatible with corporate life."

equal" than the rest get there first. Furthermore, all, without exception, are full of pious platitudes about the "mechanical solidarity" (to use Durkheim's famous phrase) that agnates should manifest towards each other. Three such proverbial platitudes are: *d-dim ur itminzi ur itmarhin*, "blood is not to be sold or mortgaged"; a refrain in a couplet, *Ay ibrighen-nnagh, ay urawen umdzzi, mara nimnagh jiranagh, r-barra ntimsa'dhi*, "Oh our young men, with hearts of thuya wood, even if we fight amongst ourselves, we unite for war outside"; and *r-'adhu nj-'adhu-inu, imdukkar-inu*, "the enemies of my enemies are my friends." These are also proverbs to which the Aith Waryaghar triumphantly point as stressing the principle of segmental opposition. But such "mechanical solidarity," to pursue the Durkheimian analogy, although it is indeed capable of becoming "organic," has actually done so only on three occasions, and sometimes it has even broken down "mechanically."

Another proverb usually attributed to Arabs, to the effect that "Nobody hates like brothers," is not known in Waryagharland (or at least is not admitted to proverbial status), but this is exactly what happens in fact, as opposed to theory, more often than the Aith Waryaghar themselves would like to think. Yet while they are generally rueful and ashamed about the fact that it occurs, they do not seek to conceal it. This was precisely what happened in the rivalry within the Aith Turirth that broke out initially between the lineages of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh of Bulma and the Imjjat (or Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh) of l-'Ass. In this particular case, the shift in alliance was absolutely crucial to the new direction the feud then began to take, for this new direction was a base-level violation of first segmentary lineage principles. That it was by no means an isolated case will also be made clear.

The Waryaghar contradiction that is usually inherent between the segmentary system and the *liff* or factional system is expressed in the fact that at any level, segments were generally regrouped, reshuffled, or realigned in order to produce two hostile factions (or "leagues," to use Favret's term for an analogous situation in Kabylia), usually of unequal size. Smith has remarked, in a very different context, that segmentation in lineage-based societies is normally founded upon two principles only, localization and descent, and that the operation of any kind of segmentary principles defines the field of political relations.[26] A *liff* or factional system, on the other hand, combines the first two principles as a point of departure, and then adds to the third, the definition of the "field of political relations," the absolutely fundamental criterion of reciprocal alliance or hostility.

THE BLOODFEUD, IN THEORY

From a theory of *liffs* to a theory of the Waryaghar bloodfeud is a tempting progression to make, an almost imperceptible transposition. However, as the bloodfeud is the real core of this book, and the core institution of the Aith Waryaghar prior to 'Abd al-Krim and pacification, it is as well to recapitulate some of the findings of social anthropology about it before giving the Aith Waryaghar, and my own, point of view about the matter. Since Radcliffe-Brown,[27] most anthropologists have seen the feud, and rightly so, as an example of the principle of self-help carried to extremes—or, as Bohannan puts it, to where it "gets out of hand"[28]—simply because such a "breach-counteraction-breach-counteraction-breach" sequence can and generally does continue indefinitely. Middleton and Tait[29] see the feud as "genealogical differentiation translated into action" and again stress the importance of the feud as a permanent condition. They are concerned with its occurrence among corporate groups, or clusters of such groups, not between individuals; and they assert that it is often difficult, if not pointless, to try to distinguish clearly the various types of overt hostility between groups, such as warfare, feud, blood vengeance, fighting, or vendetta.

Beattie[30] takes an opposite tack in that he does make these distinctions. His view is also different from that of Bohannan, who sees the whole process in terms of repetitive breaches and counteractions; Beattie defines bloodfeuds as being stoppable by some institutionalized form of settlement or compensation. Beattie's view is thus perhaps more "optimistic" than Bohannan's. It is the existence of this form of settlement that is distinctive, together with the rigid adherence to the *lex talionis*, "the law of exact equivalence": this means that not only must there be an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life, but furthermore the person killed in revenge must have, as Beattie (paraphrasing Westermarck[31]) asserts for the Ait Yusi Berbers of the Middle Atlas, the exact same social standing as the original victim. (In actuality there have been, as we shall see, some departures from this rule.) It is this law of strict equivalence which, according to Beattie, distinguishes the bloodfeud from war (which involves hostility between societies, or within a whole society—and which, by this definition, clearly existed in Waryagharland), and from vendetta (which involves hostility between two groups within a society). In the two latter types of conflict there are few or no rules, and there is generally no socially acceptable means for settlement.

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[26] M. J. Smith, *Government in Zazzau, 1800–1950*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 33, 48.

[27] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, Introduction to M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *African Political Systems*, London; Oxford University Press, 1940.

[28] Bohannan, op. cit., 1963, p. 290.

[29] John Middleton and David Tait, op. cit., 1958, pp. 19–22.

[30] John Beattie, *Other Cultures*, London: Cohen and West, 1964, pp. 149–150, 175–176.

[31] Edward Westermarck, "The Bloodfeud Among Some Berbers of Morocco," in E. E. Evans-Pritchard, R. Firth, B. Malinowski and I. Schapera, *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1934, pp. 361–368. Some

Still more recently, Peters[32] and Favret[33] have published further contributions to the study of the bloodfeud, both from North African societies: Peters on the Bedouins of Cyrenaica and Favret on the Kabyles of Algeria. I would certainly agree with part of the core of Peters' argument, that the simple segmentary lineage model is insufficient to "explain" the bloodfeud (contrary to the "classical" position of Evans-Pritchard on these same Cyrenaican Bedouins[34]), as should be clear from my discussion so far. And Favret's notion that each reciprocal killing constitutes a cycle of "borrowing" and "returning," and that the bloodfeud should be regarded as a continuing cycle of debts contracted and then paid up (the French and Spanish terms *dette de sang* and *deuda de sangre* express this very well indeed), is nice, neat, and also valid.

The bloodfeud occurs in many societies throughout the world. In general, in cognatic or bilateral societies (as in Greece[35] or perhaps in non-Mafia Sicily), vengeance can be taken only on the person of the killer himself, whereas in agnatic societies any member of the killer's patrilineage is liable to be killed in turn. On this score, the Aith Waryaghar fall emphatically into the latter category. I would also fully agree with Beattie and the "classical" position that the bloodfeud is characteristic of societies that lack an effective central political organization. Where there is an effective central government, it alone claims the monopoly of force in its own territory, and thus the feud is suppressed. Here we may hark back to organized acephaly as a primary characteristic of the Aith Waryaghar political system; it only need be added that the Spanish protectorate over Northern Morocco had no need to stamp out bloodfeuding, since 'Abd al-Krim had already done it for them, and effectively so. The Spanish administration merely confiscated the arms of the Aith Waryaghar, after winning the Rifian War, and thus put the finishing touches on the process that 'Abd al-Krim had begun. This is another story to be told in Chap. 15, but it underlines the correctness of the "classical" theory. It also means that my own ideas about the feud were derived from the mouths of many informants, old and young alike. Since the feud was such a dominant political institution in Waryagharland, all had something to contribute to the subject, and all were more than willing to talk about it. Older men talked about it with gusto; younger men often did so with shame, "because we are more modern now," although their eyes still lit up when they were telling how their side "scored a goal."

Favret comments that in Kabyle feuds the actual loss of life was small, but it must be remembered that although feuding was as intense in Kabylia as it was in Waryagharland, the population density there was and is at least five times as great—the highest in rural North Africa. That of the Rif is only the highest in rural Morocco. Although many informants assured me that the loss of life in Aith Waryaghar feuds was as nothing compared to that in modern wars, and even to that in 'Abd al-Krim's war, it is impossible not to be struck by one casualty figure (no doubt exaggerated, perhaps even grossly so) which I was given for a feud between two major lineages, the Aith 'Amar u-Hmid and the Ibunharen, of the Aith Tmajurth subclan of the Aith 'Abdallah: 365 dead, one for every day of the year. Montagne's estimate[36] on the casualties in what I take to have been the same feud totals only 62, which on the face of it seems remarkable enough. Possibly the figure nearly sextupled in the memories of the participants' descen-

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recent and interesting work, although with more of a historical than a structural orientation, has been done by Mme. D. Jacques-Meunié, *Le Prix du Sang Chez les Berbères de l'Atlas*, Extrait des Mémoires Présentés par Divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Tome XV (2éme Partie), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1964. Of particular relevance here is her analysis of the sanctions on murder in the Ajarif Charter (Anti-Atlas) of [illegible].

[32] E. L. Peters, op. cit., 1967.

[33] J. Favret, op. cit., 1968.

[34] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, London: Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 54–61.

[35] J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, London: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 193–199.

[36] I have given my corrected estimate—in terms of the participants—of this feud elsewhere: cf. Hart, op. cit., 1954, pp. 63-64. It is the same feud which is described, not entirely accurately, by Montagne, op. cit., 1930, p. 240, and following him, by Eduardo Maldonado Vázquez, *El Rogui*, Ceuta: Imp Imprenta Olimpia, 1952, pp. 33-34, as well as by G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Collection "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961, p. 107. Montagne incorrectly renders the Aith 'Amar U-Hmid lineage as Aith r-Qasim, who do indeed exist, but who are structurally further distant from the Ibunharen than the Aith 'Amar u-Hmid are. Both the latter two are segments of the major Aith Ziyyan lineage of the Aith Tmajurth (Aith 'Abdallah), while the Aith r-Qasim are a segment of another major lineage, the Aith Dris, of the same subclan. Thus my rendering of the situation would both further internalize and intensify the conflict.

dants over time, but in any event it is an indication that the line between bloodfeud and massacre is at times rather thin—bearing out the hypothesis of Middleton and Tait. And even in feuds where the casualties were far lower, there will be ample evidence forthcoming to show how savage the fighting could become. Rifians cap it with a single phrase, *Aith Fran minghan jirasen*, (*Fran:* "someone, anyone, X") "the Aith X fought amongst themselves."

The two crucial points in the "classical" position on the feud on which my data force disagreement are: (1) the generalized (and in my opinion, somewhat sanctimonious) notion that feuding cannot take place within a minimal lineage—for it would thereby destroy that cherished notion of anthropologists, namely, agnatic solidarity; and (2) the view more recently expressed by Peters that the feud has no beginning and no end. In the first instance, as already shown, "agnatic solidarity" is a fragile thing in Waryagharland, where these same rules, constantly enumerated by all and sundry, were in fact made to be broken. In the second, although I sympathize with what I take Peter's assertion to mean, I regard it both as over-pessimistic and as simply incorrect, as well as already vitiated by Favret's notion of cycle completion. I am tempted to think that it is perhaps only too natural and too empirical a view from the standpoint of the anthropologist in the field: the feud was there before he arrived and it continues after he has left. My data, to the contrary, show quite conclusively that although any feud may be ongoing over X number of years or generations, any feud, despite its ramifications, has also both a beginning and an end. How fortuitous the particular beginnings and ends may be in individual cases, seems beside the point, as, in this instance, does the fact that Favret's cycle can always begin again, after it has been closed. Since in this case—and to return again to "classical" theory—the feud is coextensive with the whole society, I subscribe to the view that cause-and-effect relationships engendered by it are indeed of extremely great importance for the structure and for the fabric of that society. The next section documents this view.

THE BLOODFEUD, IN PRACTICE

There is much truth in the old anthropological adage to the effect that ideal and actual behavior often stand in polar relationships to each other, and that if one is content only to learn the rules, one will never learn how the game is played. By the same token, if one is content only with labeling, one will never find out how the system works. Its workings may be complex, but they are, in the Aith Waryaghar case, of great intrinsic interest, involving the crosscutting of ties of agnation by ties of alliance. One is born into one's lineage, but there is some degree of choice about one's friends and one's *liff*. The *qanuns* discussed in Chapter 11, for example, define only the rules, but not the game itself.

The bloodfeud occurred at absolutely any and every level of segmentation, from the very top to the very bottom. I have recorded that within the "true" Aith Yusif w-'Ari there were 25 separate instances of armed conflict (not only involving the same lineage groups, at whatever level, on more than one occasion, but covering both internal and external fighting between lineages of either the same clan or an adjoining one), 11 within the "true" Aith 'Ari (on the same basis), 5 within the Aith Turirth, 17 within the Timarzga, 28 within the Aith 'Abdallah, 4 within the I'akkiyen, 10 within the Aith 'Arus, 15 within the "true" Aith Hadhifa, 31 within the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, or Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b), 30 within the Aith 'Adhiya, and 44, the tribal record, within the not-so-saintly Imrabdhen. In making the above estimates, I have considered as a conflict any occasion that provoked the death of a person by violent means. Naturally some of these feuds involved larger units and lasted longer than did others. I shall document the three major instances of total unification of the Aith Waryaghar later, but I wish to stress here that even minimal lineages could be, and were indeed likely to be, rent asunder by bloodfeuds. I now illustrate this lineage cleavage with several short examples before moving on to the complex intricacies of the Imjjat-Hajj Am'awsh rivalry and the subsequent intra-Imjjat feud in the Aith Turirth, which is the case study on which most of my feud theory is based.

1. In a lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari lineage, a young man whose father had died before he was born got into a quarrel with his guardian, who was his father's brother, and shot him. This was an unwise move on the young man's part, for he had no brothers, and his uncle had many sons. The eldest of these sons then shot the young man—his male patriparallel cousin—and subsequently married the latter's sister, thus insuring for himself the best of both worlds.
2. In a second lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari community (Lower Ikattshumen) made up of six lineage groups, two of these fought against each other, three others each fought entirely internally, and the last was neutral. One of the three internally feuding lineages was that of the Dharwa n-'Aru Muhand. Haddu, a younger son of 'Aru Muhand,

killed his own deceased brother's son Muh n-Muh; then Muh n-Muh's own son (Muh n-Muh n-Muh n-'Aru Muhand, whose name possibly indicates that not only his father but his grandfather as well had died violently) killed Haddu, in a reciprocal murder that skipped a generation—young man shoots paternal great-uncle—and completed one cycle. But now all the other feuds in the community became crystalized around the split between the Dharwa n-Haddu w-'Ari on the one hand and the Dharwa n-Muh n-Muh n-'Ari on the other. The two remaining lineages that had been feuding internally maintained exactly their same oppositions when the appropriate sublineages of each became allied to one or the other sublineage of the Dharwa n-'Aru Muhand, above. The two lineages that had previously fought against each other continued to do so, each now in *liff* with one of the warring sublineages of the same Dharwa n-'Aru Muhand. And even the neutral lineage was finally drawn into the fray. This, in outline, is almost exactly what happened in the Imjjat case, and such an extreme degree of fractionation through feud was, in Waryagharland, far more the rule than the exception.

3. In a case in the Timarzga (lineage of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim), a man killed his own full brother over a question of inheritance. He had heard that the brother was planning to kill him over the same issue, and thus he simply acted first.
4. The final case is from the Aith Turirth, and it involved the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah lineage of Bulma at a time prior to the arrival of the Fqir Azzugwagh, who was to establish the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass. Three of the sons of Hand w-'Abdallah himself—Tufali, Misa'ud, and Bil-Lahsin (all themselves ancestors of present sublineages)—ganged up on another son, Kakar, and killed him, in order to get his share of their father's inheritance. In punishment, however, they received none of it, and it was divided up between the two remaining sons, Bu Tahar and r-Mqaddim (again, both sublineage ancestors), for Kakar had conveniently died without issue. R-Mqaddim seems to have been quite blameless in this whole affair, but it is said of Bu Tahar that even though he did not participate in the actual killing of his brother, he nonetheless tacitly approved Kakar's removal.

The above cases all underscore the fragility of the minimal agnatic lineage. The Imjjat feud started out as a normal rivalry between two lineages, then took a direction that underscores this point even more dramatically.

THE IMJJAT LINEAGE: A RECAPITULATION[37]

Formerly the tribe of the Igzinnayen owned most of the present land of the Aith Turirth subclan, and the ancestors of the nine autochthonous Aith Turirth lineages gradually bought this land from them. All of these lineages, as well as the seven resident "stranger" lineages save that of the Imjjat, were already installed, and most of them long installed, when in about 1852-1853 a man named Muhand n-'Ari n-'Abd r-Harim scissioned off from his own lineage in the local community of Hibir, in the Asht 'Asim clan of the Igzinnayen, and came to Waryagharland. He is referred to in Arabic in my Aith Turirth documents as Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd al-Halim, and he became known by his nickname *Fqir Azzugwagh* or "red-headed lay brother"—for he was a member of the religious order of the Darqawa. It appears that the reason for his departure was indeed the usual one: he had had a quarrel with and had killed a *sharif*, no less (but not an important one), from the neighboring Igzinnayen subclan of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa. His own lineage resident in Hibir was named Imjjat,[38] and since the remaining Imjjat sublineages still exist in Hibir, this physical move shows very nicely how lineage reduplication can occur from one tribe to the next.

The Fqir Azzugwagh went to Bulma, above and east of the Nkur River, and in what was now Aith Turirth land, where the lineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah had already installed themselves. They sold him some land and "gave" him a woman, Yamna n-Bil-Lahsin Hand w-'Abdallah, to wife (the "giving" was, of course, through payment of *sdhaq* or bridewealth; the document on the subject, my Aith Turirth MS. 31, reads that in May 1853 he paid 80 *mithqals* in silver as brideprice, with 20 more *mithqals*, forthcoming, to be paid over a ten-year period). He settled in Bulma, but later met a man named 'Aisa w-'Amar from the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Musa, who told him that the land further up beyond Bulma (which is waterless), in l-'Ass, was excellent, and the two of them went up there. This land, at an altitude of 1400-1450 meters, is indeed good by Aith Waryaghar standards, the best in the Aith Turirth. There is always plenty of water in the small but tumultuous stream of Saru nj-'Ass, which rises from a mountain spring (one that allegedly gushed into being when one of the *shurfa* of Sidi Hand u-Musa tapped the rock with his stick), and even if the mountains are steep and craggy, barley and rye can always be cultivated on the slopes.

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[37] Most of this material has already appeared in somewhat different form in my article in Sweet, Ed., op. cit., 1970.

[38] There are, for what it may be worth, at least two other tribal groups in other parts of Morocco named Mjjat: one of Berber-speakers near Meknes and the other, also Berber but of *tashilhit* speech, in the southern Anti-Atlas.

Thus at l-'Ass, in February 1870 (my Aith Turirth MS. 28), the two men jointly bought, for 30 *mithqals*, the land in question from its previous owners, the lineages of the Ihammuthen (who owned the upper land) and the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (who owned the lower land). They jointly built a house beside the stream and an olive press nearby. Since the two of them shared expenses equally in this venture, the division of property, of irrigation water, and of olive oil among their present descendants is exactly the same as it was between them, even though 'Aisa w-'Amar had only one son ('Amar w-'Aisa w-'Amar, named for his paternal grandfather), and the Fqir Azzugwagh had four sons ('Amar Uzzugwagh, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, and Muh Uzzugwagh). He also had a daughter, Fadhma Uzzugwagh, and in order to cement his good relations with his partner, he "gave" her to the latter's only son in marriage. The descendants of 'Amar w-'Aisa still have only one house, down below beside the stream and the joint olive press of the two lineage groups, and those of the Fqir Azzugwagh in 1955 had four, all very widely dispersed from each other in classic Aith Waryaghar style, up above and alongside the grain-cultivated slopes. The division of land (and of irrigation turns) was described in detail in Chapter 4.

In 1955, in these five houses, there lived a total population of 71 individuals. Three *nubath* in the lower house comprised the sublineage group of the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa (2 married brothers, their 2 wives, a widowed mother and her spinster sister, 3 unmarried sons, and 4 unmarried daughters), with a total of 13 people. In the four houses above, ten *nubath* comprised the lineage group of the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, or Imjjat nj-'Ass, with a total of 58 people. These last were broken down into their three component sublineage groups or *ijujga*, descended from three of the four sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh, as follows:

a. *Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh*, with 5 *nubath:*
   1. A young man, his three wives, his widowed mother, his youngest son and 3 young daughters, one male servant and 2 female servants (14 people):
   2. Another man, the maternal half-brother of the first (their joint mother having successively married three brothers, of whom the first two had died by violence), his wife and two young daughters (4 people);
   3. Another man, a relatively young paternal uncle to the first two, with his wife, 3 unmarried sons and 3 unmarried daughters (8 people);
   4. A patrilateral parallel cousin of the first two (it was he who had just built the new house, alluded to above), his wife, his wife's unmarried son by a previous marriage, and his own 2 unmarried daughters (5 people);
   5. A young unmarried man, the son of the deceased brother of the preceding individual, his widowed mother and 2 unmarried sisters (4 people—although at the time, the widow and her son and daughters resided in her own lineage-group of the r-Mquddam, of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, in the neighboring and larger community of Bulma).

   Total for the Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzughwagh: 35 people. (It should be added that the members of the first three *nubath* lived in the only two-storied house in the region. However, the man of the first *nubth* owns another house of his own, built by his father before the latter's death, which is located not in l-'Ass, but some 4–5 km. down below, by the bank of the Nkur. He himself, his widowed mother and his second and third wives and their children lived there regularly, while the first wife and her children resided in l-'Ass.)

b. *Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh*, with 3 *nubath*-
   1. A man, his wife, his 3 unmarried daughters and 1 unmarried son (6 people);
   2. The man's younger brother, his wife and 1 unmarried daughter (3 people):
   3. The umarrried male patrilateral parallel cousin of the first two men, and his widowed mother (herself a daughter of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh)—2 people.

   Total for the Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh: 11 people.

c. *Dharwa n-Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh*, with 2 *nubath*—
   1. A very old man (Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh himself, deceased as of 1956), his surviving wife and 4 unmarried sons and 3 unmarried daughters (9 people);
   2. His married son, the latter's wife and 1 young daughter (3 people).

   Total for the Dharwa n-Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh: 12 people.

The eight hectares of individually owned land (as opposed to the collectively held *r-mishra'*) had originally been divided into eight parts by the Fqir Azzugwagh—because of his four sons—and by 'Amar w-'Aisa. Of these shares, four belonged to the Imjjat and four to the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa. The breakdown at the sublineage level was as follows: 1 part for 'Amar Uzzugwagh and his sons, 1 part for Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh and his sons, 2 parts for Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, for Muh Uzzugwagh and for the sons of the former (for the latter died violently, as did his only surviving son, without male issue), and 4 parts for 'Amar w-'Aisa. The daughter of the Fqir Azzugawgh, who was married to 'Amar w-'Aisa, renounced, in classical Waryaghar fashion, her own share of the inheritance in favor of her brothers. It will be recalled, furthermore, that water rights for irrigation were distributed in exactly the same way: 4 days (96 hours) for the Imjjat or Dharwa Uzzugwagh, i.e., 1 day for 'Amar Uzzugwagh, 1 day for Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, and 2 days for Mzzyan and Muh Uzzugwagh; and, finally, 4 days for the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa.

Adult living members of the Imjjat lineage are in some cases three, and in some cases four, generations removed from the Fqir Azzugwagh himself. Out of 42 recorded marriages in the total agnatic genealogy of the lineage (in which, for present purposes, out-marrying women are not counted), 18 are those of individuals now living. There have been 13 cases of plural marriages (with two or three, but never as many as four, wives), 14 of secondary or serial marriages, and 4 divorces. There have been only three cases of lineage endogamy (two of these involving true parallel cousins), for the prevailing marriage pattern is unquestionably one of local lineage exogamy. To wit: 10 women have gone out in marriage, to the lineages of the Aith Uswir (3 women), r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah (1 woman), Iznagen (1), and Aith 'Aru Musa (4, including the Fqir Azzugwagh's daughter Fadhma Uzzugwagh to 'Amar w-'Aisa in l-'Ass), whilst some 21 have come in, from the Yinn Bil-Lahsin Hand w-'Abdallah (1, the Fqir Azzugwagh's own wife), Aith Uswir (4), Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari (2, r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah (5), Aith 'Aru Musa (1), Iznagen (3), Aith Mhand u-Sa'id (2), Ihawtshen (1), Aith Ufaran (1), Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud Hand w'Abdallah (1), and Yinn Tufali Hand w-'Abdallah, or Itufaliyen (1).

Local lineage exogamy, to underscore the statistics summarized in Chapter 9, is more marked in the Imjjat case than in any other of the lineages just mentioned, and these marriages involve a fair "round robin" of the Aith Turirth lineages. The Fqir Azzugwagh and his sons wished to create marital and hence *liff* alliance links within the Aith Turirth, among whom they were "strangers" (and making no secret of their "foreign" origin). As demonstrated, endogamous marriages in these other lineages only occur in a somewhat larger minority of cases. It is worth recalling that marriage in Waryagharland tends to be within the clan or the

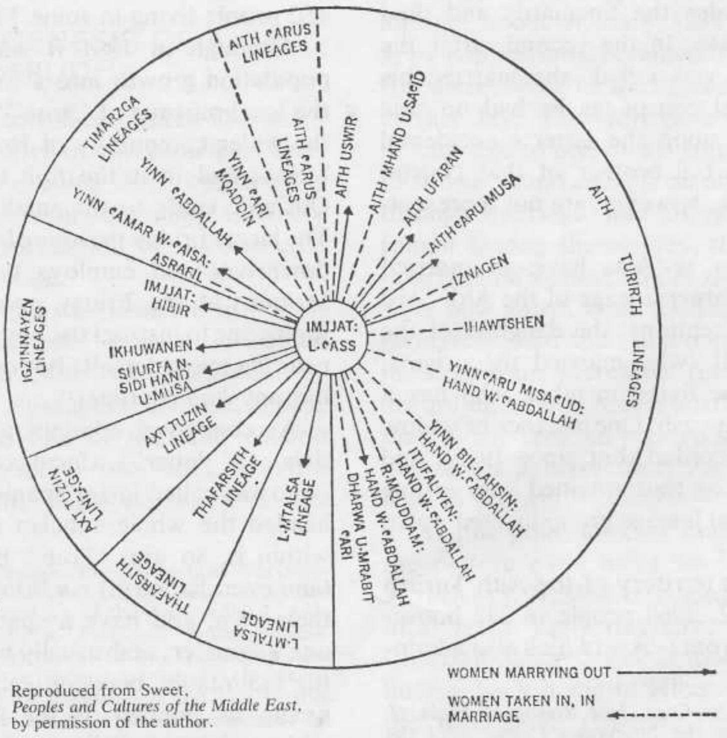
AITH ʕARUS LINEAGES
TIMARZGA LINEAGES
YINN ʕARI MQADDIN
AITH ʕARUS LINEAGES
AITH USWIR
AITH MHAND U-SAʕID
AITH UFARAN
AITH ʕARU MUSA
AITH TURIRTH LINEAGES
YINN ʕABDALLAH
YINN ʕAMAR W-ʕAISA: ASRAFIL
IMJJAT: HIBIR
IZNAGEN
IGZINNAYEN LINEAGES
IMJJAT: L-ʕASS
IHAWTSHEN
IKHUWANEN
SHURFA N-SIDI HAND U-MUSA
YINNʕARU MISAʕUD: HAND W-ʕABDALLAH
AXT TUZIN LINEAGE
YINN BIL-LAHSIN: HAND W-ʕABDALLAH
ITUFALIYEN: HAND W-ʕABDALLAH
R-MQUDDAM: HAND W-ʕABDALLAH
DHARWA U-MRABIT ʕARI
L-MTALSA LINEAGE
THAFARSITH LINEAGE
AXT TUZIN LINEAGE
THAFARSITH LINEAGE
L-MTALSA LINEAGE
WOMEN MARRYING OUT
WOMEN TAKEN IN, IN MARRIAGE

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Fig. 12.3: How Women Marry Outside Clans.

subclan, and that the given number of constituent lineages residing in a given number of local communities simply hand women around to each other in an endless, reciprocal, and cyclic succession year after year. If Lineage X already has affinal links with Lineage Y, it tends progressively to keep these links up and to review them in future—all other things being equal.

There has also been a certain amount of subclan exogamy as well, and more of it in recent years; 2 women have gone out to the Timarzga and 3 have come in from that subclan, as well as 2 from the Aith 'Aras. At the level of tribal exogamy, 3 women have gone out to the Igzinnayen (one of these to the Imjjat lineage in Hibir), one to the Axt Tuzin, one to the Thafarsith, and one to the Ibdharsen (or l-Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif. Marriages of these types thus occur at a somewhat higher frequency than endogamous ones within lineages, in the case under discussion, but in the other Aith Turirth cases, this frequency is reversed. There have also been no fewer than 8 instances of widow inheritance, two of which indeed involved successive widow inheritance, one true and one classificatory: in the first, an old woman, still living today, successively married three brothers, two of whom met sudden deaths—one in bloodfeud about 1920–21, and the next through a Spanish-dropped bomb in the Rifian War in 1924, while the third, who had been a *qaid* of 100 men under 'Abd al-Krim, became *shaikh* of the Aith Turirth under the Spaniards and died peacefully in bed in 1946. In the second, after the woman's first husband was killed, she married his male patrilateral parallel cousin (as he had no true brother available); and upon the latter's accidental death, she married the full brother of that cousin. Examples of the sororate, however, are not represented in the Imjjat case.

The Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa have all married women from their own larger lineage of the Aith 'Aru Musa—but with two exceptions: the daughter of the Fqir Azzugwagh himself (who married the original 'Amar w-'Aisa) and one living member who has a wife from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. One instance of widow inheritance has been recorded (but since 1955); and this branch sublineage has thus retained very strong links with its own original lineage group located down below by the Nkur River.

In the overall subclan territory of the Aith Turirth (total population in 1952, 2960 people in 282 households[39]), we find, aside from *l-'Ass* (which also administratively includes the lineage of the Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari in Kinnirth, which in 1955 had a total of 3 houses, 4 *nubath* and 23 people), the communities of *Ignan*, "true" *Bulma*—or *Bulma (b)*. All three of these form the wider community of *Bulma (a)*. *Ignan* comprises the lineage of the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, with 11 houses and 33 *nubath* in 1955, and a small part of that of the Aith Uswir, consisting of 3 houses and 6 *nubath*. "True" *Bulma*, or *Bulma* (b), administratively, is more heterogeneous and comprises: (1) five sublineages of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah (Itufaliyen, Ibutaharen n-Bulma, Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud, r-Mquddam and Yinn Bil-Lahsin), a total of 18 households and 37 *nubath*, although the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud sublineage (precisely, that of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh) has another 6 houses and 16 *nubath* in Tigzirin as well; (2) a small remainder, consisting of a low-class blacksmith and his son from the Axt Tuzin (who, although both have wives from the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud sublineage, are not only not respected locally but are often made the butt of jokes as well); and (3) two men from different parts of the Igzinnayen. One of these last came to Bulma as an *adhrib*, a fugitive from the wrath of the Hajj Biqqish in the Ikhuwanen, who had burned his house there; he stayed in Bulma for life. The totals of (2) and (3), above, are 3 houses and 7 *nubath*. All the above units, "True" Bulma, Ignan, and l-'Ass, constitute a single local community, as conceived administratively, with an overall population of about 450 people living in some 37 households.

Although in 1961 it was converted because of population growth into a Friday mosque of its own, the local mosque of "true" Bulma has always served the wider community of Bulma, including Ignan and l-'Ass; and in it the *fqih* teaches the rudiments of Qur'anic study to the small boys of the community. The larger Friday mosque of the Aith Turirth is located downriver and employs two *fqihs*, one to deliver sermons at the Friday noon prayer, and the other, junior one to instruct the boys living in the communities near the market itself. But only the mosque at Tigzirin has any *habus* property.

As conceived administratively today, Bulma is a *dshar* (a "douar"), a local community, with a *mqaddim* (who was called *jari* in Spanish times, while a *mqaddim* headed the whole subclan of the Aith Turirth); but within it, so are "True" Bulma, Ignan, and l-'Ass (and even Kinnirth) *r-udhshur*, local communities, on their own, and have a spatial separation of at least one kilometer, and usually two or three, up and down the mountains, between each one and the next. The nexus, as implied, is the local community mosque with associated saint's tomb (for Bulma, of Sidi 'Abd r-'Aziz, who is not venerated in any way) and cemetery, with three separate burial plots for the lineage groups in "True" Bulma, Ignan, and l-'Ass, while the Friday subclan mosque attends to the religious needs of those generally older men who are both more strict and more pious than the rest.

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[39] Figures kindly supplied by Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, at the time the *Interventor Comarcal* of the Aith Waryaghar. The Moroccan census of 1960 indicates a total of 556 *nubath* and 3424 population.

Within each of these local subcommunities are their respective residential lineage groups or *dharfiqin:* (1) in "True" Bulma, the various sublineages of the overall "founder" lineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, plus a few incipient outsider groups; (2) in Ignan, the two sublineages of the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id (i.e., the "true" Aith Mhand u-'Sa'id and the Ibutaharen n-Ignan, to differentiate them from the Ibutaharen n-Bulma), plus certain *nubath* of the Aith Uswir; and (3) in l-'Ass, the two lineages, one now fully grown and the other still incipient, of the Imjjat and the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa. This recapitulation is completed with the following: the Aith 'Aru Musa (who gave birth to the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa) down below along the Nkur River, and the large remainder of the Aith Uswir, near the Aswil Gorge where the Nkur rushes in to Waryagharland from the Igzinnayen; in Tigzirin, the "stranger" lineages of the Iznagen and Ihawtshen, the latter being those scorned noncombatants who buried the honored dead of feuding lineages[40] and of those such as the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud Hand w-'Abdallah, and Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh) of Bulma, who bought land there.

IMJJAT: THE GENESIS OF A BLOODFEUD[41]

The intricate narrative to follow, which illustrates in no little detail the majority of the principles enumerated in this and the preceding three chapters, is an attempt to make a coherent, if complex, whole out of what was only a succession of unconnected episodes in the field data stage.

After the Fqir Azzugwagh was installed in l-'Ass, his sons grew up and married: 'Amar to a woman of the Aith Uswir lineage, Muh (who was possibly the eldest of the four sons, although he does not appear up on my genealogies) to one of the Aith Mhand n-Sa'id, Muh Akkuh to another one from the Aith Uswir, and Mzzyan to the same woman who had married Muh (he "widow-inherited" her after the untimely and violent death of Muh). The Fqir himself continued to live down below with his only daughter and her husband, 'Amar w-'Aisa, while his sons all built their new houses on the upper slope. With the support of these sons (all of whom, save Muh Akkuh, were excellent fighters), the Fqir Azzugwagh, a stranger, became one of the two most powerful men in all of the Aith Turirth.

There was only one other man strong enough to challenge him: the Hajj Am'awsh of the Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud sublineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, in Bulma. One day, the Hajj and his agnates, along with some men from the Aith 'Arus and the Aith Bu Khrif, all of them anxious to cut the Fqir down to size, came up to l-'Ass with the intention of burning down his house. The Fqir, now old and almost blind, screamed up to all his sons that they would never be allowed to set foot in his house again if they did not start shooting at the unwelcome visitors. So when the latter had reached the olive press in l-'Ass on their upward march, the Fqir's sons opened fire on them; several were wounded, and the remainder then fled back along the path by which they had come.

Not long after this episode, a paternal uncle of the Hajj Am'awsh killed an Iznagen man: one of the man's own agnates had wanted him out of the way, and had promised the Hajj some land in Tigzirin and a woman if he dispatched him. Thus the Iznagen lineage, about January 1884 (my Aith Turirth MS. 4, by implication), obtained the protection of the Hajj Am'awsh, some of whose descendants live in Tigzirin to this day. The Hajj gave the woman in question in marriage to one of his sons. The Iznagen, in years to follow, contracted a number of strategic alliances through marriage, and although they had previously fought among themselves, they were careful not to raise a hand against any of the lineages to which they were now allied. Only the Ihawtshen, who buried the dead, remained apart and outside. There was a similar incident soon thereafter (or possibly in May 1897, according to my Aith Turirth MS. 1), when another man of the Iznagen wanted the Hajj Am'awsh to kill one of his agnates; thus the Hajj gained even more land in Tigzirin.

At this point another murder occurred that made the picture even more involved. In July 1897 (my Turirth MS. 7), Muh Uzzugwagh was killed by a certain Muh n-Bu Yarij (literally, "Muh the Son of the Charcoal-Seller"), one of those members of the Imjjat lineage back home in Hibir, in the tribal territory of the Igzinnayen (whence the Fqir Azzugwagh had originally come). Muh n-Bu Yarij fled as an *adhrib* to Iharrushen, also in the Igzzinayen, and Muh Uzzugwagh's brothers 'Amar and Mzzyan rushed there to seek him out and kill him. However, the people of Iharrushen, whose protection Muh n-Bu Yarij had claimed as an *istihurm* (a refugee), came out and fired at them; Mzzyan Uzzugwagh escaped but 'Amar Uzzugwagh was wounded in the leg and remained lame for life. He himself was now compelled to take refuge as an *istihurm*, and as it happened, he came to the very same house where Muh n-Bu Yarij was hiding; he received the protection of the mistress of the house (through the ritual act of placing his hand on the quern), under which he stayed until he was able and well enough to pay the *haqq* of 1,000 duros hasani imposed upon him by the *imgharen* of Iharrushen. A week or so later, however, 'Amar and his brother Mzzyan went to a wedding in Hibir; there they found Muh n-Bu Yarij, whom, under cover of the darkness and the marriage ceremony, they dispatched with their knives. They then returned to l-'Ass and Waryagharland, where their father, the Fqir Azzugwagh, died peacefully in bed, knowing—in the idiom of Favret—that a debt had now been repaid and a cycle completed.

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[40] There are many other such lineages in other parts of Waryagharland: in the Timarzga, the Ibillfqihthen; in the Aith 'Arus, the Imgharen of Bu Sa'ida; in Tazurakhth of the Aith 'Adhiya (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), the Yinn Si Mhand w-'Aisa; and in Ikattshumen of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the Ijarrayen. In the Igzinnayen, the Dharwa nj-Mquddam n-Sidi Musa in Iharrushen (clan of Asht 'Asim) were another such. This last and the Ihawtshen of the Aith Turirth are stranger lineages. All of the others cited are considered to be local lineages, but they are, even so, deemed cowardly.

[41] Most of this material also has already appeared in somewhat different form in my article in Sweet, Ed., op. cit., 1970.

Now, however, the alliance between the Hajj Am'awsh and the Iznagen lineage had become precarious. One day the Hajj's agnates went to Tigzirin from Bulma in order to cut brushwood there; they started working on the Iznagen collective pastureland, and the Iznagen protested. No shots were fired, but the Iznagen, who began to think that the Hajj's protection was becoming somewhat oppressive, went to l-'Ass to tell 'Amar Uzzugwagh what had happened. 'Amar had now become the Imjjat lineage head in l-'Ass since his father's death—although his title was not to remain uncontested for long.

I have mentioned earlier the Imjjat–Hajj Am'awsh (or Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud) "feud." Strictly speaking, between these two lineages, the former being by their own admission a "stranger" lineage and the latter being incontestably indigenous, there was not a true feud, but rather an intense rivalry and a struggle for power and for land within the territory of the Aith Turirth. As we have seen, nobody from either side had (or has yet) killed a member of the other, but the rivalry persisted, and indeed it persists to this day. One informant even said that the share of the *haqq* fine allotted to the Aith Turirth as a whole was divided in half between the Imjjat *liff* and the *liff* of the Hajj Am'awsh and his sons. These two lineages were thus forever ranged against each other, even though no actual killings occurred between them.

The feud was, in fact, to break out within the Imjjat themselves. The actual germination of it was almost certainly the incident described above, the killing of Muh Uzzugwagh by Muh n-Bu Yarij (of the Yinn Mzzyan n-'Ari sublineage of the Igzinnayen Imjjat in Hibir). The reasons for this killing are now totally obscure, and one can only deduce that there must have been rather ill feeling between the Fqir Azzugwagh and some (not all) of the Imjjat sublineages in Hibir at the time he made his escape to Waryagharland as an *adhrib*. The Imjjat of Hibir had already been divided against themselves, and this division became thoroughly crystallized as a result of what was now to follow within their scissioned-off sublineage in l-'Ass (which they themselves refer to as the Izzugwaghen; the other three sublineages at home in Hibir are the Iqudhadhen, Dharwa n-'Ari, and Imrafen[42]). The genealogy in Figure 12.4 will make this clearer. All the Imjjat claim to be descended from one Yusif u-Yihya and are hence Asht Yusif u-Yihya.

In l-'Ass as well, a serious rift had developed between the surviving full brothers 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh; the quarrel was over a woman and the question of her inheritance. When Muh Uzzugwagh, the brother of 'Amar and Mzzyan, was killed, his wife was taken over in proper widow inheritance by Mzzyan. This woman already had a daughter, Fattush, by Muh. 'Amar Uzzugwagh wanted to marry this girl to his own eldest son (her patrilateral parallel cousin), Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, who had become the girl's stepfather through having married her mother, was in no way agreed to this. He thought her share of the inheritance would thereby escape him completely, and that it would go entirely to 'Amar Uzzugwagh. Therefore, he denied his brother's request and married the girl off into the lineage of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in the Timarzga subclan. By so doing he kept her inheritance, and gained new allies at the same time. His brother 'Amar Uzzugwagh, now furious, married his second son Mhand n-'Amar to a girl of the same Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage in the Timarzga, and then a third son, 'Allush n-'Amar, to a girl in the neighboring lineage, the Yinn 'Abdallah, which was hostile to the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim. Thus 'Amar seemed to check, but by no means to checkmate, his brother's moves toward lineage primacy.

Even wilder with rage and frustration than 'Amar Uzzugwagh was his eldest son Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who was to show himself the toughest member

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[42] Here again we see the Igzinnayen preference for nicknames extended even to names of lineage founders: Iqudhadhen, from *Aqudhadh*, "short," and Imrafen, from *Amraf*, "bad-tempered." *Bu Yarij*, as above, was a charcoal seller, and aside from his son Muh, his other son, nicknamed *Aqshar* n-Bu Yarij, was a victim of favus, from *aqshar*, "favoid." It may be noted that favoid or scab-headed individuals are generally considered to be extremely courageous.

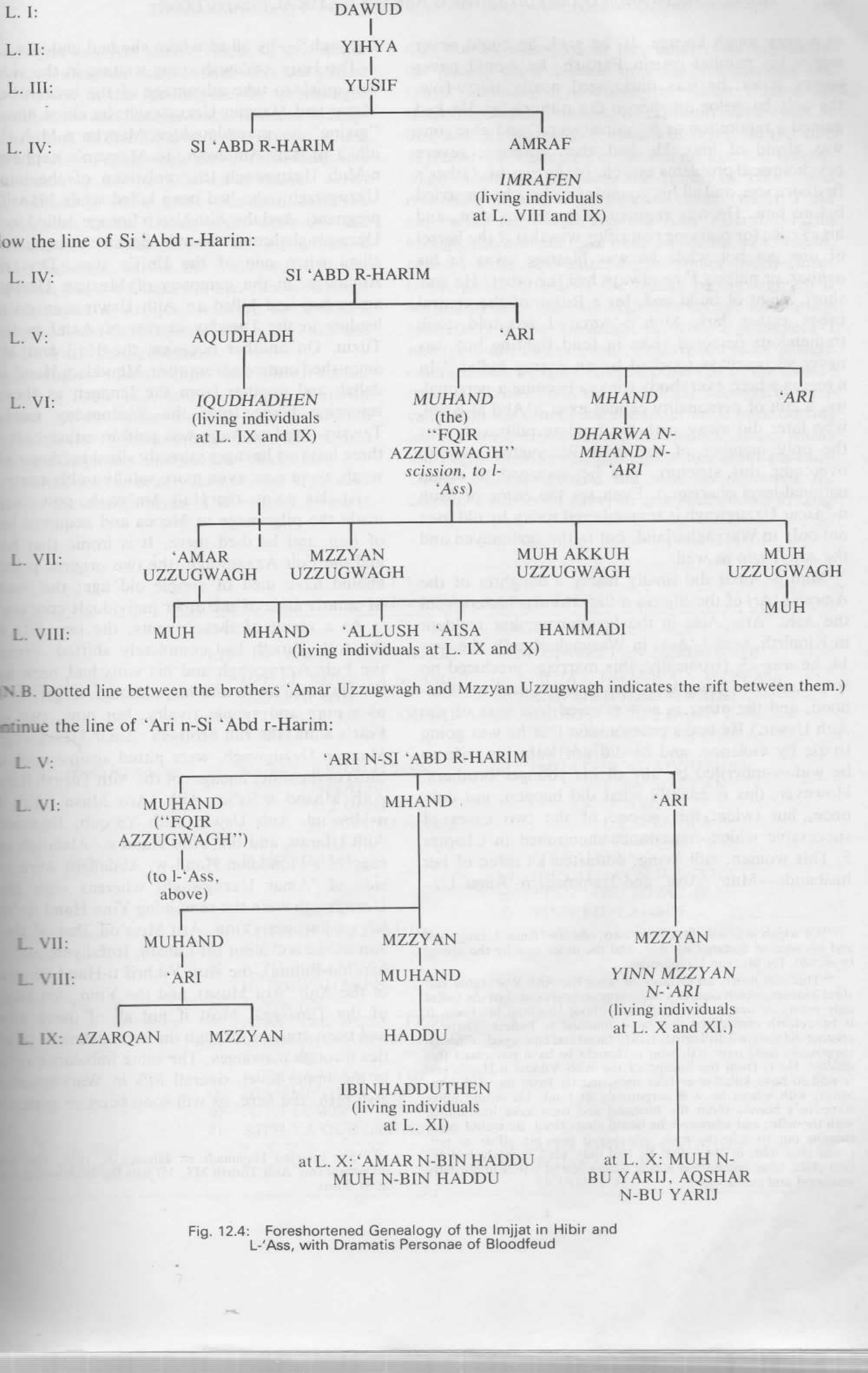
L. I:
DAWUD
L. II:
YIHYA
L. III:
YUSIF
L. IV:
SI 'ABD R-HARIM
AMRAF
IMRAFEN
(living individuals at L. VIII and IX)
To follow the line of Si 'Abd r-Harim:
L. IV:
SI 'ABD R-HARIM
L. V:
AQUDHADH
'ARI
L. VI:
IQUDHADHEN
(living individuals at L. IX and IX)
MUHAND
(the)
"FQIR AZZUGWAGH"
scission, to l-'Ass)
MHAND
'ARI
DHARWA N-MHAND N-'ARI
L. VII:
'AMAR UZZUGWAGH
MZZYAN UZZUGWAGH
MUH AKKUH UZZUGWAGH
MUH UZZUGWAGH
MUH
L. VIII:
MUH
MHAND
ALLUSH
AISA
HAMMADI
(living individuals at L. IX and X)
(N.B. Dotted line between the brothers 'Amar Uzzugwagh and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh indicates the rift between them.)
To continue the line of 'Ari n-Si 'Abd r-Harim:
L. V:
'ARI N-SI 'ABD R-HARIM
L. VI:
MUHAND
("FQIR AZZUGWAGH")
(to l-'Ass, above)
MHAND
'ARI
L. VII:
MUHAND
MZZYAN
MZZYAN
L. VIII:
ARI
MUHAND
YINN MZZYAN N-'ARI
(living individuals at L. X and XI.)
L. IX:
AZARQAN
MZZYAN
HADDU
IBINHADDUTHEN
(living individuals at L. XI)
at L. X: 'AMAR N-BIN HADDU
MUH N-BIN HADDU
at L. X: MUH N-BU YARIJ, AQSHAR N-BU YARIJ

Fig. 12.4: Foreshortened Genealogy of the Imjjat in Hibir and L-'Ass, with Dramatis Personae of Bloodfeud

of a very tough lineage. If, he said, he could never marry his parallel cousin Fattush, he would never marry at all; he was thus, aged nearly thirty-five, the only bachelor *amghar* in the *aitharbi'in.* He had gained a reputation as a "gunslinger," and everyone was afraid of him. He had also, perhaps, severe psychological problems as well, for he was his father's firstborn son, and all his younger brothers had married before him. He was reputed an excellent shot, and his excuse for carrying two rifles was that if the barrel of one got hot while he was blasting away in his *ashbar*, or pillbox,[43] he always had the other! He was short, slight of build and, for a Rifian of the central tribes, rather dark. Muh n-'Amar, I was told, took tremendous personal risks in feud fighting but was never so much as touched by an enemy bullet.[44] In a region where everybody tries to become a personality, a cult of personality cannot exist, ('Abd al-Krim, who later did away with the feuding pillboxes, was the only member of the Aith Waryaghar ever to overcome this stricture, and he managed to attain national-level charisma). Even so, the name of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh is remembered today by old men not only in Waryagharland, but in the Igzinnayen and the Axt Tuzin as well.

Muh n-'Amar did finally marry a daughter of the Amrabit 'Ari of the Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa (from the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa in the Igzinnayen, but resident in Kinnirth, near l-'Ass, in Waryagharland); she was 14, he was 35. (Ironically, this marriage produced no sons, only two daughters; one of these died in childhood, and the other is now married to a man of the Aith Uswir.) He had a premonition that he was going to die by violence, and he did not want his wife to be widow-inherited by any of his younger brothers. However, this is exactly what did happen, not only once, but twice: this is one of the two cases of successive widow-inheritance mentioned in Chapter 5. This woman, still living, outlasted all three of her husbands—Muh, 'Aisa, and Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh[45]—by all of whom she had children.

The Hajj Am'awsh, long waiting in the sidelines, was quick to take advantage of the breach between 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh; he allied himself by "giving" his granddaughter, Maryim n-Muh ("Yighidh") nj-Hajj Am'awsh, to Mzzyan's nephew Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh (the only son of the late Muh Uzzugwagh, who had been killed while his wife was pregnant). And the Aith Uswir lineage, allied to 'Amar Uzzugwagh through his wife, became even more firmly allied when one of the Hajj's sons, Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh, in the company of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, ambushed and killed an Aith Uswir man on a path leading to the Tuesday market of Azraf in the Axt Tuzin. On another occasion the Hajj and Mzzyan ambushed one man from the r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah and another from the Iznagen as they were returning home from the Wednesday market of Tawrirt—and no *haqq* was paid in either case. Thus these last two lineages, already allied to 'Amar Uzzugwagh, were now even more solidly in his camp.

At this point, the Hajj Am'awsh, now very old, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and acquired his title of *hajj*, and he died there. It is ironic that both he and the Fqir Azzugwagh, the two original principals, should have died of simple old age; this was true of almost none of the other individuals concerned.

As a result of these events, the two *liffs* within the Aith Turirth had completely shifted. Previously the Fqir Azzugwagh and his sons had been against the Hajj Am'awsh and his, although largely in terms of a pure and simple rivalry; but now, two of the Fqir's sons, the full brothers 'Amar Uzzugwagh and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, were pitted against each other. Most of the other lineages of the Aith Turirth (Iznagen, Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, Aith 'Aru Musa, Aith Hand u-Misa'ud, Aith Uswir, Aith Ya'qub, Ihammuthen, Aith Ufaran, and the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah sublineage of r-Mquddam Hand w-'Abdallah) were on the side of 'Amar Uzzugwagh; whereas with Mzzyan Uzzugwagh were the remaining Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah sublineages (Yinn 'Aru Misa'ud, that of the Hajj Am'awsh, and Yinn Bil-Lahsin, Itufaliyen, and Ibutaharen n-Bulma), the Aith Yikhrif u-Hand (as enemies of the Aith 'Aru Musa), and the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim of the Timarzga. Most if not all of these alliances had been created through the establishment of affinal ties through marriages. The same imbalance reflected in the upper-level, overall *liffs* in Waryagharland is also reflected here, as will soon become apparent.

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[43] Of which in l-'Ass there were two; one for 'Amar Uzzugwagh and his sons at Sammar nj-'Ass, and the other one by the spring (*r-mizab*), for Mzzyan Uzzugwagh.

[44] This was nearly an instance of what the Aith Waryaghar call *tbrid arassas*, which occurs when someone is shot at, but the bullet only enters or touches his clothing without touching his body. It is henceforth considered that he is immune to bullets. There is another old man in Aith Turirth, ruddy-faced and blue-eyed, although supposedly aged over 100, who is thought to have possessed this quality. He is from the lineage of the Aith Yikkrif u-Hand, and is said to have killed over fifty men, mostly from the Aith 'Aru Musa, with whom he was perpetually at feud. He would enter someone's house, shoot the husband and then have intercourse with the wife; and whenever he heard shots fired, he would come running out to join the fray, whether it was his affair or not. I was also told, in 1965, that he had only very recently had his first child, after having had a long succession of wives in his early manhood and middle-age.

[45] She married Hammadi on January 6, 1925. The marriage document (my Aith Turirth MS. 35) lists the bridewealth payment at 37 duros.

As the Imjjat in l-'Ass were divided, so were those who had not undergone scission and who had stayed at home in Hibir in the Igzinnayen: the sublineages of the Iqudhadhen and Imrafen backed 'Amar Uzzugwagh, while that of the Dharwa n-'Ari (from which the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh are an offshoot) was split: one member of the Dharwa n-Mhand n-'Ari (namely, Mhand n-'Ari's great grandson, Mzzyan n-'Ari) was with 'Amar Uzzugwagh, while his full brother (Azarqan—"Blue Eyes"—n-'Ari) backed Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, as did the sublineages of the Ibinhadduthen and the Dharwa n-Mzzyan n-'Ari (not the same Mzzyan n-'Ari just referred to: this last sublineage produced the brothers Muh n-Bu Yarij and Asghar n-Bu Yarij the Scabhead).

The genealogical relationships were shown earlier in Figure 12.4; Table 12.3 below attempts to clarify the factional system within the Aith Turirth subclan as it stood after the shifts described above. The names of actively participating lineages are italicized.

Here we shall discuss briefly the question of relative imbalance in these alignments. The nearest estimate that can be mustered in this connection is that of the *nubath* count I made in 1955. Not counting the Imjjat sublineages of Hibir, on which I have no statistical documentation, there might have been at that time a possible 203 *nubath* involved on the side of 'Amar Uzzugwagh. On the side of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, again not counting the Imjjat of Hibir, and reckoning in only a 1952 house count (which I did not make) for l-Wad and the Aith Yikhrif u-Hand lineage, there might have been a possible 114 *nubath*, perhaps more; this latter figure comes much closer to the possible total of the 'Amar Uzzugwagh *liff* if we add in the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage (63 *nubath* altogether) of the Timarzga, to make a possible 177 *nubath* in all. In any event, exactly the same pattern emerges that we have already observed at the overall tribal level: one *liff* is very definitely stronger numerically than the other, and the latter must seek outside aid in order to try to restore the balance. Here, within the Imjjat themselves, disequilibrium again prevails: 'Amar Uzzugwagh and his sons outnumbered the combined forces of Mzzyan and Muh Akkuh Uzzug-

TABLE 12.3

The (Later) *Liff* Configuration Within the Aith Turirth

	FACTION A	FACTION B
	LIFF OF 'AMAR UZZUGWAGH	*LIFF OF MZZYAN UZZUGWAGH*
1. L-'Ass	a) *IMJJAT: DHARWA N-'AMAR UZZUGWAGH* b) *AITH 'ARU MUSA: DHARWA N-'AMAR W-'AISA*	a) *IMJJAT: DHARWA N-MZZYAN AND MUH UZZUGWAGH* b) SHURFA N-SIDI HAND U-MUSA (IGZINNAYEN): DHARWA UMRABIT 'ARI
2. *Hibir Igzinnayen*	a) *IMJJAT: IQUDHADHEN. IMRAFEN. 1/2 DHARWA N-MHAND N-'ARI.*	a) *IMJJAT: IBINHADDUTHEN. YINN MZZYAN N-'ARI. 1/2 DHARWA N-MHAND N-'ARI.*
3. *Bulma*	a) *R-MQUDDAM*	a) *ITUFALIYEN* b) *IBUTAHAREN N-BULMA* c) *YINN 'ARU MISA'UD* d) YINN BIL-LAHSIN
4. *Ignan*	a) AITH MHAND U-SA'ID b) AITH USWIR c) AITH 'ARU MUSA: IBURDWAHAREN.	* * *
5. *Tigzirin*	a) *IZNAGEN*	a) *YINN 'ARU MISA'UD*
6. *Aith 'Aru Musa*	a) AITH 'ARU MUSA "PROPER" b) DHARWA N-ARI MUHAND UQSHAR c) AITH UFARAN (in TUFATSH) d) IHAMMUTHEN e) *AITH USWIR* f) AITH YA'QUB (in HABBU)	* * *
7. *L-Wad*	* * *	a) AITH YIKHRIF U-HAND
8. *Outside*	* * *	a) *TIMARZGA: YINN 'ARI MQADDIM;*

wagh. Thus the factor of imbalance can operate from the very lowest to the very highest level of segmentation.

To continue with the Imjjat feud: the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id in Ignan threatened 'Amar Uzzugwagh with war if he did not agree to kill his brother Mzzyan. After thinking the matter over, 'Amar Uzzugwagh decided to send his own sons Muh n-'Amar and 'Allush n-'Amar, along with Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa, who was his sister's son (*ayyaw*), to deal with Mzzyan once and for all. Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh's hatred for his uncle Mzzyan was extremely great in any case (because of Mzzyan's refusal to allow his stepdaughter to marry Muh n-'Amar, as described above), and he rejoiced at the thought that it was he who was going to put his uncle out of the way. So the three men went to the orchard in l-'Ass, where they waited for Mzzyan. When the latter came out of his house, he was accompanied by his deceased brother's son Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh and by his *akhammas*. 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, hidden, fired at Mzzyan but only wounded him in the leg, and Mzzyan escaped. 'Allush wanted to pursue his uncle, but could not find him, and went home after half an hour. However, at the same moment that 'Allush fired, his brother Muh n-'Amar fired a second shot, killing their cousin Muh n-Muh instantly; it seems that earlier that day or on the previous day the latter had grievously insulted his uncle 'Amar Uzzugwagh when Muh n-'Amar was present, and Muh n-'Amar had sworn to kill him within 24 hours. The *akhammas* fled.

While the noise of rifle fire echoed around the valley, Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh crept out of his house unobserved. He was on Mzzyan's side because his daughter was married to Mzzyan's son Muh Akkuh n-Mzzyan, her patrilateral parallel cousin. From hiding, Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh saw his sister's husband 'Amar w-'Aisa come out of his house to see what the matter was, and he shot him down when he reached the garden. A man named Muh n-Si Muhand, of the Yinn Mzzyan n-'Ari sublineage of the Imjjat in Hibir, who was with Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh but in full view, was then shot by Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. Muh n-'Amar had now killed two men that day, and he was not through yet.

During the fight, Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, wounded, hid himself in a ravine. 'Amar Uzzugwagh himself passed by, and thinking that his son 'Allush was dead, since he had not seen him return home, called out to his other son, Muh n-'Amar, "Where is your brother 'Allush?" Muh n-'Amar, who had seen Mzzyan fall and knew that he was somewhere nearby, yelled back, "Father, be careful of Uncle Mzzyan!" At this very same moment, Mzzyan, who still had his rifle, lifted it up with difficulty, took careful aim, and drilled his brother 'Amar through the head. By so doing, however, he gave his position away to his brother's son, Muh n-'Amar; the latter, horrified at his father's death, rushed up to his uncle Mzzyan and, with his two rifles, pumped no less than eleven bullets into his body. Then he left, thinking that Mzzyan was dead; however, tradition has it that Mzzyan Uzzugwagh lay in that ravine for another two weeks before he finally expired.

Thus in one day, 'Amar Uzzugwagh, Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh, Muh n-Si Muhand of Hibir, and 'Amar w-'Aisa all died, and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh was as good as dead (allowing him the two more weeks of semiconscious life). Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh won a Pyrrhic victory, and the Ihawtshen came to bury the corpses in the Bulma cemetery. (If one does the accounting, the cycle was still incomplete, in Favret's idiom.)

Now the feud began to ramify out into other directions (as indicated in Table 12.3), and the positions of the lineages in the two *liffs* became crystallized. As it continued, twenty-five men of the Aith Uswir died violently, and this lineage remained solidly with the faction of the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh.

It was now about 1918, and World War I was ending in Europe; but the grandsons of the Fqir Azzugwagh were only dimly aware, if that, of a larger struggle than their own. Even though they would no doubt have been among the first to denounce fighting within the Muslim community as hateful in the sight of God, they were far more concerned with their own allies and enemies than they would ever have been about a far-off war among Christians.

At about this point, Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh spoke to Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, "the Scabhead," from the Imjjat in Hibir, whose brother Muh n-Bu Yarij had long ago been killed by 'Amar (and also, it might be added, by Mzzyan) Uzzugwagh. Muh Akkuh was now the only important and effective family member left on Mzzyan's side, for Mzzyan's own sons were still small boys. Muh Akkuh gave the Scabhead some money as *dhazttat* to kill his brother's son Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who, after having killed his uncle Mzzyan, had become the most powerful man in all of the Aith Turirth. The sons of the Hajj Am'awsh were no longer a real factor to be reckoned with, and except for giving moral support to Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, they had pretty well dropped out of the picture.

Other things were happening in Hibir as well. Mzzyan n-'Ari, on the side of the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh, fled from there to l-'Ass as an *adhrib*. Among those against him was his own brother Azarqan n-'Ari the Blue-Eyed, but the man who pursued him to l-'Ass and shot him there was a brother (still living today) of Muh and Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, the Scabhead alluded to above.

Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh had now, by about 1919 or 1920, been married for three years, and one day he was invited by his father-in-law, the Amrabit 'Ari of Kinnirth, to have lunch. Aqshar n-Bu Yarij had been invited also, and after the meal was over, he announced that he had to leave in order to get back to Hibir by nightfall. So Aqshar left the house (armed, of course), but in fact hid himself not far away, behind a large rock with a towering Aleppo pine tree above it. Shortly afterward, Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh came out of the house at a call from his wife's sister's husband (*asrif*), Muh n-bin Haddu, also of the same sublineage in Hibir as was Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, and also in on the plot. Muh n-bin Haddu, up above the rock behind which Aqshar the Scabhead was hidden, called out, "Oh, *Amghar!*" (using Muh n-'Amar's title of "council member"). Muh n-'Amar paused in his stride, looked up, and replied "What?"—and Aqshar immediately shot him through the head. Muh n-'Amar's father-in-law, the Amrabit 'Ari, had also been implicated, since Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh had given him money to invite Muh n-'Amar to his house: *dhazttat* once again, paid by Muh Akkuh a second time, and considerably more than enough to defray the expenses of the meal in question.

Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who had been considered virtually unkillable, was now dead, but he still had four surviving brothers. Three of them, Mhand, 'Allush, and Hammadi, went over to see the Amrabit 'Ari three months later. They told him that unless he produced Muh n-bin Haddu, who had fled back to Hibir after the killing of their brother, they would kill him. The Amrabit 'Ari was forced to assent, and so one day he brought Muh n-bin Haddu to l-'Ass to eat with Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh. After the meal, the Amrabit made the excuse that he wanted to see his daughter (the fabled woman who was first the wife of Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, then of his brother 'Aisa n-'Amar, and finally of the brother here in question, Hammadi n-'Amar), and he left. At this point, Hammadi grabbed a billhook, struck Muh n-bin Haddu on the head with it with all his strength, and killed him. He then called his brothers to throw the body into the same crevasse where Muh n-'Amar had fallen three months earlier.

Meanwhile, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa (the grandson of the Fqir Azzugwagh's old partner, as well as the Fqir's own grandson through his daughter) and 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh were plowing on the mountain slope, together with 'Amar n-bin Haddu (the brother of the late Muh n-bin Haddu) and his son Muhammad. Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh sent a woman up to the field to tell Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa that Muh n-bin Haddu was dead. Immediately upon receipt of the news, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa dropped his plow, picked up his rifle, and shot both 'Amar n-bin Haddu and his son, who dropped in their tracks. Once again, the Ihawtshen took the bodies to the Bulma cemetery for burial. The sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh were now very definitely "one up."

Now Mhand, 'Allush, and Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh called the people of the Iznagen lineage to come and take away the animals of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh. But the latter heard what was going to happen, and he hid himself on the branch of an Aleppo pine tree with his rifle. When the Iznagen arrived, he fired on them and wounded two. However, at virtually the same time, Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh shot a woman, his own parallel cousin, Fadhma n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, as well as the goatherd of the late Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, both with a single bullet, as they were standing in the doorway of Mzzyan's house to watch what was afoot. Thus two for the price of one, so to speak, with the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh going one (or two) up again. (This was one of the exceptions to the rule that women were exempt from the male occupation and pursuit of bloodfeuding.)

But Mhand n-'Amar Uzzugwagh was soon to get his comeuppance. While plowing his field on a hot day, he became thirsty, and he made the great mistake of coming to the house of his uncle, the late Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, now dead a year or more, to ask Mzzyan's widow for some water. Instead, she smilingly gave him a bowl of poisoned milk; ten days after drinking it, he died in horrible agony. (Here, one cycle within a set of cycles was completed: a woman was killed and another woman exacted vengeance upon her male killer. And here we have the "law of exact equivalence" in rather a new key.)

Now the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage of the subclan of the Timarzga, allied by marriage to a very powerful *amghar*, the Hajj Biqqish of the community of Ikhuwanen (clan of the Asht 'Asim) in the Igzinnayen, entered into the fray. (The Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage later became allied, also by marriage, to the heirs of the late Mzzyan Uzzugwagh, a fact that clearly indicates their *liff* orientations and inclinations.) The Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim became involved as follows: 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and his *asrif* (wife's sister's husband) Hammadi n-Zaryuhth of the Aith Uswir, went together one day to help their affines of the Yinn 'Abdallah (also of the Timarzga), who were fighting against the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim—on the principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." The latter were of course supported by the Hajj

Biqqish, for he had "given" his daughter in marriage to one of them, and he now came across the tribal border to be of assistance.

'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Hammadi n-Zaryuhth were in one of the feuding pillboxes of the Yinn 'Abdallah when Biqqish called out to them, "Come out of there—it's not your fight, and nothing will happen to you!" So they came out, and Biqqish, in an aside, told his son-in-law to pick up the guns of the two men and shoot them. His men grabbed 'Allush and Hammadi, and as they were struggling to break free, the son-in-law killed both of them; this settled yet another score, for a brother-in-law both of 'Allush n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and of Hammadi n-Zaryuhth had previously killed the father (Shaikh 'Amar nj-Mqaddim) of Biqqish's son-in-law.

Now three of 'Amar Uzzugwagh's sons—Muh n-'Amar, Mhand n-'Amar, and 'Allush n-'Amar—were dead. In effect, another cycle had just been completed, albeit with help from outside, from the Timarzga. Now their brother Hammadi (for only he and 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh still survived) became family head and *amghar*. His first act was to kill Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, the Scabhead who had killed his eldest brother, Muh n-'Amar. This vengeance killing, plus the completion of this particular cycle, took place in the Timarzga, at a wedding in the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineage. Hammadi n-'Amar and his one remaining brother, 'Aisa n-'Amar, came to this wedding, which was given by the man who had killed their brother 'Allush n-'Amar, and they took along some men of the Aith Uswir. There they saw the Scabhead, Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, and they told their host that they would either take him with them or kill all the guests at the wedding. So their host gave Aqshar to them; they took him as far as the Nkur River, cut him down like a dog, and flung his body into the water. And again there was work for the undertakers of the Ihawtshen lineage.

This state of affairs would no doubt have continued indefinitely, but outside events intervened. The Rifian War broke out against Spain, and 'Abd al-Krim appeared as the *za'im* and the *mujahid*, the "leader" and the "fighter," of the hour. His first act was to call an abrupt halt to bloodfeuds all over Waryagharland and then all over the Rif in general. He would, in a different way, eventually avenge the wrong that the sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh had suffered at the hands of the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (to be recounted in Chapter 15). However, the new war, against the Spanish and later against the French as well, took its toll on the Imjjat as it did on all the Aith Waryaghar and on other Rifian tribes. The eldest son of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh was killed in battle against the Spaniards in the Axt Tuzin; later in the war, in 1924, 'Aisa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who had helped to kill Aqshar n-Bu Yarij the Scabhead, was himself obliterated by a bomb dropped by a Spanish airplane on the Tuesday market of Azraf in the Axt Tuzin, just as he was in the act of saddling up his mule to return to l-'Ass.

'Abd al-Krim appointed one Mzzyan n-Hmid, of the lineage of the Aith Mhand u-Sa'id, as *qaid at-tabur* ("military chief") of the Aith Turirth, with a *harka* ("war party") command of 400 Aith Turirth irregulars; however, this command was finally switched and given to Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, who distinguished himself for extreme bravery in action.

After the war was over, by the late summer of 1926, the Spanish had effectively occupied the whole of the Jbil Hmam. They nominated two *shaikhs* for the Aith Turirth: Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh. They could not have picked better representatives of the two previous top lineages, and old patterns of behavior were beginning to re-emerge. However, before long the new lowland *qaid* of the Aith Waryaghar, Sha'ib "Chico" (another Spanish nominee who had been with 'Abd al-Krim—for there was nobody who had *not* been with him, and the Spanish administration soon took a realistic view of the situation), removed Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh: he had him beaten to death before the year was up for having failed to turn two rifles over to the Spanish authorities.

Now Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh remained the *mqaddim* of all the Aith Turirth until his death in 1946. In 1938, in the company of other Aith Waryaghar notables, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and became the Hajj Hammadi. It is even said that on the boat during the return journey, he quarreled over some small point of Muslim dogma with the Qaid (now also a Hajj) Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, himself also very much a fighter, and nearly threw him overboard. The Amrabit 'Ari died in 1936, Muh n-'Amar w-'Aisa died in 1942, and finally old Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh passed away in 1956 or 1957. Thus, among the Imjjat at any rate, the members of the older feuding generations have gone. Their successors recall the foregoing events, as recounted to them, with a mixture of shame, pride, and regret, and above all, with the recognition that "we do not behave that way today. . . ."

In the "second half" of this sanguinary chronicle, the fight between the brothers, at least fourteen people died by violence: five on the side of 'Amar Uzzugwagh ('Amar Uzzugwagh himself, his three sons Muh n-'Amar, Mhand n-'Amar, and 'Allush n-'Amar, as well as 'Amar w-'Aisa of the Aith 'Aru Musa, in l-'Ass); and nine on the side of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh (Muh n-Bu Yarij, his brother Aqshar n-Bu Yarij, and Muh n-Si Muhand, all of Hibir; Mzzyan Uzzugwagh himself and his daughter Fadhma n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh—and his goatherd; Muh n-Muh Uzzugwagh and the brothers Muh and ‘Amar n-bin Haddu, plus the latter's son Muhammad, again of the Imjjat of Hibir). Five from nine (discounting the goatherd) leaves four, but, in view of the circumstances, only a stalemate had been achieved, even though the total number of deaths was almost twice as high on the side of Mzzyan as on that of his brother ‘Amar. It also goes without saying that in none of these cases was there any question of payment of either *haqq* or bloodwealth, when we consider that virtually all the killings took place within the lineage.

The living members of the Imjjat lineage say, as a result of all the foregoing, that if their ancestors had stayed together as good agnates should do, they would have become the strongest single lineage in all of Waryagharland—even though they are a "stranger" lineage from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. (They are still "strangers," but "strangers" to the Aith Waryaghar more than "foreigners" from the Igzinnayen—there is a difference. And they are "strangers" who, unlike the morticians of the Ihawtshen, for example, attained a high political preeminence.) Their claim may be debatable, but it nonetheless illustrates the fact that they were fully aware, all along, that their agnatic unity (the agnatic unity touted by so many social anthropologists) became a hollow mockery. Although they self-reproachfully think their own case to be largely or even entirely an isolated one, we have already seen that this is not so at all. It was almost certainly, in fact, more the norm than the exception. Vengeance killings within agnatic lineage groups may be considered utterly deplorable by the surviving members of these groups, or at least deplorable in the abstract (although often spoken of with a note of regret to the effect that "our forbears were tougher than we are"); but the data from the Aith Waryaghar (and from the Igzinnayen, as well: witness the Imjjat of Hibir) show that such events occurred far too often to be dismissed as mere exceptions to the rule. However, "blood is not to be sold or mortgaged," as the proverb has it, and ideally this applies to the Aith Waryaghar as much as to any agnatically structured society anywhere; thus, according to good solid segmentary principles, the sons of ‘Amar Uzzugwagh stuck by their father against his brothers Mzzyan and Muh Akkuh, at least. Nonetheless, as another (Arab) proverb has it, "Nobody hates like brothers"; and in this case the agnatic lineage as a unit of vengeance became, effectively, an agnatic subunit, and to my way of thinking, such cases of extreme fragmentation merit far more consideration than social anthropologists have given them in the past.

There is a postscript to this story. Early in December 1965, I learned that the bloodfeud within the lineage of the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh in l-‘Ass had, at long last, had a "happy ending": in August of that year two marriages of classificatory (and cross-generational) parallel cousins took place, to heal the breach, it may be hoped, once and for all. One of the youngest sons of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh married a granddaughter of ‘Amar Uzzugwagh, and a grandson of ‘Amar Uzzugwagh married a great-granddaughter of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh. An earlier marriage in 1957 between a rather older son of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh (a marriage probably hastened by his father's death the year before) and a slightly older great-granddaughter of ‘Amar Uzzugwagh had possibly begun to pave the way for the exchange of 1965. Not only are these the first instances of marriage between the descendants of ‘Amar Uzzugwagh, on the one hand, and those of Mzzyan and Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, on the other, but they also illustrate a structural point that was touched upon earlier: that an expanding lineage can occasionally afford to be endogamous. As demonstrated earlier, the rates of endogamy in the lineages of the Yinn Hand w-‘Abdallah, Aith Mhand u-Sa‘id, and Aith Uswir, for example (all lineages local to the Aith Turirth), are certainly somewhat higher than the endogamy rate in the Imjjat lineage of the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh. But the latter, it must be remembered, were latecomers to the region, and not only did they need allies, they needed them in a hurry; so they hedged their bets. In terms of alliance as in terms of the feud, we may note that a kind of "tit-for-tat" principle was operative virtually around the network. Even though the Imjjat remaining in Hibir in the Igzinnayen were still as divided as they always were when I finally left the field for good in 1966, a certain stabilization, perhaps—rather than an equilibrium (for I view the latter as a basic impossibility in Waryagharland)—seemed at last to have been achieved, after a good half-century.

* * *

Such is the way the strength of the segmentary lineage system can be abused and undermined at times to the point of collapse, by the cross-cutting ties of individual or even of group alliance, and by the concomitant lines of opposition through fighting and the bloodfeud. The real root of the conflict, of course, is to be found in the discrepancy between this segmentary lineage system and the *liff* alliance system: the first is agnatic and the second is affinal, and hence the participants may, and indeed must, make their choice. The preexisting internal hostility of the Imjjat in the Igzinnayen was brought home, and found its most violent expression, in that segment of the lineage that had moved to Waryagharland through scission and had started to proliferate there. The Hajj Am'awsh, rival and enemy that he was, was only the catalyst who in effect fueled the hostility, which eventually exploded and resulted in the unequal but stalemated feud between the brothers 'Amar and Mzzyan Uzzugwagh and their sons. For many years, the descendants of 'Amar were scarcely on speaking terms with those of Mzzyan and of Muh Akkuh, but this is no longer so today. *Al-Gzinnayi aslan, wa l-Waryaghli daran wa mansha'an,* "Of Igzinnayen origin, but of Aith Waryaghar residence and upbringing," as my texts say, and this relationship has now been responsible not only for bringing about a certain increase in wife-exchange between the two tribes (although because of higher bridewealth costs in the Igzinnayen, the latter are generally wife receivers and the Aith Waryaghar, wife givers) but for a new solidarity of another kind, in the very recent phenomenon of labor migration to Western Europe.

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13. LINGUISTICS, ORIGINS AND HISTORY TO 1898

19
13

ORIENTATIONS: BERBER LANGUAGES

The word *rif* in Arabic has the central meaning of "edge" or "border"; thus, *rif-al-bahr,* "seacoast." In lower Egypt, the banks of the Nile are termed *rif.* By extension, *rif* means "cultivated land"; in the Near East, *rif* refers to "fertile region" (Gertrude Bell's "sown") as opposed to "desert." But in Morocco the word denotes the mountainous region along the Mediterranean coast, without necessarily embodying any idea of fertility or cultivation.[1]

Geologists and geographers refer to the whole northern Moroccan mountain chain as the Rif—from Cape Spartel and Tangier in the west to Cape Tres Forcas and Melilla in the east, and from the Mediterranean in the north to approximately the Wargha River in the south.[2] The facts of geology and geography, however, are here at variance with those of linguistics and anthropology. Only roughly half the native population of the chain (i.e., almost 5,000,000 out of a total of one million in 1960) as geographically defined are tribespeople who are Rifian in the proper sense of the word, in that they speak the Rifian language, *dhamazighth.* This term should not be confused with that for one of the other two major Berber languages of Morocco, the *tamazight* of the Middle Atlas Central and Eastern High Atlas, and Jbil Saghru; mutual comprehensibility between the two is, on estimate, no greater than fifty percent, despite the similarity of names (*dhamazighth* and *tamazight* simply mean "Berber," the language). With the third major Berber language of Morocco, *tashilhit* (derived from Ar. *Shilha,* "Berber," language, and *shilh,* "Berber," man) of the Western High Atlas Sus Valley, and Anti-Atlas, the mutual comprehensibility figure drops even lower.

I have attempted some reconstruction work in glottochronology among the three major Berber languages, on the basis of a basic vocabulary listing[3] of some 200 words. The glottochronology theory in linguistics attempts to show, comparatively, at what time one or more related languages diverged from each other and/or from their common stock to go their own separate ways. The degree to which two languages have diverged over time can be measured by obtaining from each one a selected list of words (from a basic vocabulary known to be conservative and resistant to change) and then comparing these two lists to see how much difference has accrued since the time when the two languages were one and the same. Linguists have found some evidence that these divergences proceed at a relatively constant rate of 19% of the sample word list for each thousand years of elapsed time. On this basis, I have calculated that a divergence between *tamazight* and *tashilhit* is found in 39 words out of the sample of 200 (or 19.5%), giving us just over 1,000 years of divergence between these two. Between *tamazight* and *dhamazighth* the figure is almost doubled to 76 out of 200 (or 38%) giving us a 2,000 year divergence; and between *dhamazighth* and *tashilhit,* the original figure is almost trebled, to 107 out of 200 (or 53.5%), which gives a divergence of about 2,900 years. Whatever else these statistics may show, they are a fairly accurate reflection, in time, of the present distribution of Berber languages in Morocco; they are also an index of the degrees of mutual comprehensibility. Small wonder, then, that bilingualism is a prerequisite for any Berber who wishes to brave the outside world (and a great many do, more today than ever); thus the paradox that Berbers belonging to the different language groups must perforce communicate with each other in Moroccan Arabic.

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[1] Edouard Michaux-Bellaire, *Apuntes para la Historia del Rif* (Spanish translation of French original by Clemente Cerdeira), Madrid & Ceuta 1926, p. 8, thinks that *rif* may have had a possibly military significance, e.g., *rif l-mahalla,* "edge of the camp," as a line of defense of Medieval Western Islam against Christian attacks from Spain. In view of the prominent role of the Rif as a breeding ground for *mujahidin* of fighters for the faith, from the 17th century onwards, he may well be justified in this connection. In any event, the numerous and scattered works of Michaux-Bellaire, one of the most conscientious Arabist-sociologists who ever worked in North Africa, provide us with some of the most reliable specific information we have on Rifian history, even though he himself never reached the Rif.

[2] See chapter 2 for the full geographical description.

[3] Kindly supplied by Dr. Joseph Applegate, who also opts for the use of the word "languages" rather than "dialects" to describe the main groupings of Berber, and we follow his usage. We have taken the methodology (originally developed by the late Morris Swadesh) from E. Adamson Hoebel, *Man in the Primitive* World, 2nd Ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958, pp. 564–5.

Contrary to what some linguists have said,[4] the Rifian language is not called *dharifith,* which means "Rifian woman" (pl. *dharifiyin; arifi,* "Rifian man," pl. *irifiyen,* is the masculine counterpart). Today younger Rifians tend to refer to themselves more as *irifiyen,* i.e. *nishinin dh-irifiyen* "we are Rifians," over and above tribal identifications, because they have, since Moroccan independence in 1956, become more conscious of other groups in the country through the medium of the radio; older men, however, still use this term interchangeably with *imazighen.* ("Berbers," and hence "the people"). One suspects that in the closed Rifian world before any sustained contact with Europeans, *imazighen* (sg., *amazigh*) was the term exclusively employed by them for self-designation.

Elsewhere I have published a statistical analysis of the toponomy of the whole western part of the chain that shows beyond any doubt the heavy Berber substratum both in the place names of this now Arabic-speaking mountainous area, and in the names of tribes, clans, lineages, and local communities.[5] Here I shall only point out that their correspondence with present-day linguistic distribution is extremely high, and that they show clearly the progressively greater influence of Berber toponomy and anthroponymy, as opposed to Arabic, the further east one moves toward the Central Rif.

There is no question in my mind that everybody in the chain spoke Berber up to and even beyond the Arab invasion of the seventh century—this inference is of course the logical one to draw for all of Morocco. But just how soon after the first Arab invasions the Jbala tribes, in particular, became Arabized in speech we do not know; the chances are that it was not long after, for Berber speech was completely obliterated there, without trace. What is of considerable interest, however, is that in the Northern Jbala (especially in the Anjra, Bni Yidir, Wadras, Bni Msawwar, and Bni 'Arus) the suffix *esh* is frequently found tacked on to lineage or clan names that have dropped the designatory *ulad* or *bni* ("sons of")—e.g., *Ulad l-Filali* becomes *Filalesh.* Colin[6] thinks this suffix may represent a Latin third declension nominative plural ending, and he gives a list of such lineage names that I was able to augment considerably.[7] The existence of these lineage names (as well as certain undeniably Latin words in Berber)[8] has of course intriguing implications, but at the present lamentably inadequate state of our knowledge we can do no more than speculate. No such ending exists, however, in any of the Ghmaran tribes (with just one exception, oddly enough found in Bni Bu Zra, still the most "Berber" of the tribes in question), and Caro Baroja[9] adduces considerable evidence to show that the Ghmara were not Arabized in speech until the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. This is a nice corroboration in time of my own toponymical and anthroponymical findings in space. No such suffix exists anywhere among the Sinhaja Srir, Rif or Kart tribes.

One point must be made clear: the process of Arabization in speech in the western part of the Rif chain is in no way to be correlated with the date of the conversion of the local population to Islam, which was very early. For example, the mosque of Shrafat in the Jbalan tribe of l-Khmas is said to be the oldest surviving mosque in Morocco. In A.D. 910 the Ghmara, who in the very early stages were backsliders in the faith, produced a false prophet, Hamim (who wrote a Qur'an in Berber and prescribed the eating of pork); when he was killed in 927, they were forced by the local branch of the Idrisid dynasty into toeing the Islamic line once more, and thenceforth did not waver. As for the Central Rif, in A.D. 710 the area behind al-Husaima became the seat of the first independent Muslim kingdom in Morocco.

RIFIAN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

The Rif and Kart tribes never lost their Rifian speech. The *dhamazighth* of these tribes is of course mutually intelligible within the whole area where it is spoken, but there are, naturally, cumulative variations in vocabulary and in pronunciation within the region. Rifian and Kart tribes also say that they can understand perfectly the speech of the Aith Iznasen near Barkah and Wujda, although Renisio,[10] in what

Oujda

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[4] e.g., E. Laoust, "La Dialecte Berbere du Rif," Hesperis, 1927, pp. 173-208. Although Rifian, and perhaps Berber generally, does not always follow the Arabic pattern for the derivation of language names, there are recent indications that the term *dharifith* is becoming extended to mean the language as well as any female speaker of it.

[5] David M. Hart, "Tribal and Place Names among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis" *Hesperis-Tamuda,* I, 3, 1960, pp. 457-511.

[6] G. S. Colin, "Etymologies Maghribines," *Hesperis,* VI, 2, 1926, pp. 55-82; VII, 1, pp. 85-102; and personal communication.

[7] Hart, op. cit., 1960, p. 466.

[8] cf. R. P. Esteban Ibañez, O.F.M., "Voces Hispano-Latinas en el Dialecto Rifeño," in *Verdad y Vida,* March-April 1947, pp. 365-81.

[9] Caro Baroja, op., cit., 1957, and personal communication.

[10] A. Renisio, *Etudes sur les Dialectes Berbères des Buni Iznasen, du Rif et de Sanhaja de Serair,* Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines XXII, Paris: Leroux, 1932. Another earlier work of value is S. Biarnay, *Etudes sur les Dialectes Berbères du Rif.* Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, LIV, Paris: Leroux 1917; these are both lexicographically oriented studies in the French linguistics tradition.

For simply learning the language, the best grammar, by far, is one of the best existing studies of the Berber languages of Northern Morocco, says that the Aith Iznasen speak a dialect that is distinct from both the Rifian *dhamazighth* and the *thasinhajith* of the Sinhaja Srir.

Within the central Rifian area, we may say with certainty that the northern and southwestern Aith Waryaghar, the Ibuqquyen, and the Aith 'Ammarth (as well as the two Rifian-speaking clans of the Aith Yittuft) form one dialect bloc; the southeastern Aith Waryaghar (i.e., the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the whole Jbil Hmam area) form another; the Igzinnayen and the Axt Tuzin form a third; and the Thimsaman, grading into the Kart tribes, a fourth.[11]

This classification, such as it is, is based upon differences in vocabulary and phonetics. For anyone who knows the language of a given tribe, lexical differences are easy to spot, but phonetic shifts and changes, of which Rifian has many with reference to the related languages, are harder for a non-specialist in linguistics to formulate. It is in fact the complexity of the phonetic system of the Rifian language that probably sets it apart from all other Berber languages, certainly from the two other major ones in Morocco. There is no need to detail these phonetic changes here, but the following striking examples may be noted: (1) The *l* of Arabic and other Berber languages is changed into *r*, most noteworthy when incorporation of the Arabic definite article (in loanwords, for Berber has no definite article) is involved. This initial *r* is very different from medial and final *r*, which become extremely attenuated in Rifian. (2) Arabic *ll* becomes *dd* or *ddj*. (3) Final *-lt* becomes *-rt* or *-tsh*. (4) Initial *t-* becomes *th-* or *dh-*, while final *-t* becomes *-th* (voiceless and voiced dental fricatives). In the area of lexical differences, the tribal and clan names in the Rif usually begin with a word meaning "people (of)"; this varies in form from *aith* (as in Aith Waryaghar, Ibuqquyen, Aith Ammarth, Thimsaman and all Kart tribes) to *axt* (as in the Axt Tuzin) to *asht* (as in the Igzinnayen). Lineage names very frequently appear in a regular masculine plural form *I------en* plus the base form. Such a name replaces a form that in other Berber languages would be two words—e.g., from *Ait Haddu* to *Ihadduthen, Ait Si 'Ali* to *Isi'arithen, Ait Mhand u-Dawud* to *Imhanddawuden*. It should be added here that following point (2) above in terms of filiation, Arabic *bin l-*, "son of," becomes in Rifian *ndd* or *ndj* (e.g., *Ulad bin l-Hajj Muhammad*, "sons of the Hajj Muhammad," becomes *Dharwa ndj-Hajj Muhammad*, or better, *Dharwa ndj-Hajj Muhand*).

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This review of language in the region under study must be brought up to date with some final remarks about bilingualism. Arabic is, of course, not only a written language, but the liturgical one, the language of the Qur'an, while Berber (except for Twareg) is unwritten and the language of everyday life. The result is that although the Rifians have of course long been exposed to Arabic, principally through their *tulba* or Qur'anic schoolteachers, very few ever opted to learn to speak it vernacularly, until the time of 'Abd al-Krim. Again, while more did so after that time, from 1929 to 1956 there was more opportunity to learn Spanish than to learn Arabic. Because most Spaniards, from the tribal administrators (*interventores*) on down, found Rifian far too difficult a language to cope with (and not all of them even spoke Arabic well), they expected the Rifians to speak Spanish as a matter

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R. P. Pedro Sarrionandia, O.F.M., *Gramática de la Lengua Rifeña*, 2nd Ed., Tangier: Topografía Hispano-Arábiga de la Mision Católica, 1925—it is impossible for me to praise this work too highly, despite its outlandish transliteration (which has, even so, the virtue of consistency). However, Cmdt. L. Justinard, *Manuel de Berbere Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)* Paris: Paul Genthner, 1926, based on the dialect of Igzinnayen, is a valuable supplement. The two dictionaries of Father Sarrionandia's student, R. P. Esteban Ibáñez, O.F.M., *Diccionario Español-Rifeño*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos de Exteriores, 1944, and *Diccionario Rifeño-Español;* Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949 are, however, of little use, as they reflect largely Sarrionandia's prior research; and Ginés Peregriń Peregrín, Rudimentos de Berber Rifeño, Tetuan, 1944, is completely worthless. If a qualified Berberist were to translate Sarrionandia's book into English or French, and rework his transliteration to the standards of modern linguistics, as well as add a glossary, he would be doing an inestimable service to all scholars interested in Berber studies, a service which Father Ibáñez' dictionaries do not perform.

The best general resumé of Berber linguistics from an overall standpoint, so far, is probably André Basset, *La Langue Berbère*, London, Oxford University Press (International African Institute), 1952.

The Linguistic map on p. 45 of the *Geographie du Maroc* (by various authors, op., cit., 1964) when it indicates the Rif as essentially a bilingual area, is misleading (unless "bilingualism" be construed to include Rifian and Spanish, which in this context it does not, but, rather, Rifian and Arabic. In the Central Rif as defined in this book, a knowledge of spoken Arabic is widespread only in the Igzinnayen).

[11] Capt. José Rodriquez Erola, *Fronteras Lingüísticas del Rif* unpublished MS, 1952, (which the author kindly showed me in 1953) gives a different breakdown: 1) *Sinhaja Srir*, including the eight Sinhajan tribes proper, plus the Targist and Aith Mazdui; 2) Coastal, including the Bni Gmil, Bni Bu Frah, and Aith Yittuft; and 3) *Rifian*, with four subgroups: a) *Rifian Proper:* the Rifian-speaking clans of the Aith Yittuft; the Ibuqquyen; the Aith Waryaghar; and the Aith 'Ammarth; b) *Thimsaman*, including the Thimsaman; the Axt Tuzin; the Igzinnayen; the Thafarsith; the Aith Sa'id, and the Aith Wurishik; c) *Iqar'ayen-Ikibdhanen*, comprising the five tribes of the Iqar'ayen, and the Ikibdhamen; and d) *Kart (Proper)*, including the Ibdharsen and the Aith Bu Yihyi. There is unfortunately no indication in the MS on just what criteria this classification is based.

About the Ibdharsen and the Aith Bu Yihyi, these are the only two tribes in the region which could be described as "transhumant" (along with the intrusive "Arabs" of the Ulad Stut, who are not Rifians and whom we do not consider here), even though they show every indication today of settling on the land; but Gérard Maurer of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien in Rabat has noted a very limited transhumance (similar to that described by Jaques Berque for the Siksawa in *Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955) for the Zarqat tribe of the Sinhaja Srir. In the Rifian tribes proper, transhumance is conspicuous by its complete absence.

of course. A good many Rifians learned it, in consequence, and found it easy; one overall result, paradoxical as it may seem, was that in the 1950's, Rifians, if they spoke more than one other language, tended to speak Spanish better than they did Arabic. The great exception to this group, however, was and is constituted by those who spent time as migrant laborers in Algeria—and they are numerous. It is not so surprising, therefore, that Algerian modes are more noticeable among Arabic-speaking Rifians than the equivalent Moroccan modes. Rifians even turn this situation to their own advantage: prior to 1958, they tended to complain that their lack of knowledge of Arabic was a mark against them—and this hurt, given their full awareness and enthusiastic espousal of all the precepts and concepts of Islam; but now, when they are in the former French and present South Zone of Morocco, they tend to use Spanish sometimes rather than Rifian, which contains numerous Arabic loan words, so that the French-speaking Moroccans will not understand them. Thus today, trilingual Rifians are not uncommon, but they are mostly of the younger generation, less often middle-aged. The old men among the Aith Waryaghar, who were responsible for a great many of my field notes, are still almost entirely monolingual: *dhamazighth* is still quite good enough for them, as it is for the whole female population of the region.

PROBLEMS OF BERBER ORIGINS

At least one part of the substance of the findings of Carleton S. Coon on Berber origins is that the blue eyes and the occasional freckles, red hair, square jaws and long "Irish" upper lips of many Central Rifians cannot at all be explained by the arrival of peoples as late in time as the Vandals. Below I quote *in extenso* a statement on Berber origins that Coon very kindly gave me verbally in Morocco at the end of 1962:

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> Until 10,000 B.C., North Africa was a part of the Ethiopian faunal region, with the same animals as found in the rest of Africa. About 10,000 B.C., just before the end of the Pleistocene epoch, North Africa was invaded by animals of the Palearctic faunal region, bringing in the wild boar, deer, mouflon, bears, wolves and wild oxen. This invasion of Palearctic animals coincided with a cold period. At that time, a new kind of man appeared in North Africa. He was of European type (Caucasoid) and one of the ancestors, perhaps the principal one, of the Berbers. With the animals which he hunted, he probably came from the Near East (according to Movius), but it is possible that, as some authorities (e.g., McBurney) believe, he came from Spain; and hence the archaeological horizon 'Ibero-Maurusian,' now called 'Mouillian.' . . . There are 28 skeletons of these people from Afalou Bou Roummel in Constantine (Algeria) and over 100 from Tafughalt (Taforalt) near Barkan, in Aith Iznasen territory just east of the Rif. The afalou series was published by Vallois, and the Tafughalt series by Mlle. Denise Ferembach of the Institut de Paleontologie Humaine in Paris; the material at Tafughalt was excavated by the Abbé Roche. These skeletons show a tall, bony, muscular people with large braincases, heavy browridges, flat faces and prominent chins. Their type can be seen in Berbers living today.
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> Around 6,000 B.C., another invasion arrived, this time definitely from the Near East. These were the Capsians, who were of Mediterranean type (i.e. medium stature, long-headed, fine-boned, and probably dark-haired and dark-eyed). They predominated in the southern regions of North Africa, leaving the Mouillians concentrated along the northern coasts. The Capsians also crossed the Sahara (where they became the ancestors of the present Twareg) into Kenya and Tanganyika, where their remains have been found by Louis Leakey in the White Highlands. They were probably the ancestors of the so-called 'Hamitic' tribes of East Africa (Somali, Masai, Watutsi, etc.).
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> As for the inhabitants of North Africa who preceded the Berbers, we have only a few lower jaws, the face bones of a nine-year-old child from Tangier, and now two skulls from Jbil Ighud (Jebel Irhoud) near Shim'aya (Chemaia). These remains resemble, on the one hand, Sinanthropus in China, and, on the other, living Bushmen in South Africa. It appears likely at the moment that the people who preceded the Berbers in North Africa were the ancestors of the Bushmen, whom the ancestors of the Berbers pushed southward to their present home.
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> Variations in blondism (e.g., plus blue, grey, and green eyes) and other features among the living Berbers seem to follow the established rules of environmental adaptation. That many of the original Berber immigrants were blond is likely, but blondism has persisted most in the regions of least sunlight and least racial mixture.

This is as much, probably, as can be said on the subject at present. Whether the blondism (which is not so much hair blondism, but light skin and eye coloring) came from the Near East or from the Iberian Peninsula depends on Mouillian origins, which are still in debate; and in any event, even in the Rif, dark-haired, brown-eyed individuals abound. I have seen only a very few near blond-haired Rifians, although many red-haired ones; and eye pigmentation runs right through the spectrum, the commonest color apparently being in the area that is neither truly blue nor truly brown, but green, grey, and hazel. Certainly this is the case for the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth, and Igzinnayen. Coon reckons the Aith 'Ammarth as the "blondest" of all, but from my own visual observation, I should say that all three tribes are about equal; and given the spectrum of eye color, there is no doubt that purely blue eyes are just or almost as common as dark brown or black. Again, from visual observation, light eye color in the Rif is at a very considerably higher frequency than among Berbers in the Middle or Central Atlas, and I have so far seen only one blue-eyed speaker of *tashilhit* from the Sus or Anti-Atlas. The eye color range is in itself an indication of the whole range in physical appearance: in addition to very variable stature, one finds blue-eyed Rifians who otherwise look perfectly Mediterranean and others, very dark in hair and eyes, who resemble the earlier Mouillians. In any case, with their long heads but wide faces (what Coon calls "cranial disharmony"), freckles, and long upper lips, many Rifians do undeniably look "Irish"; and like the Irish, Rifians are extremely pragmatic, argumentative and quarrelsome.

About their predecessors in their present habitat, Rifians say that the ogre *amziw* and his wife *dhamza*, who were cannibalistic, have long gone from the scene (the wife was the more dangerous of the two, and, disguised as a beautiful woman, enticed men to her lair only to devour them afterwards); there remains only Azru n-Damza, "the rock of the ogress," in the Igzinnayen (Iharushen), so called because the great boulder appears to have a head in the shape of an ogress. Coon, who himself first brought Azru n-Damza to the attention of the world at large,[12] now thinks that these so-called "ogresses," with flappy lips and breasts so long and pendulant that they could toss them over their backs, may have been "Proto-Bushman."

Far commoner is the "Portuguese" legend: throughout Morocco, from the highest parts of the Rif (the southern mountains of Waryagharland, 'Ammarth-land and Igzinnayen-land) to the most inaccessible areas of the Central Atlas, people have a local and much more ancient version of the "Kilroy was here" of World War II: "before we got here the 'Portuguese' [the local term is Burtqiz] lived over there in that cave!" Since the actual Portuguese, during the fifteenth century, did set up garrisons along the Moroccan Atlantic coast, word may have passed up into the interior that Christians had invaded the Muslim shores of the Maghrib, and thus this widespread legend may refer to them. Possibly: but I prefer to think of the "Portuguese" of the interior as a local non- (or even pre-) Islamic enigma in the Moroccan mountains; it refers to anything, any object which the locals themselves did not do or make, which may or may not be man-made, and which has an aura of the problematic—an aura which, as Jean Monlaü has stressed,[13] is possessed in abundance by the very word "Berber" itself.

EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY IN THE NKUR VALLEY

The prehistory of the Rif is, to date, an absolute and complete blank, and no more is known about it today than was known about the region in general prior to the late 1920s. One or two very desultory archaeological surveys have been conducted, and crude Paleolithic and Aterian implements have been found on the fringes of the area, the first in a cave near Tetuan and the second in another near Melilla. Further afield, the Harvard-sponsored excavations at the Caves of Hercules, beside Cape Spartel near Tangier, showed several layers of prehistoric occupation, from Lower Paleolithic up to Neolithic and modern, and the more recent excavations at the caves of Tafughalt, in the Aith Iznasen near Oujda, have also uncovered a wealth of early Mouillian skeletal materials. Thus it seems very probable that there must be remains of early man in the center of the region as well. At a guess, the Nkur valley would be a good place for a prehistoric archaeologist to start looking, and what may also be needed is a systematic exploration of mountain caves.

MOUILLAN
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Not only is Rifian prehistory a blank, but so is Rifian history up until the Arab conquest, and even after that time only relatively small portions of the gaps are filled in.

Since a major part of my research on the Aith Waryaghar has been concerned with their segmentary system, their systems of *liff* alliances and the "five fifths," as well as the bloodfeud—matters that are now largely historical issues—I have been bound to consult historical documents. Most of these have been fragmentary, written in sometimes faulty Arabic, and interpreted with the aid of members of the society. Such documents were only turned over to me when it became evident to their owners that a question of history (*ta'rikh*) was paramount—for ethnography meant nothing to them. And indeed, this question of "history" is often the most important aspect of the documents to their owners.

Such documentation can be extremely helpful. I herewith offer what I have personally collected on the subject, in selected and condensed form. Here is a profile, then, of the history of a given Moroccan Berber tribe, the Aith Waryaghar of the central Rif, from the year 760 A.D. to the present. I believe this to be of value because (1) these "historical bits-and-pieces" have a historical dynamic of their own which is congruent to the Aith Waryaghar and Rifian sociopolitical structure; and (2) because the whole fabric of the social relations in the society led to the discovery of these previously unknown documents, in Arabic, about that society's internal relations in the past.

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[12] Carleton S. Coon, *Flesh of the Wild Ox*, New York: Morrow, 1932—a convincing novel of Rifian life.

[13] Jean Monlaü, *Les Etats Barbaresques*, Série "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964, p. 8, in which an interesting comment is made about the essentially ideological content of the term "Berber."

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A purely personal note: despite the fact that I am a social anthropologist, I have (perhaps unlike some of my colleagues in the discipline) a great respect for the study of history. I present here my historical findings on a single tribal group in the Moroccan Rif, which I have studied in some depth; and I make bold to say that in many ways these findings extend outward to cover the immediate neighbors of this tribe and that they may even have a certain application for the wider national society of Morocco. I have indeed the same respect for the concept of *ta'rikh* as had all my informants; and I do not wish in any way to belittle this, especially as the dating of, and information contained in, their *qanuns* is generally put in such a magnificently precise manner. It is only the traditional verbosity of the *qadi*'s writing style in these documents that proves tiresome. The *qadi*, the most literate of the lot, is also, with certain exceptions, the least interesting of them all.

It is not clear which route the Arabs under 'Uqba b. Nafi' followed to reach the Strait of Gibraltar, whether through the Taza Gap or directly through the Rif, following the coast. It would appear, however, that the first polity with which they had relations, in the late seventh and early eighth centuries A.D., was a Christian one, located in the Ghmara region not far from Ceuta. It was either Spanish Visigothic or Byzantine, under a certain Count Julian. The autochthonous mountaineers, whether they were under Julian's banner or not, seem to have manifested their usual hostility toward foreigners, and the result was that Arab troop reinforcements were not long in coming.

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One of the new army contingents was headed by an Arab from the Yaman, Salih b. Mansur al-Himyari, who took over territory which he had conquered in Thimsamanland as well as that irrigated by the Ghis and Nkur rivers, "territories which today, and probably at that time also, are occupied by the Aith Waryaghar."[14] In 710 A.D., he obtained an *iqta'* concession to govern this Central Rifian territory from the Umayyad caliph al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik in Damascus. Arab historians have labeled the local population of the newly conquered territory as Ghumara and Sinhaja, and have said that they were Christians[15] and that Salih converted them all to Islam. If these Ghumara and Sinhaja were antecedents of or ancestral to the present Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir confederacies, their territorial holdings in the eighth century extended considerably east of where they are today.

صالح
ابن منصور
الحميري

In any event, the Islamization of the Rif is ascribed by all Arab chroniclers to Salih b. Mansur, and the dynasty established by him, though a local one and quite a backwater with respect to the mainstreams of Moroccan history, has nonetheless the cardinal distinction of being the very first Muslim kingdom in the country. It came to be known as the Kingdom of the Banu Salih (the "Sons of Salih"), or Kingdom of Nakur, the latter appellation deriving from the Madinat al-Nakur, the city of Nakur, its capital, some 25-26 km. south of the present-day al-Husaima, on the west bank of the Nkur River.[16] The foundations were laid by Idris ibn Salih, and the city was completed about 760 by Sa'id ibn Idris ibn Salih, the grandson of the dynasty's founder.

None of the remains of the Madinat al-Nakur are visible today, but at Dahar Siddjum, in front of the so-called Isle of al-Husaima[17] on the coast, are the

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[14] Juan Vernet Ginés, *La Islamización de Marruecos (681-1069)*, in the series *Historia de Marruecos*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1957, p. 80.

[15] Origin traditions of Christian ancestry exist today among the Aith Bu Nsar ("sons of" or "people of" the Christians, e.g., Arabic *nsára*, "Christians), Aith Khannus and Aith Siddat of the Sinhaja Srir (cf. Andrés Sánchez Pérez, *Territorio del Rif: Vademecum*, 1946 p. 89-90, as well as C. S. Coon, op., cit., 1931, p. 16). They also exist in at least one lineage, the Asht 'Attu of the clan of the Asht 'Asim, in the Igzinnayen; and in Waryagharland, clansmen of the mountain (sub)-clan of the Aith Turirth say that their neighbors of the Aith 'Arus had a Christian grandmother. The latter of course vigorously deny this allegation, and consider it a gross insult; but they might possibly derive some comfort from the fact that it has no effect on their agnatic system of descent.

[16] The remains of the Madinat al-Nakur are located in what is now the lineage territory of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, in the subclan area of the Aith 'Adhiya, in turn, in the clan territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Sanchez Pérez pinpointed the site of the city, more or less, in 1934 (cf. Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Datos Históricos sobre Ciudades Rifeñas," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-52*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, 1952, pp. 29-47) and did some surface collecting. In 1958 Ahmad al-Miknasi (cf. *Tamuda*, VII, 2, 1959; pp. 156-8) confirmed Sánchez Pérez' findings with a few additional observations. But probably because it is a purely Muslim site, no excavations have as yet been attempted; and the Aith Waryaghar would in any case take such in a most unkindly spirit. When I looked at the site in 1955, such surface remains as there might once have been had long gone. Whether the City of Nakur and its kingdom were named for the Nkur River or vice versa is not clear, but the former seems more probable.

[17] Known in Spanish as the *Peñon de Alhucemas* and in Rifian as *dhag-zirth w-Ujdir*, "the Island of Ajdir" (Ajdir being one of the largest local communities in Waryagharland, 'Abd al-Krim's

al-Husaima Island viewed from Sfiha beach (1955)

ruins of a small outpost known to present-day Rifians as the Burj l-Mujahidin, "the fortress of the fighters in the holy war" (a name dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; see below). This fort was apparently built not long after the city of Nakur and served as its port. Its name was then al-Muzimma, from whence the late medieval French corruption Albouzeme, the resulting Spanish corruption Alhucemas, and the modern Arabic back-borrowing al-Husaima.[18]

The last mention of al-Muzimma is in 1740, when it served as a temporary asylum to Sultan Mulay 'Abdallah b. Isma'il, then feuding with his brother. However, the occupation by Spain of the Isle of al-Husaima in 1673 had probably obliged the original inhabitants of al-Muzimma to go elsewhere; and it is equally probable that their place was taken, as Sanchez Perez indicates, by Rifian mujahidin of the Aith Waryaghar, who remained on perpetual guard duty at the Burj al-Mujahidin, the fortress bearing their name, for 235 years, until 1926 and the Spanish "pacification" of the Central Rifian mainland.[19]

The ups and downs of the Kingdom of Nakur, which have been carefully recorded by al-Bakri, ibn 'Idhari, ibn Khaldun, and ibn al-Khatib,[20] will only

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administrative capital and the present tribal administrative seat, overlooking the island directly). The isle is still Spanish-held.

[18] One informant, a *qadi* from the Axt Tuzin, said that al-Muzimma and al-Husaima are not synonymous, and that in fact whereas the former refers only to the city in question, the port of the Madinat al-Nakur, the latter refers to this area and also to the whole strip of coast between Badis and Cuatro Torres de Alcala (Bni Bu Frah) to Cape Quilates and Ras Sidi Sha'ib (Thimsaman).

The only vestige, itself phonetically corrupted, of the old name of al-Muzimma which remains today is the name of an irrigation ditch, Dharga nj-Bzimma, which leads water off the Lower Ghis River to the area on the beach of Ajdir around the remains of the Mujahidin fortress.

Rifian literati say that both al-Husaima and al-Muzimma are derived from Arabic *al-khuzama*, "lavender," a plant which abounds in the region and the Rifian cognate of which is *agzmir*.

[19] Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., 1952. Cf. also Auguste Mouliéras, *Le Maroc* Inconnu, tome I: *Exploration du Rif*, Paris, 1895, pp. 97–99, for fuller details.

[20] For a critical assessment of the other Arab sources, see Isidro de las Cagigas, *Dinastias Menores del Maghrib, I: Los Banu Salih de Nakur*, Tetuan, Instituto General Franco, 1951, a valuable work which was unfortunately never completed. The most complete account of the medieval history of the Rif is that compiled by E. Michaux-Bellaire, op. cit., 1926; and the purely historical sections of my own summary are in large measures derived from his. To a slightly lesser extent I have relied on Colin's translation of the *Maqsad* of 'Abd al-Haqq al-Badisi (op. cit., 1926); on Carleton S. Coon, *Tribes of the Rif*, Harvard African Studies, IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931, pp. 22–36; on Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Salam al-Bu 'Ayyashi (himself a member of the Waryaghar clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and a highly literate member of the total Waryaghar community), *al-Rif ba'd al-Fath al-Islami* (The Rif Since the Muslim Conquest), Tetuan: Instituto Mulay el-Hasan, 1954 (in Arabic); and on Angelo Ghirelli, *Pueblos Arabes y Pueblos Arabizados*, 2 Vols., Madrid, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1957, esp. Vol. II, pp. 142–45. But all these works owe the bulk of their

be treated summarily here. These Arab accounts unfortunately make only a few references to the Rifian tribes as such, for they were then (as they are now, although in a somewhat different way) the "barbarians at the gates." In this instance the hackneyed phrase is literally true, for, al-Bakri's eleventh century account tells us, of the four city gates of Nakur, the southeastern one was called, in Arabic, Bab Bani Waryaghal; here to my knowledge, we have the first mention of this crucially important tribe in recorded history.[21]

The gate-name Bab Bani Waryaghal is of interest for three reasons, although the first is somewhat problematical. This first reason is that the area due south and southwest of this "Aith Waryaghar Gate" constitutes the foothills and subsequent massif of the Jbil Hmam, which the Waryaghar of today consider to have been their point of origin; thus their tribal territory at that time, or the mountain nucleus thereof, would have been much the same as it is now. However, as Maldonado[22] has noticed, a problem arises when we consider that today the territory southeast of this particular gate is not that of the Aith Waryaghar, but of the Axt Tuzin. This fact cannot simply be explained away on the possible grounds that the early Aith Waryaghar occupied more territory than their present descendants; to the contrary every scrap of evidence suggests strongly that they occupied considerably less. And the land of the southeasternmost subclan, the Aith Turirth, belonged in the traditional past not to the Aith Waryaghar, but to the Igzinnayen, from whom the Aith Waryaghar bought it, according to tradition. One can only conclude tentatively that al-Bakri slipped and put down "southeast" when in fact he meant "southwest"—south, certainly, but east, no.

Second, if the construction of the city was completed in 760, its gates must have been put in at the same time or not long afterward (dates are unfortunately unavailable). We may thus surmise that the antiquity of the name Aith Waryaghar goes back at least to the ninth century A.D., a notion to which the composite genealogy of their "holy" clan of the Imrabdhen lends a certain verisimilitude in terms of total time depth. This genealogy takes the clan in question as far back as 1284-85 A.D., (683 A.H.), with the death of its founder, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj; this date is taken from the *Maqsad* of 'Abd al-Haqq al-Badisi on the Lives of the Rifian Saints, written in 1311-12 A.D. (711 A.H.).[23] The existence of the other, earlier "lay"-segments of the tribe in the upper Ghis and upper Nkur valleys during the eleventh century has been confirmed by al-Bakri, who also confirms that of the Igzinnayen further up the Nkur, along with their neighbors of the Marnisa (Rifian Imarnisen), who must then have spoken only Berber although they have long since been transformed into Arabic-speaking Jbalans.[24]

Third, the gate-name has a structural significance, for it suggests the fundamentally ambivalent character of the tribal name, or at least of its first part. In its earliest mention in history the tribe was given the Arabic designation *Bani* (or *Bni*, in Moroccan Arabic) *Waryaghal*, and it is undoubtedly this very fact that set the pattern for referring to this tribe and to all the other Rifian tribes by the Arabic qualifier *bni* ("sons of") rather than by their own form *aith* ("people of"). This usage has persisted in all the subsequent literature about them, not only in Arabic, but in other languages as well. It may also be ultimately responsible for the fact that even Rifians show a minority tendency to employ *bni* in conversation among themselves (although *aith* still very strongly predominates); and it may also reflect a long-standing awareness, in the Rif, of the existence of the Arabic language even without any concomitant comprehension of it. It does not seem to be stretching the point too far to imagine that this may have been, and probably was, a direct consequence of the Islamization of the Rif by Salih b. Mansur al-Himyari; for comprehension and acceptance of Islam and comprehension and acceptance of Arabic by a non-Arab people under Muslim rule are by no means the same thing.

As for the second part of the tribal name, *Waryaghar* is a place name and seems derived from that of a part of the Jbil Hmam massif, Dahar Waryaghar, in the present subclan territory of the Aith 'Arus. What *Waryaghar* means, no one knows, although it may

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information to the primary source (at least for the Kingdom of Nakur), al-Bakri, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrional*, Algiers: Jourdan, 1913, text pp. 90-99, translation pp. 180-196.

[21] The other three gates were the western one, Bab Msalla ("gate of the Prayer site"); the southern one, Bab Sulaiman ("Solomon's Gate") and the northern one, Bab al-Yahudiyin ("Gate of the Jews"), indicating that Jews already inhabited parts of the Rif, doubtless under Salihid protection, as early as the eighth century.

[22] Eduardo Maldonado, under pseudonym "Et-Tabyi," *Retazos de Historia Marroquí*. Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, pp. 81-82. Colin, in the notes to his translation of the *Maqsad* (op. cit., 1926), also says "south*west*" (p. 202, n. 343 b), thereby supporting Maldonado, the present distribution of tribal territory, and my own view of the matter.

[23] As is that of the death of Abu Dawud Muzahim, known in the Thimsaman, where he is buried, as Sidi Bu Dawud: 1182-83 (528 A.D.). Saints in the Thimsaman predate those of Aith Waryaghar by a century. Cf. *Maqsad*, op. cit., Colin's translation, 1926, pp. 21-30, 105-109. The author of the *Maqsad* himself studied with Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, in Fez.

[24] al-Bakri also claims that other Marnisa inhabited the region between Oujda and Melilla; and he mentions a few other tribes, such as Izliten, who no longer exist as such, and Miknasa, who now live near Taza. Cf. Terrasse, op. cit., Vol. I, 1951, p. 197.

possibly be related to Berber *awragh*, "yellow."[25] Some informants have linked it to another place name, Thawragh, also in the Jbil Hmam, in the mountain territory of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari.

If, as the chronicles imply, Salih b. Mansur's first contacts in the Rif were with the Thimsaman, this would suggest an equal or even greater antiquity for that tribe than for the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen. And it is these three tribes that appear most unequivocally as subject to the Salihid rulers. The port of Baqqiwa—whence the present tribal name of Ibuqquyen—is also listed by al-Bakri, but not specifically as being tributary to Nakur. The Aith 'Ammarth as such could only have come into being considerably later, as is strongly indicated by their name, "people of the filling up," and by their extremely heterogeneous origin traditions: they say they came from virtually every tribe in the Rif in order to fill up their present territory, which was then empty.[26] The Axt Tuzin had not yet materialized as a separate entity, nor had most of the Eastern Rifian tribes (except perhaps the Aith Sa'id, as suggested by certain linguistic and structural evidence: one of their place-names is Bittuya or Battiwa, and the lineage name *Ibittuyen* is found in several Rifian tribes, including the Aith Waryaghar).

In any event, the Central Rif of al-Bakri's time (second half of the eleventh century) seems to have had more or less the same tribal configuration that it has now, give or take one or two tribal locations. The Madinat al-Nakur was its capital and spiritual center, and the town's mosque had pillars made of thuya and cedar, we are told. The borders of the kingdom, from east to west, seem to have encompassed the whole Rifian-speaking area at one time or another, and seem in fact to have extended not only to the riverain lands of the Wargha, but down to the Taza Gap. Such borders set a medieval precedent for the conquest of the Rif some twelve centuries later by 'Abd al-Krim, who himself claimed Arabian descent.

THE END OF THE NAKUR KINGDOM, AND THE ALMORAVIDS

The Kingdom of Nakur lasted for over three hundred years. It was taken and partially destroyed in a raid by Norwegian Vikings[27] in 859-60, then rebuilt and again destroyed by Musala b. Habbus, the Fatimid Governor of Tahart in Algeria, in 916. There were political implications here, as the Fatimids in Qairawan and Egypt were Shi'ites with heretical tendencies, while the Salihids supported the orthodox, or Sunnite, Umayyad house which was then ruling in Spain. In 929-30, Nakur was sacked once again, by another Fatimid commander, Musa b. Abi l-'Afya.

The relations of the Salihids with the first official dynasty of Morocco, the Idrisids of Fez, are still obscure, although ibn Khaldun informs us that the Ghumara and Sinhaja were vassals of 'Umar b. Idris, who was awarded the Rif to govern on his father's death in 828. The governorship was passed on to his descendants, known in the literature as "the Idrisids of the Rif," during whose tenure the northern Berbers wavered in their loyalties between Umayyads and Fatimids, who also had vested interests in the region.

It is known, however, that the Salihid rulers were unwavering in their practice of orthodox Sunnite Islam, which they helped to implant in the Maghrib; and one may thus assume that their campaigns against Kharijite and other heresies so frequent among some of the local tribes (for instance, that propounded by Hamim among the Ghumara), were incessant. It also seems to me highly significant in this connection that no such heresy has yet come to light that can specifically be laid to the Rifians, as opposed to other ethnic groups in northern Morocco; my own feeling is that the thorough and complete integration into the Islamic way of life and into the totality of the *umma*, the Muslim community in its widest sense, which present-day Rifians so patently manifest (in their very proprietary attitude toward, for example, the Muslim legal system, as their own legal system—*sh-shra' nnagh*, "our law"—and even toward *d-din-nnagh*, "our religion"), is probably due, as suggested above, to the proselytizing influences of the Salihids of Nakur.

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[25] Other etymologies, such as "sons of the ogre" (*bni l-ghul*), which have been proposed, are completely without foundation. Even Auguste Mouliéras (*Le Maroc Inconnu*, Paris 1895 Vol. I, p. 94, n. 1), a notoriously unreliable source, seems skeptical of this one.

[26] Mouliéras, op. cit., 1895, Vol. I, p. 124, gives this etymology correctly. Etymologies of the names of the other Central Rifian tribes are unclear, as they were in Mouliéras' time. That of *Thimsaman* is unknown, although Mouliéras (p. 102) suggests that it derives from *dhimssi*, "fire," plus *aman*, "water," to make "fire-and-water." This is perfectly possible but to my knowledge there is no tradition which supports it. *Ibuqquyen* is locally thought to derive from Arabic *baqi wahid*, "still one left," but the significance of this derivation escaped my informants. Mouliéras suggests (p. 90) "the intrepid," with which I do not agree. *Igzinnayen* is said to derive from *izinnayen* (cf. Arabic zina, "adultery"), as Mouliéras notes (p. 118) and as they themselves do not deny; their neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth take great glee in pointing this out. The Igzinnayen are also known as *Dharwa n-Jalut*, "the sons of Goliath," to their neighbors, as well as *n-'adhawth n-Sidna Dawud*, "the hatred or vengeance of Our Lord David" (to whom Goliath succumbed, as all Rifians know); these again are somewhat uncomplimentary terms. *Axt Tuzin* does not, as Mouliéras suggests (p. 113) mean "children of the weighing," nor does it, as Coon indicates (op. cit., 1931, p. 91), mean "children of the half," which in any case should read *axt uzgin* or *axt uzyin* and translate as "*people* of the half;" it seems rather to be connected in a vague way with the name of the Banu Tujin "Zanatan" Berbers from the Warsanis region in Algeria who formed an important contingent in the Almohad invasion of Spain late in the 12th century. This fact alone indicates that the Axt Tuzin are considerably more recent than the Thimsaman, Aith Waryaghar or Igzinnayen.

[27] Not by Normans, as the translations of all the Arabic accounts have it; for Arabic *majus* is a general term for blond northern heathens, and may indeed extend to idolaters of any description. Johannes Broensted, *The Vikings*, Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, Sussex, 1960, p. 58, states that it is known through Viking annals that Norsemen rather than Normans raided the Rifian coast. I am indebted to an old friend, Robert G. Lorndale of Philadelphia, both for calling my attention to this source and for help in elucidating the problem from a North European standpoint.

The Salihids maintained their sway over Nakur and the tribes surrounding it until about 1015, at which time Ya'la b. al-Fatuh of the Azdaja (a tribe that does not exist today) took over the kingdom. His descendants preserved it until the city was destroyed for a fourth time—and this time finally and irrevocably—by the Almoravid Sultan Yusif b. Tashfin in 1080-81. With the sacking of the city by the Almoravids, the fief or *iqta'* concession of Nakur, specifically created by the Damascene caliph al-Walid in 710 for Salih b. Mansur, disappeared with it. It had been established to facilitate the conversion of the local Berber heathens to Islam; it scarcely existed before the official beginning of the Sharifian Empire of Morocco in 788 and the subsequent foundation, in 808-09, of Fez by Idris II, and during the more than three centuries of its existence it never really became an independent unit, for it followed Idrisid fortunes, whether oriented toward Spain or toward Egypt. Its major contribution was the establishment of Islam, presumably at a very early date, among the pagan Rifians—a contribution that was to have very far-reaching institutional consequences. Even so, it was perhaps typical that Idris b. Sa'id, a discontented brother of one of the Salihid rulers, Salih B. Sa'id b. Idris (b. Salih b. Mansur), revolted against him and was able to secure the help of both the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen in his venture;[28] he was of course captured and put to death, like another much later pretender, Bu Hmara, of the early twentieth century.

Of al-Muzimma of Nakur, little is known beyond the fact that an Almohad governor rebuilt the walls in 1204; but according to Colin,[29] the fate of al-Muzimma was intimately bound up with that of Nakur, and it must have lost much of its importance after the final destruction of the latter in 1080-81. There are diverse passages in the *Maqsad* of 'Abd al-Haqq al-Badisi that prove that al-Muzimma was still fortified and inhabited in the thirteenth century, but at the time that the French merchant Roland Fréjus disembarked there in 1666, the site had been demolished by one of the sultans of the Sa'did dynasty, Mulay Rashid, who was fighting with his father-in-law, Shaikh Muhammad 'Arras of the Thimsaman. It is last mentioned in history in 1740, when it served as a temporary asylum to Sultan Mulay 'Abdallah b. Isma'il, then feuding with his brother. As noted above, however, the occupation by Spain of the Isle of al-Husaima in 1673 probably obliged the original inhabitants of al-Muzimma to go elsewhere; and it is equally probable that their place was taken, as Sánchez Pérez indicates, by Rifian *mujahidin* of the Aith Waryaghar, who remained on perpetual guard duty until 1926.

There was one other medieval city of some importance on the western frontier of the Central Rif: Badis, located on the right bank of the river of the same name, on the rocky coast of the Bni Bu Frah. Badis was the most frequented port in the Rif during the Muslim domination of Spain, and it was also a center of intellectual and artistic exchange; the director of its school (*madrasa*) in the thirteenth century, Sidi al-Hajj Hashimi al-Aduzi, who was buried in Aduz of the Ibuqquyen, was one of the most venerated Rifians of his day. It had a great fortress (*qasba*) rebuilt in the early thirteenth century when Badis was a principal port for shipbuilding. It flourished later than the Kingdom of Nakur, and its apogee came during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly during the period between the taking of Ceuta by the Portuguese in 1415 and the reconquest of Granada by the Catholic Kings in 1492. During that time it played a role that Ceuta had played earlier, and became the nexus of union between the courts of Fez and Granada. It was the port where Spanish Muslims making the pilgrimage to Mecca embarked, and where they disembarked on the way home, often accompanied by Muslims from the Near and Middle East, erudite men with inquiring minds who were attracted by the fame of al-Andalus. The Spaniards, "feeling their oats," so to speak, after the reconquest of the Iberian peninsula, made an initial move to take over the rock of Peñón de Vélez, where Badis was located (it was then an island and is today a peninsula), as early as 1508, but the Muslims won it back in 1522. In 1525 and 1563 Spain attacked it again, and in 1564 occupied it permanently. According to one source, on this last occasion, the Spaniards may have taken it over from the Turks. As of 1967, Badis, like Ceuta, the Isle of Husaima, and Melilla, was still a

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[28] Cf. A. Ghirelli, op. cit., Vol. II, 1957, pp. 142-45.

[29] This work contains anecdotal biographies, all full of the miraculous accomplishments and pious deeds so dear to the hearts of North African Muslim hagiographers, of some 48 different Muslim saints who had some connection or other with the Rif; and of these, Colin could only identify 18 (of which two are Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj of the Aith Waryaghar, and Sidi Bu Dawud of the Thimsaman, as noted above). Even so, the work is a major source book for our pitifully inadequate knowledge of the medieval Rif, and it is rendered particularly valuable by the meticulous efforts of the translator to relate what he found therein to what was known independently of the Rif at the time of publication (1926).

Spanish area of sovereignty, although this occupation has been contested by independent Morocco since 1956.

BEGINNINGS OF SUFISM; ALMOHADS, MARINIDS, AND WATTASIDS:

Something must still be said about the Central Rif in general after the liquidation by the Almoravids of the Kingdom of Nakur. About this same time the mystic doctrines of Sufism began to make their first appearance in the Rif. According to the author of the Maqsad, al-Badisi, who, as his name indicates, came from Badis), the first Rifian mystic was a certain Abu Dawud Muzahim, whose tomb is in Thimsamanland (he is known there as Sidi Bu Dawud, and is buried in the territory of his namesake subclan, the Aith Bu Dawud, in the clan of the Truguth). A disciple of the great Shaikh Abu Midyan al-Ghawth (1126–1198) in Tlemcen in Algeria, and one who transmitted his teachings to many illustrious Moroccan saints—including the even greater Shaikh Mulay 'Abd al-Salam b. Mashish (d. 1227-28), buried in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala—Abu Dawud was an expert at curing leprosy. At his death in 1182–83, Abd Dawud's disciples in turn taught other disciples, among whom was Sidi 'Ali b. Makhukh, buried in the clan territory of the Axt Tsafth in Tuzinland, whose descendants form the lineage of Dharwa ("sons of") n-Sidi r-Hajj 'Ari. The author of the *Maqsad*, it might be added, studied in Fez with Abu Ibrahim Ishaq b. Matar al-Waryaghli, who as Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, the Lame, became the point of definition of the Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen before his own death (he is buried by the Bab l-Gisa in Fez) in 1284–85; Sidi Ibrahim came from the now nonexistent Waryaghar clan of Banu Yammalal,[30] which indicates that the name of the tribe as such is older than those of any of the clans that now compose it.

The Almohad occupation of the Rif was relatively firmer than those of predecessor dynasties. In 1141–45 the Almohad Sultan 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Ali undertook several expeditions to Northern Morocco, in which he brought al-Muzimma, the Thimsaman, Melilla, and the Aith Iznasen under his heel. The Rifians, among whom the Aith Waryaghar figured prominently, revolted against him, and this revolt spread through the area, encompassing Tangier, Ceuta, and even Almeria in Spain; it was headed by a Berber tribesman from Guzzula in the Sus, in southwestern Morocco. 'Abd al-Mu'min chastised the Aith Waryaghar in a particularly harsh manner and occupied the tribal territory.[31] A silver Almohad coin, whose date has been estimated at A.D. 1155–56, was found at Igar w-Anu ("the field of the well" in the subclan territory of the Aith 'Adhiya, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), slightly southwest of the city of Nakur and in the foothills of the Jbil Hmam; more than seven hundred other coins, also of silver and of about the same period, were discovered in a glazed clay jar buried in the sand at Isiqqimen (clan territory of the Aith r-Hasain) near the Monday market of the Aith 'Ammarth,[32] who by this time may have become a tribe in their own right and may have assumed their present name. There is no doubt of the fact that Rifian uprisings against the Almohad authorities were frequent and violent. The city of Nakur and the Kingdom it represented had gone, but the barbarians were still at (the ruins of) the gates. Nevertheless, some of the tribesmen appear to have been pressed into service as soldiers and taken to Spain by Ya'qub al-Mansur, where they participated both in the Muslim victory at Alarcos (1195) and in the defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), which sealed the fate of Muslim power in Andalusia.

This defeat ushered in the dynasty of the Banu Marin, who like the Almoravids and Almohads, were a Berber house. The Marinids, supported by the Rifians, routed their Almohad adversaries in the Battiwa region of the Eastern Rif (the present tribal territories of the Aith Sa'id and the Aith Wurishik) in 1216. The Marinid leader 'Abd al-Haqq b. Mahyu married either a woman of the Ulad Mahalli clan (which does not exist today) of the Thafarsith tribe, according to Ibn Khaldun, or a woman of the Axt Tuzin, according to Luis del Mármol Carvajal. This Rifian woman became the mother of Ya'qub b. 'Abd al-Haqq, the third Marinid sultan in Fez, who because of his matrilateral ties with the Axt Tuzin released them from the obligation to pay taxes or tribute.

Revolts began again in the Rif even after the Marinid attempts to cement alliances through marriage and exemption. One tribal leader, al-'Abbas b. Salih of the Bni Gmil, was crucified on the gate of al-Muzimma in 1287, and his head exhibited in the principal cities of Morocco; it finally came to rest nailed on a gate in Marrakesh.[33] Harsh treatment of this kind shows that Marinid authority was strong in the Rif, stronger perhaps than that of any previous dynasty. Possibly both because of this and because of the alliances mentioned above, some six lineages of the Aith Waryaghar (five in the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and one in that of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari) claim descent from the Banu Marin, whom they call Aith Ya'ra,[34] and claims to Marinid descent seem to be even stronger in the lineages of certain tribes in the Eastern Rif. Between 1310 and 1391, taxes paid by the Rif and the Kart were raised to 45,000 *mithqals* in gold annually; and so, presumably, any special tax-exemption that the Axt Tuzin might have had was rescinded. On the evidence of Fréjus, this privilege had definitely been revoked by the time he wrote in 1671.[35]

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[30] *Maqsad*, op. cit., 1926, p. 105.

[31] Terrasse, op. cit., 1949-50, Vol. I, pp. 287–88.

[32] Cf. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Salam al-Bu 'Ayyashi, *El Hallazgo de Monedas de Plata de los Almohades en Beni Uriaguel*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1953, and Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "El Hallazgo de Plata Almohade en Beni Am-mart, Rif," *Mauritania*, Tangier, December 1943, pp. 348–9.

[33] This fact is commented upon by ibn Khaldun (*The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History*, translated by Franz Rosenthal, 3 Vols., London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, vol. II, pp. 197–98) who remarks that al-'Abbas claimed to be the Fatimid (i.e., the Mahdi), that he gained followers among the Ghumara, entered Badis and burned it; but that at al-Muzimma he was "killed

During their brief dynastic career, the Wattasids, Arab successors of the Marinids, evidently governed a part of the Rif, probably the central area, while the Axt Tuzin were alloted the Eastern Rif and the Ixibdhanen, the Kart. At the end of the fifteenth century, according to Leo Africanus, the Ibuqquyen were a *na'iba* tribe and the Ixibdhanen and Axt Tuzin were *Makhzan* tribes, which is to say that they were all, in one way or another, under government control, and both Badis and Amjaw (the latter in the Aith Sa'id in the Kart) served, with other towns to the west, as coastal garrisons for Fez against the threats of encroachment by the Spaniards and the Portuguese.

THE 'ALAWITE PERIOD. UNTIL 1898.

Until the time of Sultan Mulay Rashid of the 'Alawite dynasty (which as of 1971 was still reigning), there is little more specific information on the history of the Rif. In 1666 a Marseillais merchant named Roland Fréjus arrived in al-Husaima (which he called "Albouzeme," indicating that at that time its name may have been al-Buzimma), to serve both as the new French consul and as head of a business concession. He had a letter to Mulay Rashid from Louis XIV and was accompanied from al-Husaima to Taza, in order to see the sultan, by a Rifian named Shaikh 'Amar b. Haddu l-Battiwi (in Rifian 'Amar n-Haddu Abittuy). The latter was governor of the Thimsaman and Battiwa (present-day Aith Sa'id), and had replaced a certain Shaikh Muhammad 'Arras as top man in Thimsaman, after Mulay Rashid had attacked and routed him just prior to the visit of Fréjus.

Fréjus's mission was largely unsuccessful, and we hear no more of him. 'Amar b. Haddu died in 1681, after having led a host of Rifian soldiery, the *jaish r-rifi*, in the reconquest from the Portuguese of the Atlantic coastal plain town of Mahdiya (between Rabat and present-day Kenitra or Qnitra) under Mulay Rashid's very famous successor Mulay Isma'il. The leaders of this Rifian army were not only all from the Thimsaman, but were agnates of 'Amar b. Haddu; they included his brother Muhammad b. Haddu, another brother Hmid b. Haddu, the pasha of al-Qsar al-Kbir, who succeeded 'Amar b. Haddu on his death as commander of the *jaish r-rifi*, and their nephew 'Ali b. 'Abdallah b. Dahhu.

In 1678 the *jaish r-rifi* had set siege to Tangier, which in 1662 had been ceded by Portugal to England on the marriage of the Portuguese Princess Catherine to Charles II of England. In 1684 the British sacked and evacuated the city after heavy fighting, and the Rifian army (Thimsaman, Aith Waryaghar, Ibittuyen, and Iqar'ayen) marched in. From this date on, Tangier became Rifianized, and even as late as 1900 Rifian speech could be heard on the Old Mountain Road; though since then Tangier and its environs of the Fahs (estimated at 85% Rifian in descent, by Michaux-Bellaire)[36] have become completely Arabized in speech and custom. Most of them were in fact Arabized even before that time. Nonetheless, a leading lineage of Tangier, Ulad b. 'Abbu, was descended from 'Amar b. Haddu and another, Ulad 'Abd s-Sadaq from 'Ali b. 'Abdallah b. Dahhu, who became Tangier's first Rifian pasha and whose harsh rule became a byword.[37] In 1689 Hmid b. Haddu took al-'Ara'ish, and in 1690 Asila, and thenceforth these coastal towns were repopulated with Rifians (though not to the same extent

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by deceit and this failed [to achieve his purpose]."

[34] In the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, these lineages include; 1) Aith Tizi and 2) Aith Fars, in the local community of Ighmiren, subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya; 3) Isi'arithen in the local community of Imnudh, same subclan; 4) Aith Bustta in the local community of Aith Bu Khrif (Bu-Khlif), same subclan, and 5) Aith Wuzghar in the same local community but belonging to the subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper. In the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the lineage in question is Ishshuyen (the descendents of Ishshu) in the local community of Ikattshumen (Ikultumen), subclan of Isrihan.

[35] Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 36.

[36] Edouard Michaux-Bellaire, *Tanger et sa Zone*, vol. VII of series *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, Paris: Leroux, 1921, p. 361. This excellent work, one of the author's best, is an invaluable source for the history and ethnic composition of the Tangier Zone.

[37] An indication of the Rifian imprint may be seen in the 1962 Tangier telephone directory which lists 26 Timsamanis, 8 Waryaghlis, 7 Tuzanis and 2 'Ammartis. These people would of course never be known by their tribal patronymics if they had remained at home! But in Tangier today these names have become surnames and are only incidentally tribal names. William Schorger, who studied the village of Midyuna (near Cap Spartel) at two different stages of its existence, 1948-49 and 1964-65, has informed me that the concept of the *qbila* or "tribe" has never existed in the memories of living informants, and that the *'a'ila* or patrilineage is as large a social unit as they can produce. Significantly, many of the patrilineages in villages in the Fahs take the names of their tribes of origin in the Rif and the Jbala; thus, in the village which Schorger studied (Midyuna) the No. 1 lineage is Tuzaniyin (from the Axt Tuzin) and the No. 2 lineage is Sarsariyin (from Sarsar in the southwestern Jbala).

as Tangier) and were fully in Rifian hands when ʻAli b. ʻAbdallah, the pasha of Tangier, died in 1692. He was succeeded by his son Hmid, who incited his Rifian troops to revolt against the central authority during the turbulent dynastic unrest following Isma'il's death (1727). Hmid was killed in 1743 near al-Qsar al-Kbir by a successor of Mulay Isma'il, Mulay ʻAbdallah.

Mulay ʻAbdallah's son Mulay Muhammad continued to regard the Rifians as a source of trouble—as have all sultans, before and since—and in 1766 he sent a punitive expedition to pillage and lay waste to both the Jbala and the Rif (except for the Ixibdhanen in the extreme Eastern Rif). Further expeditions, presumably for tax-gathering purposes, were sent out by Mulay Sulaiman in 1802, 1810, and 1813; the last of these was particularly devastating, as it left in its wake a series of burned villages and grain fields. After this, Hmid b. ʻAbd s-Sadaq b. Hmid b. ʻAli l-Hmami, the grandson of the first Rifian pasha of Tangier, was named governor of the Rif; he was replaced around 1830 by another Rifian, Si Bu Silham Azdhudh, who at the same time governed all of Morocco north of the Sbu River.

Government appointments of this kind, even though generally conferred by the sultan upon Rifians (with a few exceptions), were at best nominal, and the tribes of the Rif continued to withdraw from and ever more to elude the arm and authority of the Makhzan, the central government. The Rif, if not necessarily *blad s-siba* or dissident land in name (for Rifians talk of *Ripublik* rather than of *siba*), was certainly such in fact. Hence one may suspect that the defeat inflicted by the Algerian amir ʻAbd al-Qadir, the earliest champion of Algerian independence from France, on a Moroccan *mhalla* or expeditionary force in the Thafarsith (Eastern Rif) during the 1840s was made possible by his enlistment of the aid of local tribesmen, among whom one of his own ancestors, Sidi ʻAbd al-Qawwi, was buried. However, a second expedition, which included two of Mulay ʻAbd ar-Rahman's sons and was led by a strong commander, Bu Muhammad ash-Shargi, promoted the installation of Moroccan Sharifian troops in the Qasba of Silwan, near Melilla, and gave the Thafarsith a way out of their entanglements with ʻAbd al-Qadir. The latter was routed by the Moroccans in 1847 and retreated east to Algeria again; shortly after, in the same year, he surrendered to the French.

A Rifian and Sinhaja Srir contingent, under Sidi Muhammad Siddiq Akhamlish of the Ikhamlishen *shurfa* of Targist, came to Tetuan in 1860 to fight against the Spaniards in what the latter refer to as "La Guerra de Africa." The contingent arrived one day after peace between Mulay al-ʻAbbas and General O'Donnell had been signed, and much restraint had to be exerted to keep them from attacking the Spanish.

In the following years the governorship of the Rif was given to the son of Hmid b. ʻAbd a-Sadaq, ʻAbd s-Sadaq b. Hmid b. ʻAbd s-Sadaq,[38] who set up residence in Jnada of the Aith Yittuft. When in 1875 he was needed by Mulay al-Hasan I to take over the governorship of Tangier, the Rif was divided up among a series of local *qa'ids*, who resided in different *qasbas*, such as Silwan (Iqar'ayen), and Jnada and Snada (both in the Aith Yittuft). It is, however, of no small significance that such *qasbas* were entirely absent in our six central tribes (including of course the Aith Waryaghar), which remained resolutely independent of all outside authority and interference.

Of Rifian relations with the central government during this period, Michaux-Bellaire has some very illuminating observations to make, here quoted in *extenso:*

> In spite of all this, it was very difficult to get taxes paid by these tribes which, being poor, were [generally] not worth the expenses of a punitive expedition. In order to succeed without effort and expense, the Makhzan would take advantage of the arrival in Fez [then the Moroccan capital] of one of the Rifian *qa'ids*, either for a feast or to lay the basis for a difference of opinion [between him and] another *qa'id*. Apart from this, the Makhzan also knew how to play the governors against each other, and how to create difficulties which would require their presence at court; and the Makhzan would then use their presence to establish the principle of its authority and to oblige them to pay the tribal taxes which would otherwise have been difficult to collect. When a Rifian *qa'id* arrived in Fez, he was immediately caught in the net of the Makhzan. The few gifts which he had bought, with the idea of getting them into the sultan's hands, and for which he had hoped to be received at court on his arrival, soon came to rest in the hands not of the *wazirs* (ministers), but in those of their numerous secretaries, whose appetites were generally unsatiated by such gifts. The poor *qa'id*, after having handed out everything he had brought with him, was shunted from one office to the next, looked at disrespectfully by the Bwakhar, Mshawriya and Msakhriya [different classes of government troops, the first mentioned having been the sultan's black guard] and lost among the Makhzaniya [special soldiers and orderlies who still function in present-day Morocco]. By this time he would willingly have mounted his horse and returned home, but more often than not he was put under surveillance and made a prisoner in Fez.
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> At this point up rose one of the innumerable

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[38] It is, as noted earlier, very common in Waryagharland and in the Rif in general for a boy to be named for his paternal grandfather. He is only named for his father should the latter die before his birth.

> secretaries of the Makhzan, generally one of the least important, whose duty it was 'to serve up the now ripe *qa'id* on a plate!' This under-under-secretary, insinuating and friendly, sympathized with the plight of the hopeless Rifian and offered him the means of extricating himself from his difficulty. But naturally, what was needed was money, much money, and in order to obtain it, the secretary led the *qa'id* to the house of a Jew who, as a primary measure, held accountable to the borrower those debts previously contracted by one or more other Rifian *qa'ids*, and increased through formidable rates of interest. These last, however, he had naturally discounted previously, in order to give the *qa'id* the necessary sum to complete the gifts to the secretaries, those to the ministers and finally, to acquire that of the sultan, which was generally the least important. Some days afterward, the *qa'id* got his audience and received as a gift a horse and a set of clothing, and when he was finished, he had nothing left at all. He would now take his leave, vowing to himself that they would never catch him again. Back in his tribe in the hills, he kept quiet about his misfortune while many tongues wagged about how he had been received—and the *qa'id* meanwhile hoped that one of his own guests would be the next to fall into the trap; the latter would surely pay a part of the earlier debt, and the qa'id would hold him responsible for the rest and make him contract new debts.
>
> Through this system the Rif contributed for many years some of its [neglibible] income to the sustenance of the Makhzan, at the same time as the global totals of debts, contracted in the possession of certain Jewish businessmen provided by the court, increased. It happened, however that little by little the *qa'ids* stopped coming and the debts were not paid. Then some of the creditors, thanks to the politics of the moment, found an easy way to obtain naturalization, while others found it just as easy to obtain French protection. From this comes the reclamation known by the name of the 'Jewish Credit Affair' which, for some ten years, was obligatory for French diplomats in Morocco. The latter doubtless believed to find in it a visible means of political action in Morocco by which the French government would make the Sultan responsible for the debts contracted by Rifian and other *qa'ids*, to these Jews, who had become French subjects. After multiple and laborious negotiations, Mulay al-Hasan I laid a foundation for the matter and liquidated the credits.[39]

This graphic description of the way loyalty was maintained through the intricate and round-robin network of the debt system is indeed ample evidence for the fact that the rift between the Rifians and the central government continued to widen throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, Rifians had other, external problems to occupy their minds; not the least of these was Spain, which had occupied Melilla as early as 1497 and now wanted to gain a foothold on the surrounding mainland, primarily to mine iron, which is found in abundant deposits in the Iqar'ayen. The Spanish wanted to build a fort within the *hurm* or sacrosanct area in the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Sidi Waryash, near Melilla. The local Iqar'ayen were actively against this intention to defile their most important saint, and when construction of the fort was completed in July 1893, they attacked it, killing General Margallo, the commanding general of Melilla. The Spanish government sent troops, and on the basis of a reclamation made against him by the Spanish representative in Tangier, Sultan Mulay al-Hasan I sent his brother in November of the same year to reestablish Makhzan authority in the disputed area. In 1894, General Martinez Campos went to Marrakesh, witnessed the Sultan's act of sovereignty over the Rif, and received in the name of Spain an indemnity of 20,000,000 francs and a concession to enlarge the boundaries of the Melilla territory.

We have now arrived at virtually the beginning of the present century and the next phase of Rifian history, which begins in 1898. Although the picture we have of Rifian history down to the end of the nineteenth century is sketchy and very incomplete, it seems fully consistent with the facts of ethnography. It gives us a glimpse of the tribally based society that has emerged through history as at once proud, rebellious, and quarrelsome—or so at least have Rifians always been judged by outsiders, and it is unfortunately from outsiders that this entire historical survey must necessarily be derived.

What is known of the historical record of the Rif, up to 1898, leads one to agree with an overall conclusion of Henri Terrasse: that except for two periods, the ninth to tenth and ~~fif~~ seven teenth to ~~six~~ eight teenth centuries, the participation of the Rif (and of the Jbala, Ghmara, and Sinhaja Srir) in the major events of Moroccan history as a whole was purely marginal. The Rif was a backwater area, and even during those two periods, while perhaps paying lip service to the central authority of the sultan, Rifian tribal leaders retained a great measure of political autonomy. But the Rif was never a really serious or lasting menace to the *blad l-makhzan* that bordered it on the south; its relative isolation only led to localized revolts[40]—and right up until 'Abd al-Krim's time, conflicts were invariably internalized in terms of inter- and intratribal vendettas (with the latter predominating). But the events of 1898, more than any previous ones, brought to Rifians the vague beginnings of a realization that they did belong to a wider world.

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[39] E. Michaux-Bellaire, op. cit., 1926, pp. 54–56. The translation of this quotation (from the Spanish translation by Cerdeira of Michaux-Bellaire's French original) is my own.

[40] Terrasse, op. cit., 1950, vol. II, pp. 455–56.

This chapter can fittingly be closed with an anecdote related by Mouliéras,[41] whose information all came from an Algerian informant who traveled through most of northern Morocco as a member of a religious brotherhood. At some point between 1872 and 1893, this man crossed the tribal border from the Ibuqquyen to the Aith Waryaghar. As soon as he did so, he was jumped upon by three armed Aith Waryaghar, who told him that they were looking for people from Ibuqquyen and ordered him to take off his clothes at once. When he hesitated, they swore in the name of Sidi Bu Khiyar (the greatest saint in Waryagharland) that if he did not do so immediately, they would kill him. So he obeyed, and they left him with nothing but his long Arab shirt, in which he painfully and embarrassedly made his way to Ajdir.

This anecdote is not cited to indicate the existence of banditry (which as such was negligible in Waryagharland), but rather to point up the hostility between the Aith Waryaghar and the Ibuqquyen, which was highly symptomatic of the period and which was to usher in the newer and wider political horizon.

The lesson of Rifian history is a clear one: the Rif has always been a barrier not only between the northern shores of the Mediterranean and Morocco, but between the southern part of Morocco itself and the Mediterranean. Rifians themselves, with the Aith Waryaghar in the vanguard, are extremely conscious of this fact, and they are indeed very proud of their uniqueness, which persists to the present day.

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[41] Mouliéras, op. cit., 1895, vol. I, p. 94.

14

14. WIDER POLITICS AND THE "RIPUBLIK" (1898–1921)

The year 1898 marks the sudden projection of the Central Rif upon the scene of international political history. Although in the course of this chapter we shall backtrack slightly, it is as well to begin with the historical events that produced this change: the piratical activities of the Ibuqquyen, neighbors of the Aith Waryaghar to the northwest, and the resulting punitive expedition of Bushta l-Baghdadi, which came up from Fez. The Ibuqquyen were the tribal group most directly concerned here, but the events in question had profound repercussions in Waryagharland.

THE PIRATES OF THE IBUQQUYEN AND THE BUSHTA L-BAGHDADI EXPEDITION (CA. 1890–1898)[1]

It was mentioned in Chapter 2 that because of their much more considerable coastline strips, both the Ibuqquyen and the Thimsaman are more active fishermen than the Aith Waryaghar—whose backs, in this sense, are turned on the sea. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, members of the Izimmuren clan in the Ibuqquyen had discovered that they could turn their capabilities as fishermen into a more lucrative channel: that of piracy. A number of piratical raids were made by the Ibuqquyen on passing European steamers—French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese—and by 1896-97 the Spanish in particular were suffering from these depredations.[2] The Spanish government therefore registered a strongly worded complaint with the then Sultan of Morocco, Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz, who sent no less than five successive orders to the Ibuqquyen to stop their raids, all too no avail. It became embarrasingly obvious that some kind of action had to be taken by the Makhzan, and finally, in March 1898, 'Abd al-'Aziz assembled a large *mhalla* (expeditionary force) near Fez and sent it into the Rif under the command of Mulay Bu Bkar, one of his cousins. Mulay Bu Bkar's right-hand man was l-Bashir bin Bushta l-Baghdadi, one of the most politically competent men in the Sultan's government, and he was not one given to compromise solutions.

The *mhalla* set up its base camp in the Thafarsith, whose notables put on a "powder-play" (see Chapter 6) in honor of its commanders. Contingents from other neighboring Rifian tribes began to swell the ranks of the *mhalla*, and the now much larger army went west into Waryagharland (with the agreement of the Aith Waryaghar) and camped close to the Ibuqquyen border. The next day the *mhalla* attacked the Ibuqquyen, but it was defeated and retreated to camp further east in Ajdir. Since it was obvious to them that they could not best the Ibuqquyen in open combat, the army commanders decided on a stratagem. They wrote a false letter to themselves in the name of the Sultan and pretended that it had just arrived by messenger from Fez. The letter stated:

> The news of what you have done has come to my attention, informing me of your plan to burn the people of Buqquya [Ibuqquyen] without my orders. I have sent you to work with diplomacy upon the tribe of the Buqquya until they submit, and you must use good and affable language with them. You must cease fighting with them, for this fight was started without my orders and without consulting me beforehand. I did not send you there to commit injustices, but to do good, while you, to the contrary, have used force and made war, sowing desolation and discord in the tribe. I do not accept such behavior; and as a result you will leave the place where you are now and will proceed to Tafarsit, where I shall make the decision about what is to be done. On this I shall inform you in due course.

After the two *mhalla* leaders wrote the letter (of which the Sultan, of course, knew nothing), they folded it up and called in the *'ummal* or "governors" (an official Arabic synonym for *imgharen*) and other notables of the Aith Waryaghar, to whom, after suitable introductions were made, they read the letter.

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[1] Much of the material in this section is derived from an excellent unpublished account in Jose Ojeda del Rincon, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin*, MS., 1954-55.

[2] The details of the attacks by the Ibuqquyen on the French and Spanish steamers *Prosper Corin* and *Sevilla* in October 1896, and of those on the Italian and Portuguese *Fiduccia* and *Rosita de Fato* in August 1897 may be found in Eduardo Maldonado (pseud. Et-Tabyi), *Retazos de Historia Marroqui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955, pp. 242-256.

The two chiefs of the *mhalla* then asked the Aith Waryaghar notables to go to the Ibuqquyen and inform them of the contents, which would surely please them, as they deemed it wise not to go to Thafarsith until a peaceful settlement had been arranged with them.

The Aith Waryaghar notables, unwitting pawns, went to the Ibuqquyen to give them this false news, which, of course, pleased them greatly. Five hundred Ibuqquyen came back with the Aith Waryaghar in order to discuss the matter with the *mhalla* leaders, who were informed of their number as they neared the camp. The two leaders (or just l-Baghdadi) gave instructions that only the tribal notables, who numbered approximately 150, should come in to talk to them. When all the notables were present, l-Baghdadi read them the letter, which made them very happy, while further honeyed words put them off their guard still more. Bushta l-Baghdadi and Mulay Bu Bkar now had the lower-ranking officers of the *mhalla* mingle with the Ibuqquyen while tea was served and Andalus Arab music was played, complete with violins. The Ibuqquyen were thus lulled, and soon their arms were sneaked away from them. At this point the music stopped, the tea drinking came to an abrupt halt, and the officers of the *mhalla* detained the Ibuqquyen notables at gun-point. At the same time, the soldiery of the *mhalla* attacked the other 350 Ibuqquyen who were on the outskirts of the camp. A few members of the irregular *mhalla* soldiery were killed, but most of the dead were from the Ibuqquyen, and a large number were also taken captive. The rest fled, and the *mhalla* pursued them into their own tribal territory and laid waste to the local communities of Izimmuren and Thafinsa that same day. The combat continued throughout the following day, and a great number of men, women, and children of the Ibuqquyen were killed. Many others fled the tribe as *idhriben* and went as far as the Gharb in the west and Algeria in the east, while the *mhalla* stole their grain reserves, animals, and household provisions. Those who had fled were dispersed over a wide area, while the *mhalla*, in the name of the Makhzan, established itself in the Izimmuren; they remained there until early in 1899.

The effect of this operation upon the Ibuqquyen was catastrophic. The major part of the guilt for the intensified acts of piracy over the two preceding years lay on the heads of the clansmen of the Izimmuren; but Bushta l-Baghdadi, whose subterfuge this had been and who in later years was to become a very pro-French pasha of Fez,[3] punished all the Ibuqquyen collectively and impartially. Before taking 400 prisoners to Fez and Marrakesh, he first summarily executed four of the principal tribal *imgharen*, had a great number of houses burned, and finally exacted a fine of 20,000 duros hasani (=100,000 pesetas) in money and in kind. Only in 1899 did his *mhalla* go back to Thafarsith, where it remained until 1904.

By 1899, when the Ibuqquyen were given an official pardon by the Sultan, their relations both with the Aith Yittuft, to the west, and with the Aith Waryaghar, to the east, had soured. The former were accused of having used l-Baghdadi's order to their own advantage, and war broke out between the Ibuqquyen and the Aith Yittuft. At the same time, the old *liff* alliance that had previously existed between the Ibuqquyen on the one hand and the Waryaghar clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Hadhifa on the other died a natural death, for the Ibuqquyen now accused the Aith Hadhifa and, even more, the Aith Yusif w-'Ari of having set them up as "sitting ducks" for the massacre that l-Baghdadi had perpetrated. In this case, the accusation was almost certainly unjust, for it seems highly probable that the Aith Waryaghar were not l-Baghdadi's accomplices in this affair; but the accusation was equally certainly responsible for the scorn that the Aith Waryaghar heap upon the Ibuqquyen to this day and for a marked hardening of the feelings between them. The Ibuqquyen had, through their piracy, thrown the Central Rif open to the wider Moroccan, and indeed, to the international, world; but in this new era of wider politics it was to be the Aith Waryaghar who would call the tune for the Central Rif.

THE "RIPUBLIK" IN WARYAGHARLAND AND ITS SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS (INTERNAL)

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Prior to the events related above, Sultan Mawlay (colloquially, Mulay) al-Hasan I (reigned 1873-1894) had nominated as *qa'id quyad*, or top *qaid*, of all the Aith Waryaghar a man named Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa n-Sa'id, from the Aith Sa'id lineage in the lowland community of Aith Musa w-'Amar in the clan of the Aith 'Ari. This nomination by royal decree (*dahir*), like others to follow, was merely a confirmation of preexisting authority: the Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa headed his own Aith 'Ari and presumably also their discontinuous subclan "brethren" of the Timarzga. He was a man to be reckoned with in the plain of al-Husaima, where, as will be recalled, he built the very first house, in 1889-1890, on what had previously been purely agricultural land fed by a complex network of irrigation ditches. He was even said to have maintained his own *mkhazniya*, comprised entirely of his own lineage-mates (for his was and is a large and powerful lineage) and of fellow clansmen.

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[3] An integral supporter of French Protectorate policy in Morocco, a policy most advantageous to him personally, Bushta l-Baghdadi came to a brutal and inglorious end: he was torn to pieces by a mob in Rabat just after independence in 1956 (Verbal communication from Edmund Burke, III, 1969).

But given the overriding factor of Waryaghar egalitarianism, the authority of the Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa was precarious. He was at best only *primus inter pares*, and in this instance the *pares* were, of course, the top *imgharen* who functioned as very informal clan heads and as even more informal heads of "fifths." They included:

1. Si Ziyyan r-Khattabi of Ajdir, who headed the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and, in a presumably more indirect manner, their discontinuous subclan "brethren" of the Aith Turirth;
2. 'Amar n-Muhand of Ibunharen, who headed the Aith 'Abdallah;
3. Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda, who headed the Aith 'Adhiya and the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash;
4. Hajj 'Ari n-Si 'Amar of Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id, who headed his own Aith Hadhifa and their discontinuous "brethren" of the Aith 'Arus; and finally
5. Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq of the Iziqqiwen lineage (the Dharwa n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa of Aith Hishim), who headed the Imrabdhen.

These men, and all of their constituents, could, with no difficulty, engage in all the bloodfeuds they wished, and the Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa was either virtually powerless to interfere, or else—and what is more than likely—he himself took an active part.

A number of elderly informants stated that prior to this time all the Aith Waryaghar had been living peacefully together in a state of mutual respect and harmony. This assertion can be taken as a classic example of wish fulfillment. At any rate, the above *imgharen*, at some point in one of their conclaves, came to the agreement that no Waryaghar woman would be allowed to attend the Sunday women's market across the Nkur River in the Thimsaman. This incident has already been touched upon in Chapter 9 but because the result was so symptomatic of the period, it is worth recapitulating here. The Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa was furious when two women disregarded his orders and went there; he ranted that even if it was a women's market that they attended, the mere fact of their having entered the territory of another tribe was *hashuma*, a great shame, and each woman was to pay one duro (5 pesetas) as a fine. At this point Si Ziyyan r-Khattabi of Ajdir, who had probably been looking for an excuse to annoy the Hajj Haddu anyhow, told the latter that the women in question were from his community of Ajdir, that he assumed responsibility for their action, that in his opinion they had committed no crime in going to the market, and that he had no intention whatsoever of paying any fine. In this he was backed up by Sidi Misa'ud n-Siddiq of the Imrabdhen, with whom the Aith Yusif w-'Ari had long been allied. (Si Ziyyan was later murdered along the Wargha River on his way back to the Rif from Fez.)

The above incident touched off the famous seven years' war between the two upper-level *liffs* within Waryagharland. Neither faction lost any time in gathering up its allies. The Imrabdhen were already with the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and the two were soon joined by the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, or the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b). The Aith 'Adhiya, the other "half" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, whose members had long been inimical to their "brethren" who bore the name of the "fifth," went over to the Aith 'Ari, as did the Aith 'Abdallah. In the mountains, the people of the Aith Turirth, the discontinuous subclan "brethren" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, were purportedly already engaged in a bitter struggle with their neighbors of the Timarzga, the discontinuous subclan "brethren" of the Aith 'Ari. With the entrance of the Aith 'Adhiya into the fray, the balance of power went over to the Aith 'Ari *liff*, and so the Aith Yusif w-'Ari solicited aid from the Aith Hadhifa and the Aith 'Arus, presumably through the ritual technique of *'ar*, by sacrificing bulls on the doorsteps of their respective mosques. All the Aith Waryaghar were now embroiled in the conflict, but things did not stop there.

The leading lights in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari *liff* directed their allies of the Aith Hadhifa to seek help from the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth. With their offer of 3000 duros (15,000 pesetas) to help persuade the Aith 'Ammarth, the Aith Yusif w-'Ari *liff* welded that tribe together—for the Aith 'Ammarth, too, had been split into two opposed upper-level *liffs:* the clans of the Yin Sa'id Ikhrif and the Aith r-Hasain, helped by the tribe of the Marnisa, versus those of the Ija'unen and the Aith 'Abbu, helped by the tribe of the Igzinnayen. As more and neighboring concentric circles started to interlock, the Aith Yusif w-'Ari *liff* became more powerful; in order to counterbalance this power, the Aith 'Ari sought and secured aid from the Ibuqquyen (who had good reason to hate the Aith Yusif w-'Ari because of the assistance—whether willing or not—that the latter had given Bushta l-Baghdadi in devastating their territory), the Truguth clan of the Thimsaman, and the Axt 'Akki clan of the Axt Tuzin. The mountain Axt Tuzin of the Axt Tsaft clan, inimical to the Axt 'Akki, entered into a more or less passive alliance with their neighbors of the Aith Turirth in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari faction.

So the conflict raged on, particularly in the mountains: the Timarzga, cut off from all their allies save a part of the Aith 'Abdallah, who had their own hands full fighting the Aith Hadhifa and the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, were besieged by a coalition of hostile neighbor clans (Aith Turirth, Aith 'Arus, Aith Bu Khrif of the "true"

Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Hadhifa, and the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth). The Igzinnayen did not enter the conflict, for even they were rent by an internal struggle of their own: the clans of the Asht 'Asim, Asht Yunis, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, and Asht Mhand composed the *liff* of the Asht Bu 'Amar, while those of the Imzdurar and Asht r-Udha composed that of the Asht r-Manth. A drastic shift was to occur later on in the Igzinnayen *liffs* when another conflict broke out between the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in the Asht 'Asim and Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru in the Asht Yunis, in which only his own Asht 'Asim and the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, plus the Timarzga in Waryagharland who had affinal links to him, were to remain loyal to Biqqish; all the rest went over to Si Hmid Ubarshan. But this is incidental, and all that can be said is that here we have reached the outer edges of the concentric circles engendered by the *liff* system. If the Igzinnayen had entered into the Aith Waryaghar conflict, they would probably have done so on the side of the Aith 'Ari, because of their marital links with the Timarzga; but this must remain purely speculative, for they did not in fact join in.

The upshot of all this, according to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, was that after seven years their own coalition finally won, and its *imgharen* were able to enjoy the fruits of victory by imposing heavy fines upon their enemies and by indulging liberally in the time-honored practice of houseburning if the fines could not be paid. The members of the Aith 'Ari coalition, on the other hand, say that they were winning, but that the war was brought to a close owing to the intervention of a Sultan's *mhalla* under Si l-Hajj l-'Arbi, which had been sent by Mulay al-Hasan I in the closing years of his reign. This, however, may be merely a rationalization of their defeat.

What has been described is a translation into action of the schematic representation of the interlocking concentric circles formed by the *liff* system of each Central Rifian tribe. Aside from exemplifying guerrilla aspects of the fighting at the tactical level, it drives home the dominant themes of the whole period of time known as the *Ripublik*, which lasted, informants say, from Bushta l-Baghdadi in 1898 until 'Abd al-Krim in 1921, although in fact it subsumes the major portion of all Rifian history up to the latter date. The dominant themes of the *Ripublik* were: the high degree of clan-level or "fifth"-level autonomy; the existence of *liffs* at all levels of segmentation, as well as the general (although not universal) lack of complete correspondence between *liff* systems and segmentary systems; the fact that each tribe in effect constituted its own *liff* system; the fact that *liffs* of the "permanent" type at even the uppermost levels of segmentation were essentially inwardly-directed and of generally unequal strength, and hence the invalidity of an "equilibrium theory"; the fact that, barring the case of the Aith 'Ammarth (who appear to have been brought over to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari *liff* only through the exertion of *'ar* and/or through the payment of a handsome sum of money), no single tribe had ever in its history, we assume, been able to assemble all of its component top-level segments sufficiently to "gang-up" and act corporately against another tribe; and finally, the collective political power of the *imgharen*, reinforced through *haqq* payments and through houseburning.

This last point about the collective power of the *imgharen* is of great importance, for individually these men were ciphers. Their names are remembered by old informants, but very little else about them is recalled, and as they tended, often literally, to cancel each other out, we are again reminded of Blanco's dictum that in a society where everyone is a personality, a collective body politic—in this case, the *aitharbi'in*—is the only possible solution.

We now return to Bushta l-Baghdadi, who installed, by *dahir* in the name of Mulay al-Hasan's son and successor Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz (reigned 1894-1908), the following four *imgharen* (or, in the Arabic of the decree itself, *'ummal*) as chiefs of their respective "fifths" in Waryagharland:

1. Si Bukar (properly Bu Bkar) nj-Hajj Ushshan, of the Ushshannen (lit. "jackals") lineage[4] of Ajdir in the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, nominated as head of the whole "fifth" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith Turirth and the Aith 'Ari/Timarzga.
2. 'Amar n-Tahir n-'Ayyad, of the Iharraqen lineage in Thariwin in the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, nominated as head of the Aith 'Abdallah "fifth."
3. 'Amar n-Haddu n-Bu Qabut of the Yinn Bu Qabut lineage[5] of Bu Sa'ida in the subclan of the Aith 'Arus, nominated as head of not only one but two whole "fifths": that of the Aith Hadhifa/Aith 'Arus/I'akkiyen, and that of the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash/Aith 'Adhiya;
4. Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar n-Sidi Muhammad n-Sidi 'Abdssram of the Iziqqiwen or Dharwa n-Sidi Mhand u-Musa lineage of Aith Hishim in the clan of the Imrabdhen, nominated as head of the Imrabdhen "fifth."

We may see by comparing this list with the previous list of top *imgharen* that although the personnel had changed entirely (either through the death or decline in power of the previous incumbents), Ajdir still remained in the ascendancy for the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and the Iziqqiwen lineage, the descendants of Sidi Mhand u-Musa, still retained their hold over the Imrabdhen.

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[4] The nickname "jackal" denotes the craftiness and cunning of the lineage ancestor.

[5] The lineage of Yinn Bu Qabut is so-called, in all probability, because 'Amar n-Bu Qabut's grandfather, the presumed lineage ancestor and apex, carried a walking-stick.

According to one account,[6] these top-level *'ummal* and their chief assistants from among the constituents of their "fifths" met once a month under the aegis and tutelage of l-Baghdadi, "who showed them the way in which they had to govern and instructed them in matters of mosques and religion." All these tribal authorities, the account continues, accepted in good faith the superior authority of the Sultan and the Makhzan now personified in the Rif by Bushta l-Baghdadi, "whose suggestions and recommendations were admitted to be very useful for good government."

The same account goes on to say that in one such meeting, l-Baghdadi took out a letter which he had received from the Sultan regarding the deplorably bad behavior of the Ibuqquyen, who had engaged in numerous robberies and acts of piracy on the Mediterranean. The letter stated that some of these same acts had been committed against Spanish steamships, and that on more than five occasions he, the Sultan, had requested them to desist but that they had not followed his admonitions or advice. Now a suitable punishment, the letter continued, was called for, and Bushta l-Baghdadi was to be instrumental in carrying it out.

All those present recognized the facts, after l-Baghdadi had read the missive. They declared themselves agreed and stated, furthermore, that they should collaborate with l-Baghdadi in giving the Ibuqquyen the punishment they deserved. At this point, the narrative continues, Bushta l-Baghdadi gave orders to his *mhalla* to march on the Ibuqquyen to the west, with the support of the assembled Aith Waryaghar, in order to carry out the operation. It is succinctly added that when this had been done successfully, l-Baghdadi retired with his forces. "The governmental organization [i.e., in Waryagharland] remained as it was and as Bushta l-Baghdadi had constituted it until other disturbances occurred in the Gharb between the Sultan and the Pretender Bu Hmara."

This account clearly implies that the Aith Waryaghar, far from being in ignorance of what Bushta l-Baghdadi had in store for the Ibuqquyen in 1898, aided and abetted him all the way through the operation. The issue of Bu Hmara the Pretender and his smashing defeat at Aith Waryaghar hands will be left until later in this chapter. It need only be said here that once again the two upper-level *liffs* were reactivated after l-Baghdadi's departure from the Central Rif in 1899, and their composition was as recounted above: "many people of both sides died, houses were destroyed and animals belonging to the conquered were appropriated by the victors 'according to the circumstances.' " The account goes on to state that the Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen, of ar-Rabda, re-emerged, along with Sillam n-Sarh, as leaders of the Aith 'Adhiya; and, more significantly, it is stated baldly that "in this new form of government, the title of *'amil* [sing. of *'ummal*] or governor disappeared, and that of *amghar*, with the organization of the *aitharbi'in*, was substituted for it."

We are now fully in the presence of the *Ripublik* in Waryagharland, the social structure and political institutions of which have been discussed earlier at length. Here they are merely given their historical framework. The point is that in reality, apart from the interlude of Bu Hmara, the period between 1898 and 1921 was different only in minor ways from the long and imperfectly known history of the Rif that had preceded it. What differences there were existed not in the Rif itself, but in the attitude of the government in Fez toward it. The 'Alawite Sultans had come to the full realization that here was a region over which their control was at best highly precarious, and that even to maintain the status quo they had to handle the Rifians with kid gloves. They well knew that any rash act on their part could easily turn the Aith Waryaghar (their allies in Bushta l-Baghdadi's campaign) against them, that the Aith Waryaghar were potentially very dangerous enemies, and that it was best to let sleeping dogs lie.

The sleeping dogs in question had had a field day with their inwardly-directed feuding between the two upper-level *liffs*, and had found many opportunities to increase their own martial prestige locally and to pay off old grudges at the same time. But Bushta l-Baghdadi's campaign made them more mindful of the pressure of external events, and it is to the first glimmerings of these that we now turn.

THE "RIPUBLIK" IN WARYAGHARLAND AND ITS SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS (EXTERNAL)

Mention has been made of the guard of a hundred *mujahidin* or *imjahadhen*, "fighters for the faith," that the Aith Waryaghar kept permanently mounted at the Burj al-Mujahidin at Ajdir. From there they kept watch over the Isle of al-Husaima (the Thagzirth, or "Rock of the Nkwi") to see to it that the Spanish, entrenched there since 1673, were not about to make any moves toward securing a beachhead in Ajdir or at Sfiha. Mouliéras states that men came from all over the Rif (or at least from all over Waryagharland) in order to do voluntary guard duty there, keeping vigil against the Spaniards on al-Husaima Island: each contingent lasted two weeks and was then replaced by another. The guard, as noted, consisted of one hundred armed men from each Waryaghar clan in rotation, and each man was permitted to bring his family and provisions with him. The Burj al-Mujahidin, the Fortress of the Martyrs, is today a crumbling ruin, the plan of which is only barely traceable; but Mouliéras, from whom the bulk of the information is taken (it is seemingly one of the few trustworthy passages of his account, which is all based on second-hand information), supports the contention of Aith Waryaghar themselves in saying that many were the Waryaghar *imjahadhen* who died as martyrs there, defending their thin strip of beautiful alluvial beach against the Christian Spaniard on the Isle of al-Husaima.[7] Whether or not the beach was considered thrice-holy through being washed with the blood of so many *imjahadhen*, and whether or not the members of the relief guard sacrificed animals at the tombs then on the beach (Mouliéras names those of several warrior-saints) when they came on duty, we do not know; however, it is abundantly clear that in this case, at least, the backs of the Aith Waryaghar were most emphatically not turned toward the sea—despite the havoc and turmoil of internal blood feuding between *liffs* at whatever level. The threat of the Christians was present, and eminently visible, less than a kilometer offshore.

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[6] J. R. Erola, *Datos Históricos Sobre la Organización en la Región Bereber*, unpublished MS., n.d., but ca. 1952.

In its heyday, the Burj al-Mujahidin was a large barracks-like adobe building with many rooms and an adjoining mosque; the whole complex was protected by sand dunes that hid it from the eyes of the Spaniards on the island.[8] A number of old cannons were mounted in the barracks, and the guard of *imjahadhen* were reputedly crack rifle shots; the opposing cannonades from the island merely thudded into the protecting sand dunes.

However, the Isle of al-Husaima was, to Spanish forces stationed there, tantamount to a military prison. During the *Ripublik* Rifians could go to buy articles on the island, but only unarmed, and they could not sell anything. Contrariwise, only Spanish deserters or convicts were received on the mainland; they were those who preferred abjuring Christianity to living the hateful life on the island. These men, once ashore, became acculturated Rifians surprisingly quickly, and were at once supplied with clothing, land, and even wives. They were thus, to all intents and purposes, completely accepted and integrated into the new social milieu, once they had professed their willingness to become Muslims by repeating the *shahada*. Language, certainly, was a barrier, often even a grave one (as Spaniards tend to be markedly monolingual), but it was evidently not insurmountable for those who genuinely wished to make the cultural transfer—and in any case, they had no other option.

However, the contact of the Aith Waryaghar with European and Christian powers at this time was not, if we can believe Mouliéras once again,[9] entirely limited to the Spaniards on the Isle of al-Husaima. The name of the great Waryaghar saint Sidi Bu Khiyar, buried in the Jbil Hmam, filtered through to powerful French economic combines, particularly in connection with the long-standing, although totally false, Aith Waryaghar claim of a gold mine at the southern base of the Adhrar n-Sidi Bu Khiyar. Mouliéras observes that the "mine" in question was nearly the cause of a "diplomatic incident" between France and Morocco—although he does not state, as J.-L. Miège has recently and most conclusively shown, that the French preparation for their colonization of Morocco began long before 1912 and the official establishment of their protectorate.[10] Nonetheless, the incident is of interest and not without its amusing sides, and I herewith paraphrase Mouliéras's account of it.

In 1883 (the date is provided not by Mouliéras but by Maldonado[11]), the *qadi* of Targist, Sidi Hmid Akhamlish, a *sharif* from the Aith Siddat, and his accomplice, a dhu-Waryaghar named 'Ari n-Yihya (whom Mouliéras labels as the "*Qaid* of the Aith w-Udhrar," i.e., "of the people of the mountains"; what was obviously meant was that the man was an *amghar* in one of the Jbil Hmam subclans), pretended that they were acting in the name of all the Aith Waryaghar and drew up a bill of sale, according to which the supposed gold mine would be turned over to a French company. To Count Maurice de Chavaigmac, head of the company, the two men had already sent the most beautiful samples of gold they could find. The company, believing the matter to be open and aboveboard, handed over the heavy down payment required; some days later, a boat flying a French flag appeared in the Bay of al-Husaima, with engineers, workmen, and the necessary mining equipment on board.

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[7] A. Moulieras, op. cit., Vol. I, 1895, pp. 97–99.

[8] A fairly good photograph of the Burj al-Mujahidin and its position *vis-à-vis* the Isle of al-Husaima, dating from the late 1920's, is reproduced in Enrique Arques, *Las Adelantadas de España: Las Plazas Españolas del Litoral Africano del Mediterraneo*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1966, between pp. 128–129.

[9] op. cit., Vol. I, 1895, pp. 99–100.

[10] Jean-Louis Miège, *Le Maroc et l' Europe, 1830–1894*, 5 Vols., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1961–1963, for Vols. 1–4, and Paris and Aix-en-Provence: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969, for Vol. 5 (*Documentation et Pièces Justificatives*). The first volume of this study consists of an invaluable bibliography, much of it archival in character.

[11] Eduardo Maldonado Vázquez, *El Rogui*, Ceuta: Imprenta Olimpia, n.d., but ca. 1952, pp. 413–414.

Rowboats filled with workmen were let down to be sent ashore. The Aith Waryaghar, having no idea what this new invasion meant, energetically opposed the French disembarkation. The Thimsaman and the Buqquyen, warned of the danger, also sent contingents. In less than 24 hours possibly as many as 10,000 armed Rifians[12] covered the whole of the coastline of the Bay. Their attitude became so threatening that the French judged it prudent to retreat for *la patrie* without delay. The French company, thus duped, complained to the Sultan (Mulay al-Hasan I), who, as Mouliéras puts it, "with the habitual duplicity of Arabs," disentangled himself adroitly from the affair by saying that it was obviously a simple swindle committed by two Moroccan subjects who had neither the authority nor the credentials to act in the name of the Moroccan government, the sole owner of Morocco's mineral riches. He finally promised to punish the culprits very severely, and to indemnify the French company for its expenses.

In the meantime, the Aith Waryaghar, having now been brought into the picture and furious at having been sold out by the *amghar* 'Ari n-Yihya, went en masse to the latter's house, ransacked it, and burned it to the ground. They pursued the *amghar*, who, getting wind of bad trouble ahead, had just managed to escape to the tribal territory of the Axt Tuzin and to take refuge with them. The latter, following the laws of hospitality and asylum, refused to turn the guilty man over to his fellow tribesmen, who, says Mouliéras, "wanted to tear him into small pieces and drink his blood" for having nearly brought the Christians into their territory. The other man, the *qadi* of Targist, got off scot-free, thanks to the fact that his tribe was further away. Not knowing how to use the French gold so ingeniously acquired, he took on a private secretary, and lived luxuriously.

The result of the whole matter was to reveal to the Sultan the existence of a gold mine in Waryagharland, and the myth of this nonexistent treasure began to snowball. Under the guise of preventing the Christians from taking the mine over, he is reported to have established a small garrison of Makhzan soldiery at a point where the extraction of the metal was supposed to be easy, and where a lookout could also be placed. Mouliéras concludes, erroneously though justifiably, that "thus the local tribesmen, who could otherwise have had a small traffic in precious metals, do not, today [about 1890], even have that outlet. . . ."

It is also worth recording Mouliéras's characterization of the Aith Waryaghar:[13] "Violent, completely anarchical, intransigent and puritanical, they like nobody but their own people, for they hate Arabs and have a horror of Jews. There are very few young men who are unwounded, and shame attaches to any warrior who has not killed five or six men. The bloodfeud is constantly pursued, 'fraction' to 'fraction,' 'village' to 'village,' and house to house. Men must therefore renounce commercial transactions, agriculture, etc., and leave these to the women." (This last is, of course, completely false.) "To die is nothing, and human life is of no account. They are very jealous of their women, who are exceedingly good-looking."

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Mouliéras is often hopelessly wrong in detail, but the overall flavor of his account rings true. The Aith Waryaghar of the period of the *Ripublik* were nothing if not fighters, as the Pretender Bu Hmara was now to learn to his cost.

THE INTERLUDE OF BU HMARA[14]

It will be appreciated that little of what has been described above affected the course of Aith Waryaghar life very deeply. The first external event, possibly in their whole history, to have really profound repercussions in Waryagharland was the arrival in the Eastern Rif of that famous pretender to the Moroccan Sultanate, the *Rogi* ("Pretender"; the name is derived from an earlier pretender of the Riyaga tribe) Bu Hmara, in 1907. Bu Hmara, thus nicknamed because he rode a she-ass (and referred to by Rifians as *Bu Tghyutsh* for the same reason), was in reality an Arab from the Zarhun (Mulay Idris), near Meknes, and his name was Jilali bin Muhammad l-Yusfi z-Zarhuni. He claimed to be Mulay Mhammad, the Sultan's brother, and was determined to put in his bid for the throne by force.

In 1902, Bu Hmara was proclaimed Sultan in Taza, after rallying most of the Arab tribes of that region

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[12] Mouliéras, op. cit., Vol. I, 1895, pp. 99–100, gives the figure as 60,000, but his population estimates are always grossly exaggerated: he considered the total population of the Aith Waryaghar, for example, to be possibly as high as 200,000 (p. 101), over twice what it is even today.

[13] Mouliéras, op. cit., Vol. I, 1895, pp. 95–96.

[14] Much of the material of this section has been taken verbatim from David M. Hart and José R. Erola, "The Arabization of a Berber Political System: A Study in the Recent History of the Central Rif," unpublished MS., 1956.

(notably the Ghiyyata) to his standard, and he inflicted a number of crushing defeats on the imperial forces. Supported by the French, he became ruler of the river valleys of the Sbu, the Innawen, the Wargha, and the Lower Mulwiya, and took possession of the *qasbas* of Mistigmar, l-'Ayun Sidi Milluk, Silwan (in the Aith Bu Ifrur tribe of the Iqar'ayen confederacy, in the flatlands due south of Melilla, in the Eastern Rif), and Snada (in the Arabic-speaking part of the Aith Yittuft, in the Western Rif). If he did not enter Fez and proclaim himself properly, it was in all likelihood not only because the terrain was unfamiliar to his supporters, but also because he himself was afraid of being unmasked for what he was.[15] (Also, the French probably did not want him to do so: they had already long since started to jockey for position in Morocco, as had both the British, whose support went to Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz, and the Germans, who threw theirs to his brother Mulay 'Abd al-Hafid. On this particular issue, Spain remained neutral, for at this time Spanish interests were directed mainly toward securing iron-mining concessions at Wiksan, near their sovereign port of Melilla.)

The camp that Bu Hmara established at Qasba Silwan became his permanent base of operations in the Eastern Rif, and from it his *mhallas* went out on repeated punitive expeditions in order to subjugate the eastern tribes. An abortive rebellion on the part of l-Bashir bin Sinnaj, an ex-Sharifian Army officer who commanded some of the Rogi's troops at Farkhana in the Iqar'ayen, was crushed in April 1903, and the confederacy of the Iqar'ayen remained firmly under Bu Hmara's domination. Meanwhile, the Sultan's army recaptured some of the territory, including Oujda, which had fallen to Bu Hmara south of the Rif. The pretender fell back on Silwan once again, and decided to extend his sphere of influence west into the Central Rif. He sent emissaries to the central tribes, and as a result of information gained on each tribe, he nominated an *amghar* for each of its top-level segments. In Waryagharland, he had a *qaid*—to use the Arabic nomenclature—placed at the head of each "fifth" (although presumably he did not know how shortly his appointments were to backfire), as follows:

1. Si Muh n-'Ari, nicknamed *Mush*, "The Cat," of Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, nominated for the "fifth" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari/Aith Turirth and the Aith 'Ari/Timarzga.
2. 'Amar n-Tahir n-'Ayyad, nominated for the "fifth" of the Aith 'Abdallah (renewal of appointment by Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz and effected by Bushta l-Baghdadi).
3. Mhand n-Haddu of Izakiren in the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, or the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (b), nominated for the "fifth" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash/Aith 'Adhiya.
4. 'Amar n-Mhand A'akki, of I'akkiyen, nominated for the "fifth" of the Aith Hadhifa/Aith 'Arus/I'akkiyen; and finally
5. Muh n-'Amar n-Muh n-'Abdssram of Zawith n-Didi 'Abd r-Qadar, nominated for the "fifth" of the Imrabdhen.

It will be noted that, with the exception of 'Amar n-Tahir 'Ayyad of the Aith 'Abdallah, all of these men were new *imgharen* and all were from lineages that had not theretofore been nominated to positions of top command. It is evident, however, that this was more a reflection of egalitarianism within the Aith Waryaghar than of any particular whim of the Pretender.

The same thing happened in the other Central Rifian tribes. Maldonado[16] states that in the Aith 'Ammarth, for example, the Rogi appointed Muhand w-'Allush of Aith Hmid as *qaid*, in the clan of the Aith 'Abbu in August 1906, and that this appointment was contested by the opposite *liff* of the two clans of the Aith r-Hasain and the Yinn Sa'id Ikhrif, whose members wanted one of their own men, Sidi 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand of Aghir Hmid in the latter clan, to be appointed. In this case, according to Maldonado, the Rogi made the kind of compromise that 'Abd al-Krim was to make on several occasions after him: Muhand w-'Allush, "a warrior of great prestige and an excellent rifle-shot," was given the command of the *liff* of the clans of the Aith 'Abbu and the Ija'unen, while Sidi 'Abdssram, "a serious and prudent *talib*," was placed in charge of the faction of the Aith r-Hasain and the Yinn Sa'id Ikhrif. My own data, however, show no mention of either of these men; instead, I register, as does Montagne,[17] that Muhammad n-'Abdallah, of Isiqqimen in the Aith r-Hasain clan, was the top *amghar* of the tribe, and that under him were the following:

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[15] A. Maitrot de la Motte Capron, "Le Roghi," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger*, 1929, pp. 514–576 (especially p. 570); cf. also José Cabello Alcaraz, *Historia de Marruecos*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1953, p. 258.

[16] Eduardo Maldonado Vázquez, *El Rogui*, Ceuta: Imprenta Olimpio, n.d., but ca. 1952, p. 266. This work is very complete and is of great value regarding the vicissitudes of Bu Hmara in the Rif, and my own account of the military operations involved leans very heavily upon it.

[17] Montagne, op. cit., 1930, p. 295.

1. Muh nj-Hajj ‘Ari, of Aith Finathen, heading the clan of the Aith r-Hasain.
2. Hajj Mhand n-Tiyyib of Buhuth, heading the clan of the Yinn Sa‘id Ikhrif (he later became *qaid* of the whole tribe under ‘Abd al-Krim).
3. Muhammad Kaina of I‘ashban, heading the clan of the Ija‘unen; and finally
4. ‘Ayyad n-‘Amar Tabuhut, of Aith Hmid, heading the clan of the Aith ‘Abbu.

Whether Maldonado is correct here, or whether I am, I do not know, as I did not have access to his work while in ‘Ammarthland in 1954, and was thus unable to check this point; however, I feel sure that if the two *imgharen* he mentioned had been prominent ones, the then *qaid* of the Aith ‘Ammarth (‘Amar n-Hammadi Usbuh of the Aith r-Hasain, now deceased) would have told me about them.

In the Igzinnayen, Bu Hmara appointed the following men:

1. Buhut r-‘Asimi, of Buridh, in charge of the Asht ‘Asim clan;
2. Si Muhammad n-Si Hmid, of Thara Tazzugwakhth, in charge of the Imzdurar clan;
3. Si Hmid Ubarshan, of Azru, in charge of the Asht Yunis clan;
4. ‘Allal n-Dahhu, in charge of the Asht Mhand clan; and finally
5. Midbuh (who later, under the French, finally became *qaid* of the whole tribe), in charge of the Asht r-Udha clan.

In the Axt Tuzin, a succession of *qaids* appeared for the nomination in the various clans, but as most of them fell victims to bloodfeuds,[18] there is little need to mention their names here. Indeed, I have introduced some of the names of the newly appointed *imgharen* (or "*qaids*") in the Aith ‘Ammarth and in the Igzinnayen only to stress the now slightly wider orbit of Aith Waryaghar politics, as well as to indicate that the essential fragility of these "appointees" in neighboring tribes was as much a function of the internal structural relationships of these tribes as of their political relations with their neighbors.

It became evident that the rule exercised by these various men over the "fifths" and clans that they claimed to represent was more nominal than effective. Therefore, in order to increase their authority, Bu Hmara gave each one of them a guard of ten to twenty *mkhazniya* (troops in the service of the Makhzan, the "Makhzan" in this case being that of the Rogi). Ironically enough, however, these same *mkhazniya* were the initial cause of the rupture between Bu Hmara and the Aith Waryaghar. A number of these soldiers assembled at the Monday market of the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, and began shooting off their guns, an act that was detrimental to the smooth and peaceful functioning of the market. The Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, at first alarmed, soon reacted violently against the *mkhazniya*, succeeded in disarming them, and then beat them up and sent them fleeing across the Nkur River into Thimsamanland. The incident was considered closed by the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, but a few days later a messenger from the Rogi appeared with a letter for Mhand n-Haddu, the *qaid* of the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, saying that his "fifth" was to be fined 5,000 duros (25,000 pesetas), as punishment for their treatment of the soldiers. The Aith Bu ‘Ayyash let the other "fifths" know about this, and—in paying as in receiving—they all agreed to split the fine, a heavy *haqq* indeed, five ways. In Durkheimian terms, this was the very first sign of an organic (rather than a merely mechanical) solidarity among the Aith Waryaghar, and when Bu Hmara heard about it, he became alarmed. He wrote another letter, designating a date of payment and stipulating that the 5,000 duros had to be brought to Silwan by ten individuals stipulated by him. He would then be disposed, he said, to return the fine if these men could give him an adequate explanation of what had happened.

Since those designated in the letter to take the fine to Silwan were all prominent men in the tribe, the Aith Waryaghar suspected treachery. The suspicion arose in their minds that Bu Hmara would imprison these men immediately, and so they sent ten other individuals of no consequence whatsoever. The latter handed the fine over to Bu Hmara in the *qasba*, after which they were conducted to a tent in the encampment which they were told they would occupy during their stay there. This aroused their suspicions, and, in order to ascertain Bu Hmara's real intentions, they gathered up some water jugs at the hour of the sunset prayer and started off toward the river in order to get water to perform their ablutions. They were intercepted by a sentry who made them return to the tent. In the middle of the night, they raised the pickets of their tent and escaped from the encampment. They immediately made their way home to Waryagharland again, and at the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu ‘Afif in the plain they told the council members, assembled in *agraw*, what had happened.

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[18] This point is stressed both by José Ojeda del Rincón, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin*, unpublished MS., op. cit., 1954, and by Lt. Col. Luis Jiménez Benhamú, in a valuable essay on "Bu Hmara," *Conferencias Desarolladas en la Academia de Interventores Durante El Curso de 1948*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1949, pp. 157-215.

A full-scale tribal *agraw* was immediately called for the following Sunday at Thisar. There all the *imgharen* of the Aith Waryaghar agreed to sever all direct relations with Bu Hmara, and to permit only the passage of his mails and *mkhaznis* to the encampment at Snada in the Western Rif. In the same *agraw* they agreed to constitute a permanent tribal *mhalla* in what is now the settlement of Imzuren, in order to repel all attempts at aggression from the east. Each "fifth" was told the number of riflemen it had to contribute, and the total force numbered some 1,400 men. In addition, each clan had to keep vigil on the tribe bordering it to try to prevent it, if possible, from going over to Bu Hmara. The Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus subclans of the Jbil Hmam (the last-mentioned is the only subclan in Waryagharland that does not have a border with another tribe) had to watch over the Igzinnayen and either try to bring them over to the Waryaghar cause or keep them neutral; the Aith Hadhifa and the Aith 'Ammarth, the members of this last tribe having been allied with the Aith Waryaghar ever since the *liff* war, had the same job with the Marnisa and the tribes of the Sinhaja Srir; the Aith 'Abdallah had to keep watch over the Aith Yittuft; the Aith Yusif w-'Ari over the Ibuqquyen and the Bni Frah; the Aith 'Ari over the Thimsaman; and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash over the Axt Tuzin.

After the disposition of defense was agreed upon, the council meeting ended. It had been established that the alarm signal to meet at Sidi Bu 'Afif, the market site nearest the danger point, would be given by lighting bonfires on the highest peaks of the Jbil Hmam, which could be seen by the inhabitants of the communities clear down to Imzuren. Once the Aith Waryaghar *mhalla* was established in the latter place, tribal life remained peaceful for about a year, probably because the news of the Waryaghar defense preparations had thrown a monkey wrench into Bu Hmara's plans; but in June 1908, Aith Waryaghar lookouts brought the news of the departure from Silwan of a large force marching toward the Thimsaman, in order to make a sustained attack, from there, on the Aith Waryaghar.[19]

In the meantime, all the tribes of the Eastern Rif had fallen, one by one, to Bu Hmara, whose forces were now under the leadership of a black ex-slave named Jilali Mul l-Wudhu ("Master of Ablutions," so called because he had previously had the job of handing out water jugs to his superiors for precisely this purpose). The point is significant because the Aith Waryaghar had no intention of letting themselves be overrun by anybody's army, let alone one led by a black. Bu Hmara renewed his efforts to come to grips with the mountaineers of the Central Rifian massif; of these tribes, the Igzinnayen were the first to fall under his sway, and resistance to him there was merely sporadic. The Axt Tuzin, particularly some of their mountain clans, put up a stiffer fight, but they too had capitulated to the Jilali by the end of 1907. Jiménez Benhamú relates that when Jilali was camped temporarily in the Thimsaman, the Axt Tuzin clans of the Axt 'Akki and Axt Bir'aiz sent nine *tulba*, with a bull to be sacrificed, in order to treat for peace; but Jilali, irritated by the previous resistance and fearing that the Pretender would punish him for not having produced better results with such a large army, ordered their heads to be cut off and placed in a tree beside the Ajdir mosque, and their bodies to be thrown into a nearby tomato patch, without benefit of burial. To further deter the rebels, he imposed a fine of 5000 duros on the mountain Axt Tuzin, and for the Axt Bir'aiz clan in particular this spelled economic ruin. He received this fine in animals, money, and arms, and indulged in much indiscriminate killing and houseburning.[20]

The small tribe of the Thafarsith, which had surrendered earlier, provided Jilali with a base camp at Bu Hfura for his operations in the Central Rif. The Thimsaman were next on the list, and even here resistance was not great, owing to the splitting up of the tribe through *liff* alignments and to the particularism of its *imgharen*. Thus Bu Hmara came to establish his hegemony over all of the tribes east of the Nkur River, and now only the Aith Waryaghar stood between him and a successful conquest of the whole Rif.

Both Bu Hmara and his general Jilali knew that the Aith Waryaghar were a very large and powerful tribe, and that their men were well armed, thanks to incessant rifle smuggling arranged through the good offices of the Hajj Muhammad Shiddi of Ajdir. It is of interest to note that even at this stage there were at least five types of guns in common circulation in Waryagharland: (1) the *zidan* or flintlock, also known as *bu shfar*, the oldest gun in the Rif; (2) the *mashuka* or singleshot rifle, largely the American 1860 model Remington, but also probably the French 1874 model Gras, the second oldest; (3) the *dharbu'aith* or three-shot repeater (with a cartridge kept in the chamber)—the French 1890 model Lebel carbine; (4) the *dhakhmasith* or five-shot repeater—the German, and later Spanish, 1888 model Mauser; and finally (5) the *dhatsa'ith*, an eight-shot repeater (with a ninth shot kept in the chamber)—identified as the French

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[19] Maldonado, op. cit., ca. 1952, pp. 273–276.

[20] Jiménez Benhamú, op. cit., 1949, p. 184.

1886 model Lebel rifle. This last was the most popular model of all, and it only began to come into Waryagharland a few years prior to 1921.[21]

The Pretender and his ex-slave also knew that the Aith Waryaghar, unlike the other Rifian tribes, had become unified, had decided to act corporately, and were determined to resist outside attack; what they probably did not know was the extent of this determination. Nevertheless, Bu Hmara's prestige was at stake: his rationalization for conquest was the wish to annex to his domain the fictitious gold mines of the Jbil Hmam, and he decided upon a full-scale invasion, in which the Aith Waryaghar were to be put to the sword. This was to prove not only the undoing, but the ruin, of both Bu Hmara and his general.[22]

With the threat of Bu Hmara looming large on the horizon, the unification of the Aith Waryaghar, which had already begun after the incident with the *mkhaznis* in the market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, was completed in an *agraw* held at the Thursday market of the Imrabdhen. Here a final *sulh* or truce was arranged between the two overall upper-level *liffs* by no less a personage, if we are to believe Maldonado,[23] than the *sharif* Sidi Muhammad Akhamlish of the Sinhaja Srir, who had been badly treated by Bu Hmara in the past. The *sharif* was seconded by the Fqih Si Muhammad n-Si Haddu 'Azzuz, of Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa in the Upper Imrabdhen.

The Aith Waryaghar made known to the Spaniards, established on the Isle of al-Husaima and in Melilla, the disposition of the Rogi's forces. Since relations between the Aith Waryaghar and Spain had been fairly good up to this time, save for the potshotting between the Island and the Burj al-Mujahidin, the Spanish promised the Aith Waryaghar *imgharen* to send an expeditionary force into the Central Rif to put a stop to the violent activities of Bu Hmara's general if they should continue—for Jilali himself was now firmly entrenched in Thimsamanland. As it turned out, this force was not needed and never arrived: the Aith Waryaghar, following the course of action they had already initiated, now wrote a letter to Sultan Mulay Hafid (reigned 1908–1912), saying that they recognized him alone as Sultan.

On August 30, 1908, another full-scale tribal *agraw* was held at Sidi Bu 'Afif, in which the following points were decided upon:

1. Vigilance would be continued over those neighboring tribes that had fallen under the Pretender's sway, and a fixed number of men would attend to this while the rest acted as the *mhalla* garrison in Imzuren.
2. Each clan would be divided into *miyas*, or units of one hundred men apiece, each under the command of a *qaid l-miya*, and each clan would defend a certain territory against the attack, which would come from the Thimsaman. The Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari were charged with the east bank of the Ghis river, from its mouth on up, maintaining a line of defense in the direction of Imzuren; the Imrabdhen were to the south, and further south were the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa; the Aith Bu 'Ayyash were to defend the Thanda Hawa lagoon; and finally, the mountaineers of the Aith 'Arus, Aith Turirth, and Timarzga were to be kept in readiness if the attacking forces should move their way.
3. Any clan that gave in to Bu Hmara and permitted the passage of his troops into Waryaghar territory was to be exiled from the tribe, its members to be branded as Jews, and its land, animals, and women to be confiscated by the other clans. Any individual who defected was to be tattooed on the chin like a woman, and he would never be allowed to marry a woman of another clan, nor would his daughter be allowed to marry a man of another clan. (When it actually came to the test, there were no defections at all, either individually or in groups.)
4. Each clan had to occupy its designated post and to construct such defense works as its *qaids* of one hundred deemed necessary. A contingent had now arrived from the Aith 'Ammarth, the only other Central Rifian tribe that had elected to resist the Rogi, and it was deputed to take up its position beside the mountaineer subclans of the Jbil Hmam.

In the afternoon of the same day, August 30, each clan went to the sector it was allotted to defend and immediately began to occupy the houses. The warriors removed the roofs and filled the doors and windows up with stones, so that they would not be tempted to flee if danger threatened. Loopholes were also opened up in the walls. Between the houses, which were at least 200 meters apart, individual sharpshooters dug foxholes, and foxholes were also dug in sectors where there were no buildings.

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[21] For help in identifying the firearms in common use in Waryagharland, I am indebted to Wilfrid Rollman, personal communication, November 12, 1969.

[22] There is a story that one reason why Bu Hmara got so angry at the Aith Waryaghar was because his black general Jilali once asked for Kuskus, which was brought to him by an *amghar* in [illegible]. It was, as Jilali said, totally lacking in juice, and he wanted it [illegible] ("wet, juicy"). The *amghar* then went home, and asked his wife to prepare *brur intshiff* (or *abrur istiff*), an erect penis. The point of the story hinges on the average dhu-Waryaghar's lack of comprehension of Arabic (as well as his use of *r* for Arabic [illegible]

[23] Maldonado, op. cit., ca. 1952, p. 418.

Most of Jilali's troops concentrated in Thimsamanland were cavalrymen, and the Aith Waryaghar, though excellent rifle shots, had never before fought against cavalry. This fact, added to the fame (or perhaps notoriety) that had already accrued to Jilali, made the Aith Waryaghar view the enemy with a respect almost amounting to awe. They decided to inundate all the gardens and orchards with water from the irrigation ditches, with the idea of putting a brake on Jilali's advance. No matter what the odds were, the Aith Waryaghar were determined to resist to the end, and even their possible trepidation about the cavalry could not conquer their scorn for a black. Even though they may have respected Jilali's reputation as a fighter, no black would ever rule the Aith Waryaghar, and the fact that Bu Hmara had sent one against them added insult to injury.

For the next few days, things were quiet, and some of the Waryaghar notables, among them the Fqih Si 'Abd al-Krim of Ajdir (father of the man who was later to become world-famous as a Rifian leader), voiced the opinion that it might be better to submit to the Rogi in order to escape pillage. Si 'Amar n-Bu Qaddur of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash also inclined to an agreement with Jilali, if only to gain time in order to improve the fortifications. But their opinions were overruled by Si Bukar Ushshan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari (who had earlier shown his somewhat circumstantial loyalty to the Makhzan by sending, or possibly even presenting, a *hdiya* gift to Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz[24]). They might look for a compromise from any other emissary whom the Rogi might send, but from a black, never. This period of quiet was used by the mountain Aith Waryaghar to bring a considerable number of mountain Axt Tuzin (who had suffered much at Jilali's hands) over to their cause. And still Jilali did not attack.

On the night of September 7, the Aith Waryaghar could stand the suspense no longer, and under cover of darkness they crossed the river, went over into Thimsamanland, and attacked the Pretender's camp at the small Wednesday market of the clan of the Truguth. Skirmishes began immediately and lasted all through the following day, but despite flank movements by Jilali's contingents from the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman to cut them off, the Waryaghar attackers made their way back to their trenches with a loss of only twelve men—and this only because at the last minute they ran out of ammunition and had to start throwing rocks. Their resistance gave pause to the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin, who were not fighting for the love of it in this particular engagement but were under the orders of a man who had despoiled their territories. Unknown to Jilali, they sent messengers over to the Waryaghar side of the river stating that they wanted to join them; but the Aith Waryaghar, characteristically suspicious, did not trust them.

The next day was quiet, and during the afternoon, Jilali moved his camp to the community of Imza'an (Thimsaman), closer to the river.

On September 9, however, the advance began. The Qaid Bin Shillal of the Iqar'ayen, who led Jilali's cavalry, planned his advance toward the meseta of Tafrasth (in the Aith 'Ari) with care, for he knew the Aith Waryaghar penchant for setting up decoys and planning ambushes. At 05:00 hours Jilali's artillery started firing, and under this cover his cavalry crossed the Nkur. At 10:00 hours the Aith Waryaghar began to show signs of giving up. Jilali's *mhalla* entered Tafrasth and started to burn it, although the resistance in the houses was ferocious. The Aith Waryaghar began to retreat toward the direction of the Ghis river, and gave Jilali's troops the idea that they were abandoning the struggle; countless women and children could be seen following the paths in that direction, leading their animals and carrying their possessions. The Rogi's men thought themselves victorious and started to disperse, without thinking that they might have fallen into a trap.

In the next half hour, a group of a hundred Aith Waryaghar, hidden in a house, surprised thirty of the Rogi's cavalrymen, killing five of them and taking the rest prisoner. The Aith 'Abdallah spread the news of this local victory, and a counterattack on Jilali's cavalry began. At the same time, the water running through the irrigation ditches was allowed to flood the fields. Soon the horses began to get stuck, with their hooves bogged down in the mud. Disorganization and panic spread, and the Aith Waryaghar were now able to pick off both horses and riders with impunity. The infantrymen of the Qaid Bin Shillal, cut off from the cavalry at Tafrasth, were unable to come to their aid, and well over half the cavalry were dead or wounded when the engagement was over. Those who were still alive and whose horses had not yet been hit fled in headlong rout back to Thimsamanland. (One apocryphal account has it that the day after the battle a dhu-Waryaghar spotted Jilali, badly wounded, groaning in the mud. He merely said, "Oh slave, join your brothers!" and killed him on the spot.)

At any rate, before the fight was over, the cry had gone up that Bu Hmara's real reason for invading Waryagharland was to sell the Jbil Hmam, with its imaginary gold mines, to the Christians. (Whether or not this was true, Bu Hmara was already in bad trouble with the tribes in the Eastern Rif not only for having conceded the iron mines there to Spain, but for having permitted the importation of European labor to work them.) This doubled the fervor of the Aith Waryaghar counterattack. Jilali and the broken remnants of his mhalla were making their way back to their camp at the Truguth as fast as they could go, and the Aith Waryaghar were hot on their heels. The Pretender's forces reached the market at Truguth by mid-afternoon, and at dusk the Aith Waryaghar, aided by a number of defecting Axt Tuzin, surrounded the encampment and attacked it. They were able to get inside the camp itself, and the fight lasted until dawn. It was a complete victory for the Aith Waryaghar. As an incentive to their men, the Waryaghar *imgharen* had decided to pay 100 duros (500 pesetas) apiece for enemy heads, and for this reason few prisoners were taken. After the engagement was over, a dhu-Waryaghar named Mhand, renowned for his strength and toughness in combat, brought in nine severed heads tied together by a string running through their ears. He was told by Si Bukar Ushshan, "Here, my son, take ten duros and go have yourself a glass of mint tea. Where am I going to find nine hundred duros?"

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[24] Et-Tabyi (pseud. for Maldonado), op. cit., 1955, pp. 257-258, and 261-262.

Jilali and what was left of his army fled once again, this time toward Bu Dhinar in eastern Thimsamanland. The news of their defeat preceded them, and all the way they were harrassed by the Thimsaman and a large hard core of Aith Waryaghar who wanted to see Jilali and Bu Hmara either dead or out of the Rif for good. After a period of two weeks in Bu Dhinar, Jilali's army was once more forced to abandon its encampment and retreat east again to Bin Tiyyib in the Aith Wurishik. The Rifian tribes that had heretofore been under Bu Hmara's control now turned against him one by one, and by the middle of October, after Jilali's rapidly decreasing force reached Qasba Silwan, the end was in sight. The Iwar'ayen confederacy now rose against the Pretender, and with the aid of some of the hard-core Aith Waryaghar and a handful of men from other tribes whose feelings about Bu Hmara were the same, they succeeded in dislodging him from Silwan and chasing him out of the Rif entirely, never to return. The sands of Bu Hmara's life were rapidly running out, for within a year he was captured in the Bni Mstara of the Jbala by Mulay Hafid's forces, under the leadership of no less a personage than Bushta l-Baghdadi. In the same battle, on August 11, 1909, Bu Hmara's faithful commander Jilali was killed. Bu Hmara was taken to Fez, where he was put in a cage and paraded around the city, and finally imprisoned and summarily executed on September 13 of the same year.

By October 22, 1908, all the Aith Waryaghar who had pursued the Rogi's army were back in their homeland once again. Their very first act after having turned the tide of battle had been to camp in Thimsamanland themselves, in order to collect fines right and left from Bu Hmara's former *'ummal* and their *khalifas*. Then they moved into the Aith Wurishik, where they collected yet more fines, and went on to the Thafarsith. There they exiled Bu Hmara's ex-*'amil* Muhammad n-Zaghdud as an *adhrib*, and burned his house among others in the community of Bu Hfura, and collected more fines in the community of Imjaren. Finally, still not satisifed, they moved into the 'Azib of Midar in the Axt Tuzin, where they extracted a last heavy fine from Bu Hmara's ex-*'amil* Muhammed nj-Hajj Shuhu. From there "they finally returned to Waryagharland, with their *haqq* paid to them from every quarter, their account settled, and their ego-swollen belief in the excellence and invincibility of their own tribe virtually bursting."[25] As Sanchez Pérez puts it: "The triumph over Bu Hmara swelled the already excessive tribal pride of the Aith Waryaghar to such a degree that they soon came to think of themselves as little less than supernatural. They had conquered the Pretender whom not even the Sultan could conquer, and with whom European nations were coquetting when the partition of Morocco had been decided."[26]

Thus, the Aith Waryaghar, rent as they were by internal feuds and factional *liff* wars, now knew that when a serious external threat appeared, they were capable of presenting a united front and of acting corporately. Even so, the tendency toward factionalization continued unabated in Waryagharland: after Bu Hmara had come and gone, the upper- and lower-level *liff* alliances were renewed again, and through them the battle-scarred *imgharen* of the *aitharbi'in*, many of whom had ridden to fame in the campaign against the Pretender, managed to further their own ends and those of their lineage-mates (if not always those of their fellow clansmen) by such traditional practices as the "dog-eat-dog" killing off of all potential rivals in the struggle for political power. The "fifth" and the clan once more assumed their dominant and virtually autonomous roles in political life, and inter- or even intra-lineage blood feuding once again became the order of the day.[27] The years from 1908 to

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[25] J. Ojeda del Rincon, MS., op. cit., 1954.

[26] Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Abd-el-Krim," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados por la Academia de Interventores Durante el Curso 1949-1950*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1950, pp. 59-76. This quotation is from pp. 65-66.

[27] Apart from the *qanuns* discussed in Chapter XI of the *Ethnography*, an abundant historical documentation for this fact and for

1921, of the final years of the *Ripublik*, was the period when Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, resident in the Aith Turirth, sometines acted as presiding holy man at the tribal *agraw* when held at the Sunday market of Thisar; when the *amghar amqqran* or top councillor was a man of infinite patience and a great warrior—Muh n-'Amar 'Abdallah of Aith Juhra in the Aith 'Arus (who was to die in the very last days of the Rifian War, in late May 1926, in his own Aith 'Arus territory, after killing "nearly a whole *tabur*" of French soldiers); and when both (the Qaid) Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu Khrif in the "ture" Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass in the Aith Turirth were prominent members of the *aitharbi'in*.

Possibly a hundred other *imgharen* of greater or lesser note from the various Waryaghar clans could also be enumerated, but their sheer numbers rendered them ciphers as individuals. En masse, and in *agraw* or council meeting, they were a force to be reckoned with, but individually, they quite effectively canceled each other out, figuratively if not always literally. The *Ripublik* was once again in full swing, but the Big Man was yet to come.

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Some ten years after Bu Hmara's defeat, and just as World War I was ending in Europe, a new and twin threat appeared, dimly at first, on the horizons of the Central Rif: Spain, from the east, and France, from the south. In the Igzinnayen, where the whole political history, after Bu Hmara was out of the picture, revolves around one man, the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Thiddas in Ikhuwanen, in the clan of the Asht 'Asim, the French were already beginning to establish a toehold in the southern lowlands of the Asht r-Udha clan. As early as 1914, we find Biqqish in command of a *harka* or war-party under 'Abd al-Malik, the son of the first Algerian nationalist hero, 'Abd al-Qadir b. Muhyi ad-Din, and a political agitator in German pay; and in this capacity we discover Biqqish engaging in a series of combats with French troops at Msun and Bil-Qasim.[28] Spain, who had conquered the Iqar'ayen in a short war in the Eastern Rif in 1909—a war in which her iron-mining concessions loomed large—had, ever since the joint Franco-Spanish Protectorate became established over Morocco three years later, made its influence felt more and more over the Central Rif.

Therefore, if the Rif was to be kept free of European domination, all its tribes had to unite in common cause against the Christians. Such a unification was indeed to come about, and it was very largely the work of one man, the most famous "native son" of both the Aith Waryaghar and the Rif at large—the man known simply as 'Abd al-Krim. He was a former *qadi* of exceptional military perspicacity (although with no previous military training) who also—and almost more interestingly—had a zeal for internal socio-religious reform along Salafiya lines. He, and what he did (as well as what he did not do), form the subject of the next chapter. His was a classic case of not only having been the *mul s-sa'a* (lit., "man of the hour") or, more loosely, "the right man at the right time," but also of the Rifian, and especially the Aith Waryaghar, sense of ingrained "separateness" and "apartness" from the wider society of which they form such a troublesome segment, raised to a higher power and a greater degree of sophistication. His place in the history of Moroccan nationalism is, as we shall see, unique.

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the period covered may be found in the files of the daily newspaper *El Telegrama del Rif*, in Melilla, from its inception in 1902. Random entries noted are in the issues of:

1. February 5, 1911, when fighting broke out all over Waryagharland after plowing operations had finished;
2. January 2, 1914, regarding a fight between the Aith Tzurakhth and the "rest of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash," with 4 dead and 15 wounded, with the convocation of an *agraw* presided over by Sidi Muhand, "given the state of extreme gravity";
3. March 24, 1914, when the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash was "broken" after an Axt Tuzin man killed a Thimsaman *amghar* in the market precincts, with the Aith Waryaghar stepping in to shoot all the Axt Tuzin they recognized (some 5 men) and to take 3 prisoners, including the murderer (for whose return the Axt Tuzin had to pay a heavy fine), while Waryaghar notables made overtures to both sides to prevent an Axt Tuzin-Thimsaman war;
4. November 26, 1915, when the Aith Bu 'Ayyash tried to impose a fine on the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin but were chased out by them after heavy gunfire; and
5. May 4, 1916 when the Wednesday Market at Imzuren was "broken" as a result of the "friends and enemies of a certain Hajj Tuhami" having come to blows, and when yet another fight in the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash resulted in 8 dead and many wounded. This last entry also indicates, with some alarm, that the Central Rifians were acquiring more and more rifles.

[28] E. Blanco Izaga, *La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia*, unpublished MS., 1940.

15. THE REFORMER AND THE WAR ON TWO FRONTS (1921–1926)

The main events of the history of the Central Rif during the *Ripublik* have been described in the two previous chapters because some familiarity with this history in its sociopolitical context is needed for an understanding of the reforms initiated by 'Abd al-Krim, many of which were of a legal or jural nature and were aimed at the Arabization of the system. Although it is outside the scope of this book to discuss in detail the foreign relations of 'Abd al-Krim and the strictly military operations of the Rifian War, some references to them are unavoidable, and a synopsis of the major events of the war will provide a convenient framework for the present chapter. Since the Rifian War of 1921–1926, against the combined forces of two European colonial powers, Spain and France, was what first focused the attention of the world at large on the Rif, there has been a considerable body of literature on the subject. Much of it is uneven in quality and journalistic in character, and almost all of it, even that which is sympathetic to 'Abd al-Krim, is written exclusively from a European point of view: that of the outsider looking in.[1] In the account presented here, I shall attempt to reverse this procedure, and to depict the war from the viewpoint of the Rifians themselves. To do this, I shall rely not so much on published accounts as on field data and other documentary information obtained from Rifians—largely those of the Aith Waryaghar—who were active participants in 'Abd al-Krim's expeditions.

It will be appreciated that the battle against Bu Hmara was little more than a "dry run" for the Aith Waryaghar, in comparison to what was to come later; and needless to say, under 'Abd al-Krim, both their preparation and their organization for war were far better than in the Pretender's time. Before assessing the second invasion, however, we shall take a brief look at the life of 'Abd al-Krim up until the war with Spain began in 1921.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF 'ABD AL-KRIM

Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim n-Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim was born in Ajdir in 1881 or 1882 into the sublineage of the I'abdrkrimen (named, one assumes, for his paternal great-grandfather), a constituent segment of the wider lineage of the Aith Zara', one of the three major lineages of the Aith Ujdir

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[1] We make no attempt to give an exhaustive bibliography, but some of the more useful sources are the following: Andrés Sánchez Pérez, "Abd el-Krim," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados por la Academia de Interventores Durante el Curso 1949-1950*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1950, pp. 61–76, containing in particular, an invaluable account of the Rifian leader's early life; an earlier work by the same author, *La Acción Decisiva Contra Abd el-Krim*, Toledo ca. 1931, containing an account of the final and combined Franco-Spanish operations of 1926; General Manual Goded, *Marruecos: Las Etapas de la Pacificación*, Madrid, Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1932 (esp. pp. 78–104), is one of the best and most balanced Spanish accounts of the war, while F. Hernández Mir, *Del Desastre a la Victoria* (1921–1926), 4 vols., Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1926–1927, is, again from the Spanish point of view, one of the most exhaustive. Both contain valuable insights into the workings of 'Abd al-Krim's "Rifian Republican State." J. Roger-Mathieu, *Mémoires d'Abd el-Krim*, Paris: Librairie des Champs Elysées, is often unreliable and must be used with caution. Walter B. Harris, *France, Spain and the Rif*, London: Arnold, 1927, is valuable only for the eye-witness account of the Oujda Conference in 1926, while a serviceable summary is to be found in José Cabello Alcaraz, *Historia de Marruecos*, Tetuan 1953, pp. 279–291. Léon Gabriélli, *Abd el-Krim et les Evènements du Rif*, Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1953, is of interest, but is sometimes wrong in detail. Mme. N. S. Loutskaia, "A Propos de la Structure intérieure de la République du Rif" *Recherches Africaines*, Conakry, No. 4, 1960, pp. 14–21, is a Soviet view which provides some additional bibliography, although its Communist "line" is tiresome. An article of greater import and of a higher level of scholarship altogether is a comparative study by Pessah Shinar, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Karim: Religious influences on Their Thought and Action," *Asian and African Studies: Annual of the Israel Oriental Society*, I, 1965, pp. 139-174. Two more recent books (both of which quote and cite some of my own previous publications and unpublished papers) should also be mentioned: Rupert Furneaux, *Abdel-Krim: Emir of the Rif*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1967, and David S. Woolman, *Rebels in the Rif:* Abd el-Krim and the Rif Rebellion, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968. Both these books, however, are purely summaries of the existing European literature; and the authors of both are on far surer ground when describing military operations than they are when trying to grapple with Rifian tribal structure or with the social or religious significance of 'Abd al-Krim's reforms. In this last respect, Shinar's article, above, makes the most original contribution to date. Finally, three useful unpublished biographical reports on resistance leaders in the Spanish Zone in general (and all on file in the Sección Africa of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid) are Cmdte. José Font y Jofre de Villegas, *Estudio sobre los Principales Cabecillas Rebeldes de Yebala, de 1913 a 1927*, MS., July 1930; Lt.-Col. Fernando Capaz Montes, *Cabecillas Rebeldes en Gomara desde 1913 a 1927*, MS., April 1928; and Cmdte. Juan Villalón Dombriz, *Cabecillas Rebeldes en el Rif Desde 1913 a 1927*, MS, July 1930.

Translation: "The Hero of the First Moroccan (*Maghribiya*) Revolution: the Fighter 'Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi." Poster from the author's collection

in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. It will at once be noted that 'Abd al-Krim was his father's name and not his own; in the 1950s many Aith Waryaghar who had held responsible positions under him still referred to him as *mmi-s n-Si 'Abd r-Krim,* "the son of Si 'Abd al-Krim": the extreme respect of stressing an obscure father at the expense of his famous son. (It will also be noted that both father and son, characteristically were named for their own paternal grandfathers.) In Arabic, the son is known as Si Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi, the sobriquet or *nisba* referring to the Aith Khattab super-clan in the Waryaghar lowlands, which comprises the two "fifths" of Aith Yusif w-'Ari/aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abdallah. The Aith Khattab claim descent from none other than 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, and the questionable merits of this claim have already been reviewed. It was, however, very strongly supported by 'Abd al-Krim himself, who, after his surrender, told the French journalist Roger-Mathieu that he and his brother Si Mhammad were direct descendants of the Ulad Si Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Krim who originated in the Hijaz and came to Morocco about 900 A.D., and whose eponymous ancestor was one Zara' of Yanbu'. Thereby, no doubt, he also hoped to account for the Aith Zara' of Ajdir.

What is more probable, according to several informants, is that 'Abd al-Krim's great grandfather, the first Si 'Abd al-Krim, was a *sharif* of the "lay holy" lineage of the Dharwa n-Sidi 'Abd l-Halim n-Sidi 'Aisa, in Dwaiyar of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa clan in the Igzinmayen. These same informants, both in Ajdir and in the Igzinnayen, suggested that it was he who went from the Igzinnayen down the whole length of Waryagharland to settle in Ajdir, and that there is, in Dwaiyar, a genealogy that "proves" 'Abd al-Krim's origins to have been in the Igzinnayen. This point is also discussed by Sánchez Pérez,[2] and it seems quite possible. It would place the scission of the lineage and the departure of the original Si 'Abd al-Krim for Waryagharland and Ajdir at about a hundred or so years prior to the birth of his great-grandson, thus giving time and opportunity for the I'abdrkrimen lineage to proliferate, while the *nisba* of al-Khattabi in this case may be explained easily enough through naturalization and acquisition of *droit de cité* in Waryagharland. The above would also be congruent with the fact that 'Abd al-Krim himself never stressed his *sharif* status: he was, rather, a *qadi* who became a *mujahid*.

'Abd al-Krim's origins aside, the first significant point to be made about him is that he was highly literate in Arabic.[3] We may note that, with the names of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather prefixed by *Si*, the tradition of literacy went back to the lineage ancestor. Si 'Abd al-Krim, the father of the future Rifian leader, may not have been a personage of note but he was much respected, first as the *fqih* in the Friday or congregational mosque in Ajdir, and eventually, one gathers, as one of the first *qadis* in Waryagharland (although it is not clear where he studied). He was probably not the very first *qadi*, for his wife, reputedly an industrious and pious woman, was herself the daughter of a *qadi* from the Imrabdhen (probably of the Aith 'Aziz lineage) near Thamasind. How many children the elder Si 'Abd al-Krim had is not known, but Si Muhammad was the eldest, and his brother Si Mhammad—who was destined to become the commander-in-chief of the Rifian Regular Army—was perhaps seven or eight years his junior.

The younger son Mhammad was the first Rifian ever to receive a nontraditional education. This probably came about as a result of his father's contacts with the German firm of Mannesmann in Tetuan (where the family lived as *idhriben* from a bloodfeud in Ajdir between 1892 and 1898). The firm's directors were interested in developing the mining potential of all of Northern Morocco. When World War I and the Allied victory pushed the Mannesmanns into the background, the Bilbao industrialist Echevarrieta became their front man, and the elder 'Abd al-Krim maintained contact with him through the Spanish-owned *presidio* and Isle of al-Husaima. It will also be recalled that relations between the island and the mainland were not always of a sanguinary character, for there was considerable one-way trade, and other contacts with Europeans were afforded through labor migration to Tangier and to Western Algeria. So Si 'Abd al-Krim, keeping his hand in by making the most of his potential assets, sent Mhammad first to take a university course in Malaga, and then, in 1917 to obtain a degree in mining engineering in Madrid.

Muhammad, on the other hand, was given an entirely traditional education. He went to the Qur'anic school in Ajdir (where he may even have been one of his father's own pupils) and then went on to further education of the same type in Tetuan. In 1898 his father took him for the first time, to the Isle of al-Husaima, where he met the Spanish governor (who was evidently amused at the smattering of not very good Spanish that the boy had picked up in Ajdir). In 1903 he was sent with his uncle Si 'Abdssram—who was scarcely older than he was—to study at the Qarawiyin mosque in Fez. (It is said that they were not only agnates, but "milk brothers" as well, Muhammad's mother having nursed both of them.) Here, at the 'Attarin and Siffarin *madrasas*, Muhammad had two years of Maliki jurisdiction and Arabic grammar, prosody, and rhetoric, all taught in the medieval manner.

However, Fez was even then under the threat of European intervention, and Bu Hmara, later to get his comeuppance from Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim's fellow tribesmen, had already risen against the Sultan. It was a bad time to dedicate oneself fully to the subtleties of the *Fiqh*, to the verbosities of the *Bayan*, or to the technical disquisitions of the commentaries of the *Hadith*. It is said that Muhammad devoted as much time to roaming the streets of Fez as to his studies, and that his Waryaghar pragmatism kept him from pursuing literary activities. Shinar would even imply that his short stay in Fez probably prevented him from acquiring a really solid foundation in Arabic and Islamic civilization.[4] Even at this stage, Salafiya reformism,[5] coming in with the teachings of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abduh in Cairo, was far from unknown in Fez, although it is more likely that Muhammad's undeniably strong leanings toward it date from his later connections with the Arabic press in

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[2] Sánchez Pérez, op., cit., 1950, pp. 61-2.

[3] Robert Montagne, *Revolution au Maroc*, Paris: Editions France Empire, 1953, p. 151, refers to him contemptuously as a "petit être berbère" who was "dwarfed" beside the figure of Marshal Lyautey.

[4] Shinar, op. cit., 1965, p. 162.

[5] Wilfred Cantwell Smith, in *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton, N.J. Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 68, defines the Salafrija movement very aptly as "reinvigorated fundamentalist activism."

Melilla. In any case, although we do not know the names of any of his teachers at the Qarawiyin, it is evident that both teachers and students devoted their time more to political activity than to studies; hence it was in an atmosphere of polemics and passion that Muhammad and his uncle remained in Fez. When they went back to Waryagharland on vacation, Muhammad's intelligence, well above the average, plus the prestige of the Qarawiyin and of the written word, brought him considerable status, which had perhaps previously been lacking.

By 1906 Muhammad was back in Ajdir, and he went to live on the island, where he acted as interpreter for the merchants and attended the Spanish school. With a view to upgrading his Spanish, he also began to read newspapers and to talk politics. He told his father that in the markets people were already proclaiming Mulay Hafid as Sultan.

The Qarawiyin had probably been the first turning point in the life of Si 'Abd al-Krim's young son. The second was certainly his trip in 1906 to Melilla, the city where he was to remain off and on until January 1919. A major feature of this period of his life was undoubtedly his exposure to the Salafiya, with its insistence on literal interpretations of Maliki Islam and on religious fervor to counter foreign threats, and, above all, with its distrust of religious orders as anachronistic and as agents, whether willing or not, of a growing French penetration of North Africa. It was his Melilla experience that gradually brought about Muhammad's change in attitude toward, and subsequent rupture with, the Spaniards, toward whom he had previously had no apparent cause for hostility. For a time, in 1908, 'Abd al-Krim was reportedly back in Ajdir, and is even alleged to have influenced Aith Waryaghar public opinion against Bu Hmara, whom he and his father accused of selling the Rif, and Waryagharland, to the Christians because of its mineral wealth. He is even alleged to have had a leading role in the Waryaghar determination to resist the Pretender—a fact which, because of his youth at the time, seems doubtful.

In Melilla, first of all, young 'Abd al-Krim became the editor of the Arabic supplement to the local daily newspaper, *El Telegrama del Rif*. As Sánchez Pérez observes, it would be interesting to consult the articles he is alleged to have written in order to discern, over time, the shift in his attitude,[6] for his association with the paper was to continue, despite his many other involvements, almost up to the time that he left Melilla for good. Meanwhile his Spanish had by the next year become fluent enough for him to take a job as Arabic secretary at the Central Office of Native Affairs; its director, Col. Morales, soon became a close friend. Five years later, in 1912, 'Abd al-Krim received a promotion to assessor in the same office, and the promotions became more rapid—in 1913 he became *qadi* at the Shari'a Court in Melilla, and in 1914, *qadi qudat* or chief *qadi* of the region of Melilla, encompassing the whole of the Eastern Rif. This last job was a feather, so to speak, in 'Abd al-Krim's turban. It meant not only that had he risen to a top-level position in the field for which he had long been training, but that he had done so under Spanish auspices. This fact alone indicates how great his familiarity with the Spanish language and with Spanish administrative procedures had now become. His friendship with Spanish army officers at the time would underscore this point: indeed, at a later date he claimed that he had been charged with "selling out" his lineage to Spain.

Influenced by the Young Turks' movement as well as by the Salafiya, he gradually became disillusioned (evidently bitterly so) with the way in which the Spanish had conceived and were administering their new protectorate, especially in the case of mining concessions. In a traditional enough way, he thus became a vociferous champion of Islam in the face of encroaching Christendom, and then, going back from the general to the particular, he was soon imbued with the idea of Rifian nationalism. As of 1915 he is said to have made a number of pronouncements of a political character in the *Telegrama del Rif;* their substance was that Spain should not extend her domains on the Moroccan mainland past the *presidios* or ports of sovereignty of Ceuta, Melilla, and al-Husaima, and furthermore, that his own first task would be to organize a Rifian government that could treat with Spain on an equal footing.

For these and similar activities (and after complaints by his father), he was jailed in Ft. Rostrogordo as a political prisoner; but even after an attempted escape, in which he broke a leg (which lamed him for life), he was eventually reinstated in his job in 1917. His ideas were attributed by the Spanish to contacts with German agents, whereas it seems much more likely that at least some of them—especially the idea that the Rifians should become masters in their own house—may be ascribed to an incipient nationalism in a former classmate, Dris n-Sa'id. This would appear to be the case because he showed, at the same time, an equal hostility toward French policies in Morocco. Although the French accuse the Spanish of being responsible for the rupture, and vice versa, there seems to be little doubt that it was caused not so much by any one given European power as against another (although disillusionment with the Spanish colonial administration, which at the time appears to have been shockingly inept, was certainly a factor) as by a consciousness of a kind of protonationalism. This we leave where it stands for the moment; the position occupied by 'Abd al-Krim in the overall historical context of Moroccan nationalism will be assessed at the end of this chapter. Suffice it to say here that he was neither fully "traditional," in the sense of those Berber tribal leaders who opposed the French pacification in the Middle and Central Atlases, nor fully "modern" in the sense of the Istiqlal Party, whose original hard-core membership consisted largely of an urban intelligentsia from Fez that was French-educated but Salafiya-inspired.

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[6] Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., 1950, p. 67. If these articles exist (and in consulting the *El Telegrama del Rif* files in 1970 we could not find them), it would also seem probable that they might provide precisely the hard evidence needed to clinch the argument that 'Abd al-Krim's major source of inspiration was Salafiya reformism. In the very nature of his job, he would have had ample opportunity to read other Arabic newspapers, and especially Egyptian ones. As it happens, the only mention of his name which we ran across in *El Telegrama del Rif* during this period was as a professor of Rifian and Arabic language classes during the academic year 1914-1915.

At any rate, after World War I was over, 'Abd al-Krim took alarm at the fact that the Spaniards extradited back to the French zone a number of Aith Iznasen who had also been critical of the French and had taken refuge in Melilla. Afraid that the same might happen to him, he asked permission of the Spanish authorities to return to Waryagharland, to his home in Ajdir. In January 1919 this permission was granted to him, and he went home, never again to return to Melilla. At the same time old Si 'Abd al-Krim, sensing what might be in the wind, and prompted by his elder son, summoned his younger son, Si Mhammad home from Madrid. As Si Muhammad was now no longer a *qadi*, so Si Mhammad was no longer a mining engineer: his course of study had been interrupted, and he too was never to return to finish it. Both brothers were now to stay in the Central Rif, headquartered in Waryagharland, until 1926.

THE VICTORY AT DAHAR UBARRAN AND ITS EXPLOITATION, 1921: THE *QADI* BECOMES A *MUJAHID*

The old *qadi*, Si 'Abd al-Krim the Elder, had been a leading spirit in the armed opposition to the gradual military advances of the Spaniards in the tribal territories of the Thafarsith and the eastern Thimsaman. These advances had been effected without much difficulty in mid-1920, it seems, because the harvest was very poor that year and many young men were working, as had already long been their wont, in the Orania region of Western Algeria. In September of that year, Si 'Abd al-Krim fell ill in the Thafarsith, presumably from having eaten poisoned eggs administered to him by a man of that tribe (one 'Abdssram t-Tafarsiti) who had been bribed by the Spanish,[7] and he returned home to Ajdir to die there within a few days.

Meanwhile, a Spanish Army, under the high-handed General Silvestre, was moving through Thimsamanland. This alarmed the Aith Waryaghar, who wanted to come to an agreement with Spain, and Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim advised the formation of a *harka*, a group of armed tribesmen constituting a war party, in order to gain an advantage in the negotiations. In October, almost immediately following his father's death, Si Muhammad established himself with some 300 Aith Waryaghar, in Thimsamanland, in the community of Aghir Ugirman (known in Arabic as Jubb l-Qama) in the clan territory of the Aith Bu Idhir; this became his first field headquarters. The function of these 300 men, most of them from the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, was to stiffen up the resistance of the Thimsaman to Spanish penetration, although as yet a shooting war had not begun.

In April 1921, the Spanish High Commissioner, General Berenguer, announced that he would visit the Isle of al-Husaima, but a rough sea prevented him from doing so. General Silvestre, who had arrived a few hours earlier, made excuses for the High Commissioner and said that he would arrive shortly, but by land. Never noted for his tact, he made a number of indelicate remarks during the course of his address, which caused Si Muhammad to prevent the men of Ajdir from going to the island to greet the Spanish authorities; he alone, he said, was in a position to do so. In this act and in that of establishing the first Waryaghar *harka* in Thimsamanland we have Si Muhammad's first overt assumptions of command—and this is perhaps the appropriate point to start referring to him simply as 'Abd al-Krim. Anyone who disobeyed his orders was to be fined, and all paid up except Sriman n-Muhand r-Khattabi of Ajdir. This man, who became a sworn enemy of 'Abd al-Krim, took refuge with the Spanish garrison on the island, and we shall hear more of him later.

More Aith Waryaghar began to move into Thimsamanland, and on May 1, General Silvestre, against the advice and perhaps even against the orders of the High Commissioner, occupied the position of Dahar Ubarran ("the hill of the male partridge") just within Thimsamanland across the tribal border from the Aith Wurishik. This was the straw that broke the camel's back; a large *harka* of Aith Waryaghar attacked him, after the "friendlies" of the Thimsaman and the Aith Wurishik had retreated. The outcome of this attack was disastrous for Spain; after it was over, 'Abd al-Krim, who had not actually been present, took personal credit for the Rifian victory. He stated that he had tried to come to a peaceful agreement with the Spaniards, but to no avail, and had then formally declared a *jihad* or holy war. The *qadi* of Ajdir had become a *mujahid*.

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[7] Information from Idris al-Khattabi, the youngest son of Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim, Rabat, 1964. Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 81, however, energetically contests this claim.

On June 15, 'Abd al-Krim occupied a position above the Spanish post of Ighriben (lit., "strangers, exiles") in the eastern Thimsaman (clan territory of r-Rba' r-Fuqani) and entrenched himself there. About a month of calm now ensued, while a number of his warriors returned to their homes to gather in the harvest. On July 21, however, he attacked Ighriben and took it. غرب Again the consequences were disastrous for the Spanish army. A relief column, personally led by General Silvestre, had come up from n-Nwal (or Anwal, Ar. "gifts, favors") in the Aith Wurishik, but the loss of the position to the combined forces of the Aith Waryaghar and the Thimsaman cracked the morale of the Spanish soldiers, and on the next day n-Nwal itself was ordered evacuated. نوال The evacuation, which began in an orderly manner, soon degenerated into flight. The Rifian losses were slight, but those of the Spaniards were terrible. Silvestre was presumed killed (possibly he committed suicide) and his body was not recovered. When 'Abd al-Krim discovered that his old friend Colonel Morales had been killed as well, he had the body sent back to Melilla for burial. Within a month, the Rifians were virtually at the gates of Melilla, and almost all the Eastern Rif, which since 1909 had been gradually falling under Spanish domination, capitulated to 'Abd al-Krim at one stroke.

The Spanish army in the Melilla command had consisted of about 25,000-30,000 troops. In that summer of 1921 anywhere between 13,000 and 19,000 (probably closer to the latter figure) were killed or were captured, along with a great deal of war materiel, in the worst disaster that had ever befallen any colonial power anywhere in a "brush-fire" war. These figures, taken from Woolman's good account of the battle,[8] are all the more astonishing when one realizes that the Rifian attacking force at n-Nwal (principally Aith Waryaghar, but with sizeable contingents from the other five Central Rifian tribes as well) only numbered 3,000 men. Few soldiers are braver than Spanish ones (as they were to prove later in their own civil war), but at this point they were underpaid, underfed, and, the evidence strongly suggests, irresponsibly officered. At Dahar Ubarran alone, 179 Spanish soldiers out of a 250-man force were killed. The Rifians were dizzy with their initial triumph, but they did not hesitate to follow it up. 'Abd al-Krim, receiving news in Amzawru in Thimsamanland of the repeated victories of his warriors, was now regarded with awe by the Central Rifians, who began to attribute almost supernatural powers to him. Overnight the pragmatic *qadi* had become an almost charismatic *za'im* in the eyes of his own people, and his career as a war leader was off to a flying start. He himself later admitted that one of his major errors (he was to make at least two more) was not invading Melilla itself, but he gave as his reason the fact that he had no desire to make war on women and children.

A scribe who could wield a sword as effectively as a pen, he now had the solid support of all the central and most if not all of the Eastern Rifian tribes.

Consolidating this support, the everswelling Rifian "snowball" (to use Barnes's apt image),[9] with the hard rock of the Aith Waryaghar at its core, had first rolled to the east, and now rolled west into the Sinhaja Srir and the Ghmara, where *harkas* under the command of young Si Mhammad n-Si 'Abd al-Krim were dispatched. Even the Jbala were now in active revolt against Spanish authority emanating from Tetuan: a chain reaction had been touched off.

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To Rifians, that whole year of 1921 is subsumed under one event: the battle of Dahar Ubarran. Many are the songs and stories about it, none of which informants would tell me during the Spanish protectorate period; I learned them only after Morocco achieved her independence. The following two sets of *izran*, sung to the *ay-aralla buya* refrain by girls in the autumn of 1921 and for the next several years—until 1926—are typical variants of the theme:

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[8] D. S. Woolman, op. cit., 1968, Chapter 6 (pp. 83-102). A. Amine, B. Boutaleb, J. Brignon, G. Martinet, B. Rosenberger and M. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Paris; Hatier and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale, 1967, p. 387, say that the booty taken in war material after n-Nwal by the Rifians was evaluated by 'Abd al-Krim at 200 cannons, of different calibers, over 20,000 rifles, stocks of shells, millions of cartridges, cars, trucks, medicines and camping equipment, "enough to equip an army and organize a large-scale war."

[9] J. A. Barnes, *Politics in a Changing Society: A Political History of the Fort Jameson Ngoni*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967, Chap. II. The idea evoked by "snowball" is particularly attractive as it suggests an irresistible spreading from a centre of power. "State," however, admittedly presents other problems: those of sovereignty and even autonomy, as well as the question of continuing and self-supporting institutions which in 'Abd al-Krim's case were lacking, merely in the nature of things. That they were also lacking in the colonial regime of the protectorate is another matter.

1. *Ay Adahar Ubarran ay asusi y-ikhsan*
Awizagh digharan azgig-dighar zman
Zdighar ugharrabu sinji w-aman
Harxand Aith Waryaghar i dhin'ashar miya
Khadhrand r-udha n-Nkur jin r-udha idhra
Ay ashaikh 'Amar akhsrik igudhar
Aith Tizi 'Azza dh-imjahadhen ma rukha
Jahadhen s-ufus-insen, jahadhen ra tinigba
r-Hakim Warba dhaharijt r-halqa

Oh Dahar Ubarran, how many bones lie upon you!
With what you have brought, you have brought hunger also.
The same thing that the rowboat on the water has brought.
The Aith Waryaghar are going into battle with 1200 men.
When they reached the Nkur plain it was full of people.
Oh Shaikh 'Amar,[10] who died upon the top of the barbed wires,
The people of Tizi 'Azza [in the Thimsaman] are still fighting right now,
Fighting with their hands, and even their women are fighting [e.g. throwing stones].
The Spanish *hakim* Captain Huelva, they have caught him by the throat.[11]

2. *Aya Aith 'Azziman, dh-imjahadhen ma rukha*
Jahadhen s-ufus-insen, 'awdhen ra tinigba
Izzat khu 'arur-insen, taryind ag-dhisura
Amjihidh amzqqaru, yuxsha duru iswa
Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa, a bu-yis dh-azigza
Awkthi ay imjahadhen, ikfa zi-dharwa
Ipulisen immuthen, imjahadhen ighannan
Ay Adahar Ubarran, ay usust y-ikhsan
Dhini iginhim r-bwarqi, dhini idhihashen yixsan
Dhini g-immuth r-qabtan, yimmuth dh-t-turjuman!

Oh, the Aith 'Azziman,[12] they are now *mujahidin!*
Fighting with their hands, and aided by their women,
Who take food to their men, and climb up the ravines.
The first *mujahid* gave me one duro [5 ptas.] for a drink of water,
Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa,[13] on a blue-roan horse,
Pushes the *mujahidin* forward, and none of them escapes.
The [Spanish] armies [lit. "police"] die, and the *mujahidin* are winning.
Oh Dahar Ubarran, there the bones have fallen,
There the cannons were fired, there the horses were startled.
And there the Spanish captain died, and his interpreter died with him!

Maldonado gives an Arabic version, from the Jbala, of this same series of refrains, one which differs from our own only in minor details.[14] His version lists the Aith Waryaghar as principal participants, as well as the members of the Thimsaman communities of Habbuqush and Tabudha (in the Truguth clan); it also states that there were even Jbala contingents participating in the battle, on the Rifian side. This is of interest, because a story in the Jbil Hmam about the battle of Dahar Ubarran revolves around a Jibli water-carrier. An informant told the story as follows:

A man from the Jbala had a daughter, and after she was born, his wife died. He then remarried, and since the second wife did not like the daughter, she prevailed upon her husband to abandon her. Time went on, and by 1921 men were joining 'Abd al-Krim's *harkas*.

The Jibli found his daughter begging, but did not recognize her. He liked her, and asked her to marry him. As she did not recognize her father either, she accepted his proposal. It was only after the consummation of the marriage that each of them realized who the other was, and they were both horrified. The word of what had happened reached the ears of 'Abd al-Krim, who said that such incest was absolutely taboo in Islam, and that the only way in which the Jibli could atone for it was by dying in battle. So the man carried water for the Rifians and exhorted them with his songs at Dahar Ubarran, until he was killed there. My highlander informant (from the Timarzga), who was at his side, witnessed his death and helped to wrap him in his turban as a shroud;[15] he was thus assured of a place in Paradise.

It so happened that Dahar Ubarran fell during the month of Ramadan; all the *mujahidin* fasted nevertheless, and indeed they kept the fast during all the successive Ramadans during the war, despite their special dispensation.

CONSOLIDATION: THE CREATION OF THE "RIFIAN REPUBLICAN STATE" (1922–1923)

In 1920-1921, 'Abd al-Krim had had unflagging support from his own community of Ajdir and from

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[10] The reference is to Shaikh 'Amar Ufqir of Habbuqush in the clan of the Truguth, of the Thimsaman, who, old as he was, kept firing until he was killed, when he fell on top of the barbed wire in front of the outpost.

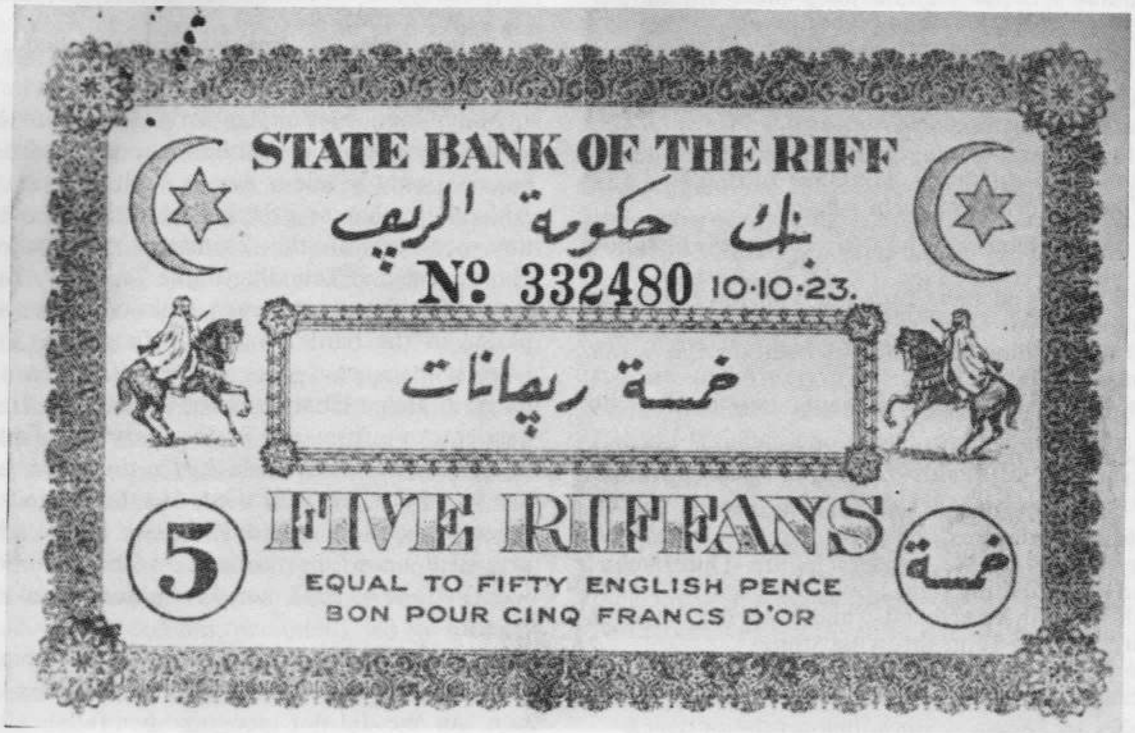
[11] Capt. Huelva, called *Warba* By the Rifians, was in charge of the Spanish detachment at Tizi 'Azza in Thimsamanland.

[12] Aith 'Azziman is a lineage in the Aith (or Axt) Ta'ban clan of the Axt Tuzin. We employ *aith* here rather than *axt* in conformance with Waryaghar pronounciation.

[13] A Waryaghar *amghar* from Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa in the Upper Imrabdhen, executed by order of 'Abd al-Krim within a year or two of the events of Dahar Ubarran, for having accepted Spanish bribes.

[14] Et Tabyi (pseud. of E. Maldonado), "Algo sobre Abarran," in same author, *Miscelanea Marroqui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1953, pp. 68-91, esp. pp. 87-88.

[15] This was the standard form of burial for any *mujahid* who fell in battle. See C. S. Coon, review of Woolman, op. cit., 1968, in *The Middle East* Journal, XXIII, 2, 1969, p. 252.



Example of 'Abd al-Krim's paper money, which never went into circulation. Photograph from personal archives of the late Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga

his clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. To obtain the support of the other Waryaghar clans, particularly of the subclans of the Jbil Hmam, which in normal times of internal blood feuding (and despite *liff* alliances at upper levels of segmentation) had always distrusted their lowland brethren, he worked the promise of independence for all it was worth. In the same way, and very shortly thereafter, he brought the other Central Rifian tribes to his standard. If Furneaux is correct,[16] he enlisted the aid of the Thimsaman, for example, not through an act of sacrifice by *'ar*, as he could bring them no bull, but through the *'ar* of the victory at Dahar Ubarran.

The years of 1922 and 1923 saw further Rifian triumphs, on both the eastern and western fronts, and Spain was gradually forced to her knees in a war that her soldiers hardly understood and that was becoming increasingly unpopular with Spanish public opinion at home. More soldiers were killed, and more prisoners were taken to Ajdir, to fill up the first jail that Waryagharland had ever seen. Spanish High Commissioners in Tetuan came and went, but were very slow to agree to the amount of ransom 'Abd al-Krim demanded from Madrid for the prisoners, who were set to work with pick and shovel to make pistes. Whereas 'Abd al-Krim wanted total independence for all of northern Morocco (which was now almost totally under his *de facto* control in any case), save for the *presidios* of Ceuta and Melilla, they would not go further than granting him internal self-government under Spanish auspices. However, at the beginning of 1923, a civilian High Commissioner, López Ferrer, was finally able to persuade Madrid to pay the amount of ransom 'Abd al-Krim had demanded. Accordingly, on January 27 of that year, 'Abd al-Krim received three million pesetas for the prisoners, as well as an extra one million for damages and losses suffered by the Rifian forces up to that point. The money was delivered to him personally by Horacio Echevarrieta, the same Bilbao industrialist who had known his father, and Echevarrieta made the gesture of going to the beach at Ajdir and becoming a prisoner himself for several hours in order to guarantee with his own person the fulfillment of the Rifian demands for the ransom.

When the money was paid, the prisoners were released. Out of 570 who had survived the disasters of the summer of 1921, only 326 left Ajdir: 44 officers, 239 soldiers, and 43 civilians, of whom 33 were women and children. They were cold and undernourished, and still bore the marks of chains from their captivity, but few of them complained of ill-treatment. Life for the Aith Waryaghar had been just as hard, and the Spanish casualties were for the most part victims of a typhus epidemic that had killed off almost an equal number of Rifians.[17] Indeed the Spanish notion of the Aith Waryaghar as *los caballeros del Rif* may well date from this period.

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[16] Furneaux, op. cit., 1967, pp. 64-5.

Right on the heels of the release of the Spanish prisoners on February 1, 1923, came the promulgation and proclamation by 'Abd al-Krim of the *Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya*, the "Rifian Republican State" (sometimes also referred to as "the Republic of Confederated Tribes of the Rif") in which he himself was the pivotal figure. His role in this new concentration of power merits some discussion.[18] It is important to note, first of all, that in no way did 'Abd al-Krim think of himself as Sultan: there was only one Sultan in Morocco, Mulay Yusuf (reigned 1912-1927), even though he may have been regarded as a tool of the French. 'Abd al-Krim had no claims whatsoever to the Moroccan Sultanate, on genealogical or any other grounds, a fact that he himself stressed, as have all my informants. Even at the height of his career, prayers were never said in his name. He was president (*ra'is*) of the new Republican State as well as president of its Assembly (*Barlaman* or "Parliament")—which was in fact little more than a full-scale tribal *agraw* of the *aitharbi'in*, disguised under a new name. He was a *za'im* and (to his people) a *mujahid*, a war leader, and his "Rifian Republican State" was a wartime creation. Again, both he himself and my informants repeatedly emphasized its provisional and *ad hoc* character. Some informants even stressed this fact by referring to 'Abd al-Krim's government not as *Jumhuriya Rifiya* (Rifian Republic), but as *Jibha Rifiya* (Rifian Front). In a later proclamation, in 1925, 'Abd al-Krim said that if he won the war, he would step out of office and hand the presidency over to a successor.[19]

However, it must not be forgotten that although his was in every sense a government by, and of, lay tribesmen with the rank of ministers (*wazir*), and that although he himself was of a "lay holy" stranger lineage, 'Abd al-Krim came, because of his victories, to be attributed a certain charisma. Charisma is a quality that the pragmatic Aith Waryaghar are chary of recognizing, but 'Abd al-Krim came closer to possessing it than any other Rifian of any tribe, before or since. Although he himself would almost certainly have denied that he had it, it was nevertheless a major factor in his gradual assumption of what was virtually absolute power in the Rif. He is said to have discouraged the practice, which in time became increasingly frequent, of Aith Waryaghar and other Rifians addressing him as *Sidna*, "Our Lord," and he certainly rejected such titles as *Sultan*, or the Rifian Berber form *Ajiddjidh*, "King"; however, he made no move to challenge the acquired title of *Amir al-Mu'minin* or Commander (Prince) of the Faithful, and was throughout the rest of his life known as al-Amir Muhammad 'Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi. Indeed, one may ask to what extent this title may not have been self-imposed. It is true that at the apex of 'Abd al-Krim's power, the "faithful" consisted of a million or so Northern Moroccan tribesmen—Rifians, Sinhaja, Ghmara, and Jbala—but they were all actively engaged in fighting against the Christians, a fact that set them apart from other Moroccan Muslims who were not so engaged. At the same time, 'Abd al-Krim himself (contradicting an earlier statement) emphatically denied that his was a religious war, and stated rather that his objectives were modern and nationalistic (a point to which we shall return). In any case, to the great bulk of his followers in the new, lay tribal republic, it was indeed a religious war, and was so proclaimed in the markets.

One of 'Abd al-Krim's most important reforms of the old Rifian political system, and perhaps the most important, was that he in effect placed himself above that system. This will be discussed later, but here it is pertinent to note that the inner circle of men who made up his newly formed "cabinet" consisted largely of kinsmen and friends (as might be expected, for the war put no stop to normal and traditional links of patronage). They were from Ajdir, from the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and from the lowland Aith

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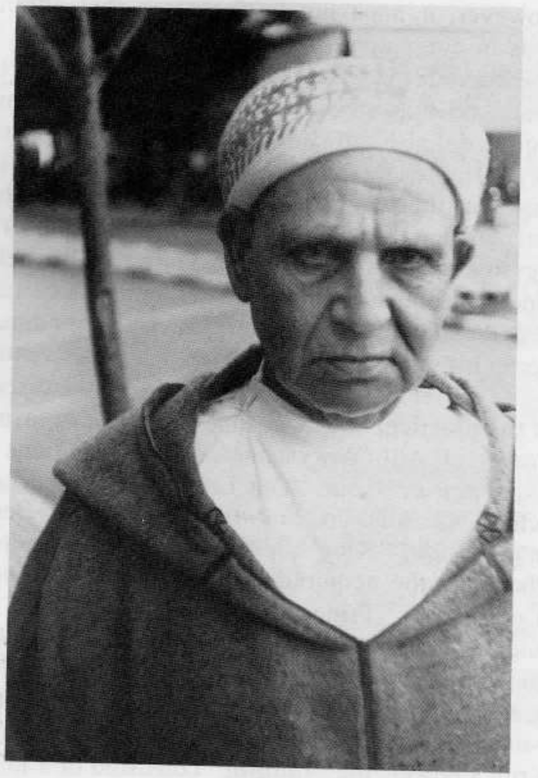
[17] Woolman, op. cit., 1968, p. 111.

[18] Shinar (op. cit., 1965, p. 156) states that prior to this time 'Abd al-Krim had created only the "Independent Nation of the Banu Waryaghal," as a stepping-stone to the more ambitious "Rifian Republican State" and the crucial role which the Aith Waryaghar were to play within it.

[19] One informant cited this successor as scheduled to be 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, which accords ill with the statement of another informant about the latter's defection to the Spanish about May-June 1923, only a few months later. The proclamation, however, is cited, for example, by Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, p. 89. But Roger-Mathieu (op cit., 1927, pp. 107-9) gives excerpted and obviously mistranslated snippets of 'Abd al-Krim's self-proclamation "as Sultan of the Rif." These are so badly done as to be quite worthless, and one would like to see the Arabic original. Roger-Mathieu even gives the date wrongly: 14 Jumada II 1341 A.H. is February 1, 1923, not February 1, 1922, while Hernández Mir (op. cit. 1926-1927, vol. III, pp. 11-13) gives it as January 18, 1923, and also suggests that there was a move amongst the assembled Aith Waryaghar and Ibuqquyen notables "to nominate 'Abd al-Krim as Sultan." He rightly stresses, however, that the important thing to 'Abd al-Krim was that he have command; and as for Roger-Mathieu, the extra year, in any case, allows for extra expansion and consolidation.



Si Muhand Uzarqan of Ajdir, Aith Yusif w-'Ari, the former foreign minister of 'Abd al-Krim; photograph taken in Tangier, 1960

Waryaghar in general. Although there are minor discrepancies in the sources,[20] the offices and their incumbents may be listed as follows:

1. *Khalifa* to 'Abd al-Krim and Commander of the Rifian Army in the West (with headquarters at Targist): his younger brother Si Mhammad.
2. Minister of Finance (*wazir al-maliya*): his paternal uncle Si 'Abdssram r-Khattabi.
3. Minister of Foreign Affairs (*wazir al-kharijiya*): his wife's brother or sister's husband, Si Muhand n-Muhand Azarqan, also from Ajdir (nicknamed, in Spanish, both *Pajarito*, "Little Bird," and *Punto*, "Cigarette Butt"—for the Spaniards said that as a boy he used to pick up and smoke discarded cigarette ends). He died in Tangier in 1969.
4. Minister of War (*wazir al-harb*): three incumbents: (a) Muhammadi n-Si Muhammad bil-'Ali l-Hatimi of Aith Qamra; (b) 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda in the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and after his defection to the Spanish in mid-1923,[21] (c) Hmid Budra, from Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. Later, under the Spanish administration which had once jailed him, he became *qaid*, first, of the Uta *qaidate* in Waryagharland, and in 1953 of the *qaidate* of the Nkur. He died in 1966. A post was also created for an assistant Minister of War, and this was filled by Muh n-Bu Rqjar, of Tifarwin in the "true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash.
5. Minister of Interior (*wazir ad-dakhiliya*): three incumbents: (a) Haddu n-Si Ziyyan r-Khattabi of Ajdir; upon his death, (b) Shaik l-Yazid nj-Hajj Hammu of Tafrasth in the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; and upon his death, late in the war, (c) Si Muhammad n-Si 'Abdssram r-Khattabi of Ajdir, the son of (2) above and a very young cousin of 'Abd al-Krim.
6. Minister of Justice (*wazir al-'adliya*): four incumbents: (a) the Qadi sh-Shims, from the Aith Bu 'Ayyash; (b) the Fqir ash-Shargi t-Tuzani from the Axt Tuzin; upon his death, (c) Muhand n-'Amar 'Abdallah t-Timsamani from the Thimsaman; and finally (d) the Fqih Muhammad n-'Ari Bur-Hiyan (or Bu Lihya, "bearded"), from the Axt Tsafth clan in the Axt Tuzin (he died in Safi in 1942).
7. Minister of Property (*wazir al-amlak*): two incumbents: (a) Hajj Aghyayar "Rubio," from the Aith Waryaghar, but clan unidentified; and upon his death, (b) Hajj Hmid Shiddi, of Lower Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari.
8. Inspector of Marine: two incumbents: (a) "Severa" of the Ibuqquyen; and upon his defection to the Spaniards, (b) Haddu w-'Ari nj-M'addjim of Ajdir.
9. Chief *Qadi* (*qadi qudat*): Muhammad n-Salah from the Thimsaman.
10. Chief Tax Collector: Si 'Amar n-Si Muhammadi l-Kammuni from the Imrabdhen.
11. *Nadir* of *Habus* Property: Si Hmid Ugarrudh from the Imrabdhen.
12. Chief Paymaster (*mutasarrif*): Si Muhammad Bu

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[20] Our list comes from three general sources of information: 1) personal fieldnotes based on interviews, in 1953–1955, with informants who had themselves held positions of responsibility under 'Abd al-Krim; 2) unpublished and undated documentation from the files of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga in Madrid; and 3) published materials, especially Hernández Mor, op. cit., 1926–1927, vol. III, pp. 11–24; Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, pp. 78–104; and a roster dated Christmas Day, 1924, which is given in Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, pp. 41–52. There are some mistakes in this last source which my informants in the field were careful to rectify.

[21] This infuriated 'Abd al-Krim who imprisoned him; but Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand escaped and lived to become a *qaid* under the Spanish. He died about 1948. His son, Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Salam al-Bu 'Ayyashi, a *qadi* in the early 1950's and a *qaid* in the Tetuan Province after Independence, is one of the leading traditional Rifian historians: cf. his *al-Rif ba'd al-Fath al-Islami* (The Rif Since the Muslim Conquest), Tetuan: Instituto Mulay al-Hasan, 1954. As of about 1966, Bu 'Ayyashi had in preparation a second volume to his work, going up to the present day. Although we have not seen it, we have nonetheless greatly profited from numerous discussions with the author himself.

-Hadi bin 'Azzuz of Lower Thamasind in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, one of 'Abd al-Krim's ablest commanders in the French Front.
Photograph courtesy of Mr. Gordon H. Browne

Jibar of Ajdir (as of 1969 residing in al-Jadida, and the only member of the cabinet still living). He was assisted by Muhand nj-Hajj Shiddi, of Lower Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and by Hammu nj-Hajj, also of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, who acted as Chief of the Cabinet of Foreign Affairs.

13. Paymaster of Regular Army: Si 'Ari n-Muhammadi, of Ajdir.
14. Chief of Protocol (*Qaid l-Mishwar*): 'Abd al-Krim Haddu n-Si Ziyyan of Ajdir, son of (5a) above, grandson of old Si Ziyyan r-Khattabi of *liff* warfare days, and cousin of 'Abd al-Krim. He was assisted by Si Muhand n-Ziyyan Umghar, of the Aith Waryaghar but clan unidentified, and by Mustafa Budra of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari.
15. Captain of the *huffad*, 'Abd al-Krim's personal bodyguard; Qaid Hadidan of Ajdir.

Aside from these men, there were a number of others who acted as advisors of one sort or another, generally unofficially. Their functions were less well-defined than those of the men listed above—who have themselves perhaps been listed in an overly schematic manner. They included two of the *mhalla* leaders (*kibar mhalla;* see below), Sha'ib n-Muh n-Bu Qaryurth of the clan of the Truguth in the Thimsaman, and r-Hadi n-'Azzuz of Lower Thamasind in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; Haddu n-Hammu Abuqquy of the Ibuqquyen (better known as Haddu l-Kahal, "the Black"), 'Abd al-Krim's unofficial ambassador to the French Zone until 1925, and Gabriélli's principal Rifian informant prior to that time (he died in al-Jadida in 1950); the Fqih l-Ghmari, of the Bni Gmil; the Fqih Bu r-Hiyan of the Axt Tuzin; Muh n-'Amar Muhand of Buham in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari; the Qaid Siddiq, 'Abd al-Krim's personal secretary; and a number of other secretaries, including Si Muhand n-Muhammadi, another brother-in-law of 'Abd al-Krim, Haddu w-'Ari of the Ibuqquyen, and an Algerian, Si Hasan bin 'Abd l-'Aziz t-Tilimsani.

Although the actual roles of the last-mentioned individuals in particular were poorly defined, their proximity to the person of 'Abd al-Krim gave them a degree of prestige that they would otherwise have lacked. A noteworthy feature of all of these men is that they were young: none were over forty, except for Shaikh l-Yazid, who was in his sixties, and 'Abd al-Krim's uncle Si 'Abdssram, who was only two or three years older than his nephew and thus in his early to mid-forties—'Abd al-Krim himself was at this time only forty or forty-one. It is also significant that his cabinet contained no veteran *imgharen,* whose position in the new set-up will be discussed shortly.

Since 'Abd al-Krim was the lay leader of what to his people was a holy war, it was obviously of paramount importance to him to place trustworthy individuals at all points of political authority, however ill-defined, within the tribal structure, and at the same time to acquire the willing support of the tribesmen in general, if the Rifians were to unite in the common cause of the *jihad.* The question that might well be asked here is: how was he able to do this?

The old system of government by the *aitharbi'in* at the level of the clan or the "fifth" was essentially a decentralized one, reflecting the autonomy of clan and "fifth" within the overall framework of the tribal structure. As there was no power higher than that of the *imgharen,* acting collectively, the Rifian political system in general was not geared to administration from above, a "top *amghar*" being in reality only a fragile *primus inter pares;* and, as I have taken pains to point out, the system lent itself to an endless succession of *liff* alliances and bloodfeuds at all levels of segmentation, in some cases even between segments at quite disparate levels.

The Moroccan Arab system of government, on the other hand, does lend itself to such administration from above, at least ideally, and the Sultan in Fez was of course the supreme authority in the land. Although in fact he often resorted to consultative procedures (*mushawara*), his word in theory was law, and he had a host of ministers and an army to carry it out. (For the moment we are not concerned with the very real *de facto* differences between strong and weak Sultans, but only with the office itself). It was thus the Moroccan governmental structure that provided 'Abd al-Krim with the model for his own very much smaller Rifian Republican State, which at the upper levels, at any rate, became an exact replica of the Sultan's government—with of course the substitution of the office of President of the Republic for that of Sultan.

The exactness of the replica held good in another sense as well, and in this connection we may hark back to the plethora of names just listed in connection with each particular office or "ministry." one of the most striking facts about the Moroccan political system in general, which has been noted by many observers, is the overabundance of legitimacy: there are, and evidently have always been, far more claimants to office than there jobs to go around. Several things happen as a result: first, the office itself becomes all-important, while the man who holds it becomes virtually a cipher, for there is always some other claimant for the job waiting just offstage. Second, the *de facto* emphasis on consultation gives the man at the top of the pyramid (for the system is highly structured) a lever not only to exploit the links of kinship or patronage that lead to him, but to play one office-holder off against another—and thus all real or potential office-holders "hedge their bets." And third, such play-offs tend to create antagonisms between office-holders of equal rank, whether or not they are of equal status; for each has his own coterie of kinsmen and friends, and is very jealous of the prerogatives of his office, which in turn becomes less and less well defined. Hence the "advisory" hangers-on at the peripheries of the "inner circle."

The presence of a single individual—and preferably a strong one—at the top of a new crystallization of power is therefore absolutely crucial. In order to centralize the political authority in himself, as well as to place himself above the system while still remaining the integral and pivotal part of it, 'Abd al-Krim had perforce to shift away from the political patterns of the *Ripublik,* which the Rifians had always followed, toward other patterns conforming more toward the requisites of his Republic, newly created on Makhzan lines. This fact is in itself more than somewhat ironic, for, distinctions between *Ripublik* and "Republic" (in the Rifian sense) apart, the Makhzan of the Sultan in Fez not only never gave official recognition to the (wartime) Rifian Republic created by 'Abd al-Krim and based in Ajdir, but, pushed by France and Spain, had to take up arms against it—for the Makhzan was powerless to do otherwise under a protectorate regime and administration, notwithstanding any nationalist sympathies it may have had. To 'Abd al-Krim the Rif may now have represented the *Blad l-Makhzan*, but to Mulay Yusuf, the Sultan in Fez, it was still, and now more than ever, the *Blad s-Siba*. As Amine and his colleagues stress,[22] 'Abd al-Krim most certainly fought for an ideal; but whether that ideal, at the time, was the short-term one of independence of the Rif or the long-term one of total independence of Morocco is a moot point, one we shall assess at the conclusion of this chapter, in considering 'Abd al-Krim's place in the overall context of Moroccan nationalism.

REFORMISM ORIENTED TOWARD WARTIME OBJECTIVES: THE REGULAR RIFIAN ARMY AND THE TRIBAL HARKAS

It is obvious, and all accounts agree on this crucial point, that 'Abd al-Krim's dissatisfaction with the old Rifian sociopolitical system, as it had existed during the *Ripublik* and before, was extreme. 'Abd al-Krim well knew that any reformer must begin at home, and thus the Aith Waryaghar themselves were to be the guinea pigs. At the same time, however, he was aware of the fact that he could not afford to do away with all of the old political institutions without leaving viable and workable substitutes in their place. It generally takes a man of exceptional intelligence and executive ability to realize and implement such a program successfully. In my view, 'Abd al-Krim was indeed such a man—for the great majority of his numerous reforms, great and small, lived on after he himself had departed from the scene of action. The proof of the wartime pudding was to be in the eating during the protectorate and afterwards. The great majority of European writers on the Rifian War, concentrating as they have on its external events and "battle history," have failed, because of their misconceptions about or lack of understanding of Rifian society, its mechanisms, and its language, to appreciate the very profound significance of 'Abd al-Krim's reforms. To know what reformism is all about, one must have an intimate knowledge of the social and structural context in which it occurs.

First of all, in a compelling gesture of magnanimity, 'Abd al-Krim refused to take personal vengeance on 1
'Abdssram at-Tafarsiti, the man who had poisoned his father (and whose eventual fate remains obscure), and he abolished the bloodfeud on penalty of death, 2
once the consolidation of power had been achieved. To this end, he ordered the members of his *huffad*, or bodyguard, as well as the *qaids* of various ranks in the regular army, to destroy all the small loopholed pillboxes, (*ishbrawen*) of mud and stone that stood 3
hard by virtually every house in Waryagharland, and certainly by the house of every *amghar*. This order was carried out relentlessly. Even so, there were several instances, during the fighting, in which individuals nonetheless found opportunities to pay off old grudges in lead. When such individuals were caught, the *huffad* would parade them three times around the marketplace, seated backwards on a donkey, while the *abarrah* or crier made public their violation of the new decree. At this point the members of the *huffad* would stand them up against the wall, in firing-squad manner, and execute them summarily.

Although on occasion mercy might be shown to a man who exercised what he considered to be his right to vengeance, 'Abd al-Krim from the beginning 4
showed no mercy at all to defectors. Death by firing squad was the fate of a brother of Haddu l-Kahal of the Ibuqquyen (one of the "advisory hangers-on" mentioned in the previous section) for having taken in secret some Spanish prisoners from Ajdir to the Island of al-Husaima before the ransom for them had been paid through the medium of Echevarrieta. in addition, two prominent notables of the Imrabdhen clan, Sidi 'Abdssram Bu Rjila of the Iziqqiwen lineage (i.e., the descendants of Sidi Hand u-Musa) of Aith Hishim, who was considered to have possessed the *baraka*, and Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa, a "layman" (of the fighting "lay-holy" sort) from Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, were accused of having taken Spanish bribes (the date cannot be placed with certainty—Emilio Blanco thought it 1921, I think it about 1924, not too long before the war started with the French). Sidi 'Abdssram's *baraka* and the fighting ability of Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa availed them nothing, and the result was that they and five lesser men were stoned to death by the Aith Mhand u-Yihya in the Sunday Market of Thisar, on 'Abd al-Krim's orders. Bullets were not wasted on them, and feelings ran high in any case.

This last incident is an excellent indication that we are dealing here with a lay tribal war waged by a lay republic of confederated tribes of equal status: it is this that 'Abd al-Krim had in mind when he gave it the designation *jumhuriya*. It will also be noted that his interpretation of the political situation is in this particular instance very close to the traditional one. Despite the fact that criers in the markets and the rank and file of the Waryaghar and Rifian public constantly employed the word *jihad*, 'Abd al-Krim himself later publicly affirmed (contradicting, in fact, his initial formal declaration after Dahar Ubarran) that this was precisely what it was not: it was a modern and militantly nationalist war of independence.[23] 'Abd al-Krim, although of a moderately holy lineage himself, had little use for the traditional appurtenances of sanctity, and none at all for *mrabtin* and religious orders; to this subject we shall return presently. Here again, however, the influence of the Salafiya on his thinking may be noted. And to recall the incident 6 mentioned in the preceding paragraph, treachery, especially in wartime, was treachery, no matter who committed it, although it would be put to good exemplary use in the interests of reformism. 'Abd al-Krim had an unrivaled knowledge of his Aith Waryaghar and of Rifians in general, and he could gauge their reactions in a way that fascinates the social anthropologist and excites his envy.

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[22] Cf. Amine, Brignon, Boutaleb, Martinet, Rosenberger and Terrasse, op. cit., 1967, p. 389.

One result of the abolition of the bloodfeud at home became apparent with the movement of the Aith Waryaghar and Rifian "snowball" towards the west: the natural animosity and the ever-present propensity to feud within tribes (as well as the less well-developed proclivity to make war on neighbor tribes of the same order) was still present when 'Abd al-Krim, in order to insure his domination over the weaker, less reliable Arabic-speaking Ghmaran and Jbalan tribes on the western fringes of his domain, installed Aith Waryaghar commanders (*ruyas*, sing. *ra'is*) and troops of his regular army in their territories in order to keep them under his thumb. These same Ghmara and Jbala tribes may not have liked the presence of the far tougher Waryaghar regulars, but there was nothing they could do about it: the latter were sent there to ride herd on them and prevent defection, which indeed they did.

B 7 The next major reform of 'Abd al-Krim was the decollectivization of collective oaths (*r-imin* or *dhzaddjith*), which must have occurred either in 1921 or 1922, at the very latest right after the creation of the *Jumhuriya* and 'Abd al-Krim's writ of investiture. Because 'Abd al-Krim was a *qadi*, and because, as such, he represented the Shari'a to his constituents, this very Berber method of attesting one's innocence when accused of a crime (which lacked the additional Central Atlas notion of institutionalized counter-accusation at oath) was anathema to him. According to strict Shari'a regulations, he decreed that only the accused be allowed to swear. The potential cojurors and agnates of the accused were thus prohibited from appearance at oath, and the Qur'anic character of oath in the abstract, taken in the mosque, was thus underscored. it may be remarked in passing that this was also a Muslim (and possibly reformist, as well) stab at the concept of the solidarity of the agnatic lineage. In any event, collective oaths were very much a thing of the past during my own fieldwork, and younger informants knew nothing about them. As of 'Abd al-Krim's decollectivization, the Shari'a Courts, and the *qadi*, were to handle all individual oaths, only the plaintiff and the defendant were present; such is the case today.

C The third item involved coming to grips with the *liff* system, and there is perhaps more to the problem than initially meets the eye. it is evident that 'Abd al-Krim viewed *liffs* with the same anathema with which he viewed the blood feud, for the two are inextricably linked and engendered by each other. He realized that a centralization of the whole structure of political authority in himself and in each of the nuclear tribes of the fledgling state would go a long way in bringing about his objective. However, he was not averse to using the notion of *liff* when it suited his purposes to do so. As we have seen, marriage links automatically create *liff* links at the lineage level, and nobody was more aware of this than 'Abd al-Krim. He used it to his advantage and assured himself of the support of the Imrabdhen clan through his first marriage to a woman of one of their discontinuous lineages, that of the Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari in Tigarth of the lowland Aith 'Ari. (His second wife was the sister of Muhammad Bu Jibar of Ajdir, his Intendent-General, whose own wife was 'Abd al-Krim's sister.[24] Following the letter of the law, he maintained each wife in a different house, the first in his establishment at Ajdir, and the second in the house he built later at Aith Qamra). It will be recalled that his mother had come from the Imrabdhen as well; thus both his father and he continued the precedent set over a century earlier by Sidi Mhand u-Musa (who had married the daughter of an *amghar* of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari), and not only kept intact but renewed the long-standing alliance between the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Imrabdhen. Several of the men of the Imrabdhen were also given respectable command posts in the regular army, as we shall see. On the other hand, those Imrabdhen who defied him were dealt with summarily, as the cases of Sidi 'Abdssram bu Rjila and Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa show.

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[23] Cf. Shinar, op. cit., 1965, p. 166. When 'Abd al-Krim commented on a remark made about him by the Spanish dictator Primo de Rivera, he said, "I am not a fanatic because I am proud of being a Muslim. Other peoples' beliefs do not interest me." Here he admitted that what Primo de Rivera had said about him was correct; but on the former's third point, 'Abd al-Krim said that he had misjudged him and added, "However, yes indeed, a nationalist, that I am." (Cf. also Gabriélli, op. cit., 1952, p. 88).

[24] His brother Si Mhammad also had two wives, the first also from the Imrabdhen, and the second from the "lay holy" lineage of Dharwa n-Bu Jiddain in the Axt Tuzin. Another sister of 'Abd al-Krim was married to Si Muhand Azarqan, the Foreign Minister of the "Rifian Republic." And Si 'Abdssram r-Khattabi, 'Abd al-Krim's uncle, was married to a sister of 'Abd al-Krim's first wife.

It cannot be stressed enough that the primary objective of the new state was the achievement of the total and unconditional independence of the Rif and all of the Northern Protectorate, save the *presidios*, from Spain, and the recognition of that independence, first by France and then by the rest of the world; this objective 'Abd al-Krim repeatedly and clearly stated. That he later wished to cut off French communications by taking Taza and to rally all Moroccans by taking the cultural capital of Fez also seems clear. These are, as anyone can see, thoroughly "modern" (as opposed to "traditional") nationalist objectives, and indeed the whole character of the Rifian resistance had strong nationalist overtones, despite the tribal clothing in which it was dressed.

Therefore to assert, as some have done,[25] that 'Abd al-Krim achieved unification of the whole of the Rif and the Jbala primarily through a manipulation of the *liff* system is manifestly incorrect: for at the level of the "Rifian Republican State" we have gone well beyond the boundaries of even upper-level *liff* systems to enter into the realm of a wartime tribal coalition eventually embracing seventy to eighty discrete tribal groups, all administered more or less directly from Ajdir through the Waryaghar regular army commanders and tribal *harka* contingent leaders. (The loyalty of groups located on the fringes was apt to be rather less than that of any of the core tribes, to be sure). Since each Rifian tribe constitutes traditionally its own *liff* system, and since this system in no case goes beyond the immediately bordering clans of any neighbor tribe of the same order, the contention of Furneaux that 'Abd al-Krim, in 1924, had to help the Jbalan tribe of the Bni Zarwal, in the French zone, because he was in *liff* with them is extremely implausible.[26] (One can only guess that Si Mhammad, in talking to Furneaux about his brother's decision to invade the French zone the following year, invoked *liff*, or the notion of *liff*, as an excuse). The Bni Zarwal are in no way bordered by the Aith Waryaghar, or indeed by any Rifian tribe; and in any case, the *liff* alliance of dual political factions was, in northern Morocco, an institution that was characteristically Rifian and seems to have been conspicuously absent in the Jbala as in the Ghmara.[27] Whether in this instance, as Roger-Mathieu states,[28] 'Abd al-Krim simply annexed those Bni Zarwal living in the Spanish zone through the medium of a small *harka* of the regular army, or whether, as Gabriélli implies,[29] the Bni Zarwal actively sought his protection against the exactions of the French-backed head *sharif* of the Darqawa order, Mulay 'Abd ar-Rahman bin Tayyib ad-Darqawi, resident in the main *zawiya* of the order at Amjjut (Bni Zarwal), seems beside the point—which is that the terrified Bni Zarwal were to be picked up by the rapidly advancing Rifian snowball in one way or another. More will be said about this episode below in the section dealing with the period 1925–1926.

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In the very initial stages of the war, 'Abd al-Krim's prestige among his own immediate followers from the Waryaghar lowlands skyrocketed after his victory at Dahar Ubarran, and he also fully won over the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin. However, it is possible that the mountain *imgharen* from the Aith 'Ammarth, from the Igzinnayen, and even from the Waryaghar highlands may still have regarded him as something of a parvenu and an upstart. Since the mountain clans were his primary source of hardy fighting men, he enrolled their warriors in the ranks of his *harkas* while giving their *imgharen* top field commands. One of the top-ranking *kibar mhalla* (Rif. *imqqranen nj-mhaddjath*, lit. "big ones of the *mhalla*"), as the *harka* commanders were called, was Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu Khrif in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who after the war became *qaid* of the Nkur (a position he held until his deposition in 1951, under circumstances described in Chapter 9). The Qaid Haddu particularly distinguished himself on the French front around Kifan in 1925, and 'Abd al-Krim nominated him as *qaid quyad*, or top *qaid*, over all the southern Waryaghar clans, as well as over the Marnisa, the northern half of the Branis, half of the Ibdharsen (or l-Mtalsa), and all the Igzinnayen after the liquidation of the Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen. Other *kibar mhalla* included r-Hadi bin 'Azzuz, of Lower Thamasind in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and Sha'ib n-Muh n-Bu Qaryurth, of Truguth in the Thimsaman, both of whom fought first on the Spanish and then on the French front in the Bni Zarwal; Muh n-Hammish of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash; Sha'ib l-Ya'qubi, of the Thimsaman, who fought on the eastern Spanish front near Midar in the Axt Tuzin; and Hmidu Khriru of the Bni Huzmar in the northwestern Jbala, an ex-lieutenant of the Sharif Mulay Hmid r-Raisuni (see next section).[30]

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[25] Coon, op. cit., 1958, p. 317, and Furneaux, op. cit., 1967, pp. 52, 85. I also once subscribed to this viewpoint (cf. Hart, op. cit., 1954, pp. 72–73), but do so no longer. The whole issue of manipulation in this case seems to me to be overblown.

[26] Furneaux, op. cit., 1967, pp. 146, 147–8.

[27] D. M. Hart, fieldnotes, 1965.

[28] Roger-Mathieu, op. cit., 1927, p. 136.

[29] Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, p. 53.

Those *imgharen* who were not in a technical sense given field commands, either in the regular army or as *kibar mhalla*, were made *qaids* in their own respective clan bailiwicks. This does not mean to imply that they did no fighting—to the contrary, they were responsible for the mobilization of their constituents into *harkas* in the event that the war came into their territory. The Central Rifian tribes did not need *kibar mhalla* (although, as in the case of Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, they might operate there), for these posts were created largely to keep the Sinhaja, Ghmara, and Jbala tribes under Rifian (and specifically, under Aith Waryaghar) control. In Waryagharland itself, ‘Abd al-Krim appointed the following *qaids:* (1) ‘Amar n-Siddiq of Ihadduthen, for the Aith Hadhifa; (2) ‘Abdallah n-Sa‘id of Bu Sarah (a warrior of repute who was to lose a leg in a battle against tanks on the French front) for the Aith ‘Abdallah; (3) Muh Azarqan of Aith Bu Qiyadhen, for the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash; (4) Si Sha‘ib n-Si ‘Ari Ubarru of Tigarth, for the Aith ‘Ari; (5) Muh nj-Hajj ‘Amar of Buham, for the Aith Yusif w-‘Ari; (6) Muh n-Muhand n-Bu Qabut of Bu Sa‘ida, for the Aith ‘Arus; (7) Muh n-Hammadi of Bu Ma‘dan, for the Timarzga; (8) Mzzyan n-Hmid of the Aith Mhand u-Sa‘id lineage for Ignan, in the Aith Turirth (this *qaid*-ship was later awarded to Hammadi n-‘Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage of l-‘Ass—(see Chapter 12); (9) Hammadi nj-Hajj Sa‘id of Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, for the Lower Imrabdhen; and (10) ‘Allush Umrabit of Aith ‘Aziz, for the Upper Imrabdhen. If any man could be said to have been *qaid* of the whole tribe, it was, of course, "the son of Si ‘Abd al-Krim" himself.

In the Aith ‘Ammarth, ‘Abd al-Krim nominated Hajj Mhand n-Tiyyib of Buhuth in the clan of the Yinn Sa‘id Ikhrif as the tribal *qaid;* but the members of the other *liff*, not untypically, protested, saying that he should nominate one of them. Because of internal conflicts, he had in fact to nominate two men—Hajj ‘Allush n-Twaryaghatsh of Tazruth (whose mother, as indicated by his name, was a Waryaghar woman from the Timarzga), and Hajj Haddu nj-Hajj ‘Aisa of Thimrizin—to a dual command in the clan of the Aith ‘Abbu, while he nominated Muhammad Kaina of I‘ashban in that of the Ija‘unen, and ‘Abd r-Rahman n-Si Hmid of Agnis in that of the Aith r-Hasain. The dual command alluded to above indicates that, at the localized clan level, ‘Abd al-Krim sometimes found that he had to accommodate the old *liff* rivalries. Hajj Mhand n-Tiyyib was denounced because it was said that he was making a secret deal with ‘Amar n-Hmidu, the *qaid* of the Marnisa who was backed by the French and an enemy of ‘Abd al-Krim. Here again we see the strength of the old *liff* alliance, for the Marnisa had been in *liff* with the Aith ‘Ammarth clans of the Yinn Sa‘id Ikhrif and the Aith r-Hasain. Anyhow, ‘Abd al-Krim found out about this and had Hajj Mhand n-Tiyyib brought to Ajdir and jailed there. He appointed Muh Usbuh of the Aith r-Hasain (and brother of ‘Amar Usbuh, who was *qaid* of the Aith ‘Ammarth during my fieldwork there in 1954) and ‘Amar nj-Hajj Miftah of Khazziyath in the Yinn Sa‘id Ikhrif in the place of Hajj Mhand n-Tiyyib: once again, a dual command.

In the Igzinnayen, all to fall under the military command of Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, there were the following appointments: (1) in the Asht ‘Aru ‘Aisa, Muh Amzzyan Ukhiyyad;[31] in the Asht ‘Asim, (2) for Ikhuwanen, Hmid nj-Hajj Biqqish and Qaid Finnish (another dual command), (3) for Iharrushen, one Mhand (father's name unknown) and (4) for Tamjund, Muhand Bu l-Makur; in the Imzdurar, (5) for Inhanahan and Iharshriyen, Hajj Hammada, (6) for Thara Tazzugwakhth, Si Hmid l-Hunash and (7) for Marar, Muhand n-Bu Attawen; (8) in the Asht Yunis, Muh n-Muhammadi n-Bu Rquba; (9) in the Asht Mhand, Si Muhand n-‘Allal n-Dahhu; and (10) in the Asht r-Udha, Hajj Tahar of Ishawiyen.

The appointments made by ‘Abd al-Krim in the Axt Tuzin are interesting,[32] for again they illustrate the dual command principle. 'Abd al-Krim was very well received in the clan of the Axt 'Akki, and at the beginning he seems to have let the government by *aitharbi'in* continue. He only decided later to have them nominate a *qaid* of their own choosing. The *aitharbi'in* met in Amzawru (Thimsaman) in 'Abd al-Krim's presence, and they proposed Muh u-Dadi n-Muhand, a *fqih* who had little prestige, for they thought that they would remain the power behind him. Muh u-Dadi lasted for two years, but 'Abd al-Krim finally dismissed him for incompetence. He then appointed Si Sha'ib nj-Hajj 'Amar u-Muhammadi of Imminithen, who remained in office for six months. He died, and it was suspected that 'Abd al-Krim had had him poisoned for betrayal. His nephew Muh n-'Amar n-Danutt succeeded him, and he too only lasted a few months, to be replaced by Hajj 'Amwar w-'Allal of Isrimathen, who again lasted only six months. Toward the end of the war, 'Abd al-Krim decided to put a *qaid* at the head of each *liff:* Hajj r-'Arbi Ashtar was put in charge of that of the Axt Mirix, and Si Muhammad n-'Ari in charge of that of the Thahuwasth. This arrangement lasted until the Spanish occupation.

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[30] An excellent account of the career of Hmidu Khriru is given in Tomás García Figueras, "Un Cabecilla de Yebala: Ahmed Ben Mohammad el Hosmari (a) El Jeriro," in same author, *Miscelánea de Estudios Varios Sobre Marruecos*, Vol. II, Tetuan: Editora Marroquí, 1953, pp. 73-118. An even more excellent biography, and in English, of his former chief Raisuni is Rosita Forbes, *The Sultan of the Mountains: The Life Story of Raisuli*, New York: Holt, 1924, although it was published before Raisuni's capture by ‘Abd al-Krim. Two fine published accounts of the latter episode are, again, Tomás García Figueras, *Del Marruecos Feudal: Episodios de la Vida del Cherif Raisuni*, Madrid, Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1930, pp. 209-241; and Intervenciones Militares de la Región de Yebala Central, *Memoria Relativa a las Kábilas Que Integran Esta Regional*, Tetuán: Casa Gomariz, 1934, pp. 169-180.

[31] In my own files (Igzinnayen/Aith Waryaghar Document, MS. 1), I recorded a translation of a document from the Igzinnayen, dated June 1924 (Dhu l-Qa‘da 1342) to the effect that the Qaid Muhammad Amzzyan bin Akhiyyad of the Awlad ‘Ali bin ‘Aisa of the Gzinnaya testified (in front of the Qaid Hmid bin Budra al-Waryaghli and the Qaid Haddu bin Muh Amzzyan al-Bu ‘Ayyashi, the *kbir mhalla* of the Gzinnaya at Timdgharth in the Axt Tuzin, to where the document had been sent) that he had nominated as *qaids* "over their brothers," in the communities of Tinimlal (Rif. Thinimrar) and Hibil (Rif. Hibir), Sillam bin bil-Hajj and ‘Abd ar-Rahman ar-Rahmuni. At the time this same document was drawn up, the *quyad l-miya*, or *qaids* of 100 men, were also chosen, "after discussion," and under the watchful eye of Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, the dhu-Bu ‘Ayyash who was then the *kbir mhalla* of the Igzinnayen.

[32] This information is taken from José Ojeda del Rincón, MS., op. cit., 1954.

In the clan of the Axt Bir'aiz, the *aitharbi'in* nominated as *qaid* one Hammu n-Sillam, but 'Abd al-Krim, using his powers of veto, dismissed him and put in Muh n-Bu Zaryuh, of Axt r-Ahsin, in his place. Again, not long afterward, he appointed a *qaid* for each *liff*—Hammu n-Sillam, again, for that of the Ijarrayen, and Muh n-Bu Inudh for that of the Isqifath. The position was the important thing, and the man who held it was simply a marionette who jumped when 'Abd al-Krim pulled the strings.

In the Axt Tsafth clan, 'Abd al-Krim appointed two *qaids* for each of the two *liffs*, Muhand n-Kswa n-Si Muhand Ixen for that of the Axt Yihyi, and Mhand nj-Ahsin nj-Hashmi for that of the Axt r-'Ari, for each of the Axt Tuzin clans was split right down the middle. When both of these men became *kibar mhalla*, he then appointed a single *qaid*, 'Abdssram nj-Qadi Stitu; he lasted only a short time, for the Spanish occupation was effected only a few months later.

In the Axt Ta'ban clan, after Bu r-Hrif, who had been a bitter opponent of Bu Hmara, was accidently killed in 1920, his son Muhand was nominated as *qaid;* he lasted until 'Abd al-Krim imprisoned him in Ajdir, where he died. Afterwards Bu Dar, who had been *qaid* under Bu Hmara, was nominated *qaid* once again, but was dismissed for incompetence. Then Si Muhand Azzugwagh of Iminnuhan was appointed, and he lasted until the end of the war.

In the Igharbiyen clan, 'Abd al-Krim let the *aitharbi'in* continue to govern for a while, but he later designated Muh n-Haddu n-Si 'Ari as *qaid;* the latter remained in office only a short time, as Spanish troops soon returned, and the 'Azib of Midar remained without a headman. 'Abd al-Krim also appointed Muh n-Shuhuas *qaid* of Midar and Si Mhand n-Hammadi Haddu as *qaid* of the mountain Igharbiyen. This dual command, again lasting until the Spanish occupation, was a reflection of the extreme degree of internal fractionation in the Axt Tuzin.

These examples are revealing. If we turn back to the Aith Waryaghar, for example, we may notice that 'Abd al-Krim created *qaid*-ships for not only every "fifth" in the tribe, but for every clan and subclan as well. The distribution of political authority was carefully marked at every key point in the tribal social structure. 'Abd al-Krim meticulously saw to it that, in his own tribe at least, old *liff* enemies like the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga should not be under the same *qaid;* the same applied to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari in the lowlands. In the Aith 'Ammarth, the Igzinnayen, and the Axt Tuzin, he was less conversant, perhaps, with the internal political situation than in his own tribe, and doubtless he made a few mistakes; but these were soon rectified by the staffing of clan *qaid*-ships with more "politically reliable" individuals. Since all of these *qaids* were directly responsible to him for the behavior of their constituents, this marked a further development in the centralization of political authority. In addition, a comparison with the data given for the period of the *Ripublik* shows that only a very few of the *imgharen* who had risen to power in Bu Hmara's time remained; the new crop of tribal authorities were for the most part contemporaries of 'Abd al-Krim.

In keeping with the Moroccan governmental model, all the titles that 'Abd al-Krim conferred on his helpers were Arabic rather than Berber ones. Tribal and clan heads became *qaids* and *harka* commanders commanders *kibar mhalla;* the leaders of the regular army, under the authority of the *qaid l-mishwar* ('Abd al-Krim Haddu n-Si Ziyyan of Ajdir), who in return received his orders from 'Abd al-Krim's brother Si Mhammad, were *quyad t-tabur* (*qaids* of *taburs* or "battalions"). The maximum strength of the regular army, the organization of which began in 1922 under Si Mhammad's direction, was no more than 3,000 men, even at the peak period;[33] of these, 300 were sharpshooters and 100 were machine-gunners. One informant said there were a total of six *taburs*, with three

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[33] Even 'Abd al-Krim's claim of 6000–7000, which seems small enough, is probably exaggerated. Cf. Roger-Mathieu, op. cit., 1927, p. 140. Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 95, estimates a total of only 2000.

taburs constituting a *rha* under a *qaid r-rha*, but the names of the two *quyad r-rha* were not remembered, so this version is perhaps best discounted. Accounts again vary as to whether there was a total of five or of six *taburs* in all, and as to whether each *tabur* consisted of 300, 400, or 500 men;[34] I would personally endorse the last-mentioned figure, as well as the total of five *taburs*. If we accept this proposal of five *taburs* of five hundred men apiece, each one then, in turn, consisted of five *miyas* of one hundred men apiece under its *qaid l-miya*. Below each *qaid l-miya* (said to correspond to the rank of captain, while *qaid t-tabur* corresponded to major) were two *quyad khamsin* (*qaids* of 50); below these, four *quyad khamsa w-'ashrin* (*qaids* of 25); then eight *quyad t-tna'sh* (*qaids* of 12); and finally the ordinary soldiers or *'askaris*. (The correspondence for *qaids* of 50, 25, and 12 would thus have been to lieutenant, sergeant, and corporal, respectively.)

The first Tabur, under the command of Muh n-'Amar n-Hammish of Aith Brahim in the Lower Imrabdhen (or, according to another source, from Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), consisted entirely of Aith Waryaghar. *Qaids* of 100 in this *tabur* included: 'Amar n-Muh n-Sa'id of Ighmiren in the Aith 'Adhiya (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Mhand nj-Hajj 'Ari of the Aith Hadhifa, Malik of the Aith 'Abdallah, and Muh Azdhadh ("Muh the Skinny") of the Aith 'Arus, one of the ablest and fiercest individual fighters of the whole war. (Like the *kbir mhalla* of the Jbala, Hmidu Khriru, he never surrendered to the Spanish at all and met his death only in 1927 with the last dissidents in the west, nearly a year after 'Abd al-Krim had departed the scene.)

The Second Tabur, under Sha'ib n-Hammadi n-'Allush (nicknamed Sha'ib Afiddjah, "Sha'ib The Farmer") of the Ihaddushen lineage in Aith Musa w-'Amar of the lowland Aith 'Ari, included the following *qaids* of 100: 'Amar n-Bu Ghlit of the Ibuqquyen; Qaid Muhammad Kahal of Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa in the Upper Imrabdhen; and Qaid Muhammad n-Siddiq of an Imrabdhen lineage (Ifasiyen) in Azghar of the Aith Yusif w-'Aisa in the Upper Imrabdhen; and Qaid Muhammad n-Siddiq of an Imrabdhen lineage (Ifasiyen) in Azghar of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari. This particular *tabur* engaged in successive operations in Wad Law and Shawen to the west, and later at the Wargha River, the Branis, and the Bni Waryagil in the French-zone Jbala. (By 1953–1955 the *qaid* of this particular *tabur* had become the *mqaddim* of the Aith 'Ari, under the Spanish administration; he is now deceased.)

The Third Tabur, under the command of Qaid Muhammad Buhut of the Iqar'ayen, was headquartered at Ajdir and consisted primarily of artillery. *Qaids* of 100 in this *tabur* included: 'Amar n-Qaddur, of Aith 'Amar in the Aith Turirth; 'Amar nj-Hajj Muhand of Thazaghin in the Aith 'Abdallah; and Si Bu Tahar of Thariwin in the Aith 'Abdallah.

These first three *taburs* were entirely Rifian in composition. In the Fourth Tabur, however, other elements appear. It was commanded by l-Hasan bin 'Amar Tahadith, of the Bni Ziyyat tribe in the Ghmara; one of its *qaids* of 100 was 'Ali 'Arjwan, also of the Ghmara, and it operated both there and in the French zone. It seems unlikely, however, that this whole *tabur* was totally made up of Ghmarans: 'Abd al-Krim would not have allowed this, for the chances of defection would have been too great. It must have contained at least some of the "Prussians of the Rif," as Gabriélli, perhaps not too inappropriately, styles the Aith Waryaghar, in terms of their role in the war.

Finally, the Fifth Tabur was commanded by a Qaid Hmid Susi, and consisted to a considerable extent of machine-gunners. *Qaids* of 100 included: Si Muhand Jilah of Ajdir, one l-Ma'ti, from the Gharb, and one Mfaddal. The *qaid t-tabur* himself and the last two *qaids* of 100 men were obvious non-Rifians who had had experience with machine-guns, probably in the French Army, while the Qaid Buhut of the Fourth Tabur was a former lieutenant in the Spanish *Regulares* who went over to 'Abd al-Krim in 1921 and became the principal drill instructor of the regular army.

Attached to the *taburs* were other individuals such as Si Muhammadi Aghyayar of Ajdir, r-Hadi bin 'Azzuz of Lower Thamasind (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), and Sha'ib n-Muh n-Bu Qaryurth of the Thimsaman, all of whom functioned as *kibar mhalla* (*harka* leaders). The last two, indeed, went into the Bni Zarwal, in the French Jbala, probably as early as 1924, in the capacity of *ruyas* or administrative commanders in order to lay the groundwork of "political preparation" for 'Abd al-Krim's coming invasion.

Officers and men both wore the dark brown knee-length jillaba that was the distinctive Rifian garment of the day, and both also wore the oldstyle Rifian *dhaghrafth*, a length of wool that was wrapped tightly around their heads and that could sometimes serve as a rifle case (the white cotton turban was not worn until later). Officers wore white belts and Moroccan leather slippers, while soldiers' footgear consisted of palmetto or esparto grass sandals. All the Aith Waryaghar contingents, whether or not they were regular army, generally carried carbines or French Lebel 1886 model repeaters, while other tribes usually had to content themselves with 1888 model Spanish Mausers (which had been picked in huge quantities off the battlefield at Dahar Ubarran) or, to a lesser extent, with French Gras 1874 model rifles. Flintlocks were now almost entirely a thing of the past in Waryagharland. All members of the regular army also wore cartridge belts made by the leatherworkers of the Taghzut tribe of the Sinhaja Srir, while the *quyad t-tabur* were all armed with pistols as well. And since everyone had his long straight dagger (*dhasbutsh*), any member of the regular army was close to being a walking arsenal.

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[34] One informant said three hundred, another said five hundred. Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 97, takes four hundred as a happy medium. Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, p. 48, on the other hand, opts, as we do, for a total of only 2500 men for the Regular Army as a whole. It should be noted that, in the traditional Moroccan military view, the *tabur* is a unit of variable strength.

The colors used for insignia were the same as those of the flag of the "Rifian Republic" which consisted of a white diamond in the center of a red background, with a green crescent moon below a six-pointed star of matching green inside the diamond.[35] Rank could be seen at a glance by the color and number of stripes on a man's *dhaghrafth:* a *qaid t-tabur* wore a red *dhaghrafth* with three green stripes and was paid 25 duros (125 pesetas) per month;[36] a *qaid* of 100 wore a red *dhaghrafth* with two green stripes and received 20 duros (100 pesetas) per month; a *qaid* of 50 wore a red *dhaghrafth* with one green stripe and received 16 duros (80 pesetas) per month; a *qaid* of 25 wore a red *dhaghrafth* with a green half-stripe and received 14 duros (70 pesetas) per month; a *qaid* of 12 wore a red *dhaghrafth* with no stripes and was paid 13 duros (65 pesetas) per month; and an ordinary soldier wore a green *dhagrafth* with no stripes and was paid 12 duros (60 pesetas) per month. Machine-gunners and artillerymen wore black *dhaghrafths* with red stripes, the number varying according to their rank, and their pay scale was according to rank as above. (The pay rates listed by Gen. Goded are slightly higher than those given by my informants.)[37]

The government supplied its soldiers with rifles and ammunition, but no food; this they brought from home or took from the tribes in whose territories their *taburs* might be stationed. 'Abd al-Krim's personal bodyguard, the *huffad*, though mobile, was permanently stationed in Ajdir under a *qaid khamsin*, the Qaid Hadidan; it consisted of 50 hand picked regular army soldiers, all of whom, without exception, were Aith Waryaghar. Si Mhammad was in charge of the telephone system, and there were a few telephone operators in Ajdir who maintained communication with his headquarters at Targist; these operators were mostly boys who had been taught how to rig up telephone wires by a Spanish prisoner nicknamed Antonio El Mecánico. A handful of other foreigners, not more than twenty, held various positions, mostly very undistinguished ones, in 'Abd al-Krim's service. Among them were a Turk named Khalid and a Serbian Muslim named 'Abdallah; the latter worked in Azghar on artillery. Josef Klemms, a German from Düsseldorf who had deserted from the French Foreign Legion, and who became known to the Rifians as the "Hajj Alman," managed to become a *qaid* of 50 in the artillery *tabur* of the regular army, although 'Abd al-Krim never trusted him completely; the French recaptured him in Fez in June 1926.[38] It is abundantly evident, as Woolman has also noted,[39] that the Rifians ran their own operation entirely. Whatever allegations may have been made in the past, there is no doubt that the "brains" behind 'Abd al-Krim were his own.

The establishment of prisons was another of 'Abd al-Krim's major innovations. Prisoners of war were kept in the jails at Ajdir and Aith Qamra. They were put to work building pistes and making hand grenades out of old tomato cans packed with nails—a procedure at which the gunsmiths of Taghzut also became very expert. Even if the lot of the prisoners was not a happy one, a careful assessment of the then current tales of 'Abd al-Krim's atrocities toward his captives shows that most of these stories may be discounted. It is true that, being a man of steadfastness of purpose (his detractors would label it "single-mindedness"), he became more intransigent as the war progressed and as his power solidified. He was much harder, for instance, on Rifian and Jbalan prisoners who had demurred or defected, and who were caught and jailed in Thamasind. Many of these last were starved to death; Raisuni is virtually a case in point. 'Abd al-Krim could not escape the violence endemic in his own social milieu, but at the same time he was intelligent enough not to be insensitive to European public opinion.

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[35] Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, published a photograph of the Rifian flag between pp. 95-96 of his book; and his description of it is confirmed by Dr. Carleton S. Coon, personal communication, 1966. It is worth noting that although the flag of the present kingdom of Morocco has the outline of a green five-pointed star in the center of a red background, there are nonetheless other precedents in the history of Moroccan flags for six-pointed stars. Cf. B. Dubreuil, *Les Pavillons des Etats Musulmans*, Publications de la Faculte des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Nouvelle Serie, t. I. Rabat: Centre Universitaire de la Recherche Scientifique, ca. 1962.

[36] 'Abd al-Krim had paper money printed, presumably in England, as I have seen a photograph of a "Five Riffan Note," in English and in Arabic, amongst the personal archives of Col. Emilio Blanco. It was supposedly worth 50 English pence or 5 gold French francs at the time. However, the extent to which this money was actually in circulation seems questionable, for all my informants spoke solely in terms of duros and pesetas.

[37] Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 94. It may also be noted that 'Abd al-Krim instituted the following medals for bravery in action: 1) the *madaya rifiya*, or Rifian Medal, worth 50 pesetas; 2) the *istihqaq l-harbi*, or Medal of War Merit, worth 30 pesetas; and 3) the *maziya*, or Superiority Medal, worth 15 pesetas. The term *madaya* is derived from Spanish *medalla*.

[38] Cf. Roger-Mathieu, op. cit., 1927, p. 146.

[39] Woolman, op. cit., 1968, p. 151. Woolman also gives an account of Klemms' swashbuckling career on pp. 151-152.

Spies, of course, received very short shrift. An informant from the Igzinnayen, whose father had been a *qaid l-miya*, stated that his father and 'Abd al-Krim were once together on the front in the Axt Tuzin in 1925. 'Abd al-Krim picked up his binoculars to see a Rifian coming toward them in the distance, and announced immediately that the man was a traitor and in the pay of the French. The man arrived and was seized, and his leather scrip was searched, as well as all his clothing; not until the cartridges of his rifle were opened up did they find pieces of paper, written in Arabic, and describing 'Abd al-Krim's army, armament, and order of battle. Instead of killing the man outright, 'Abd al-Krim had him bound hand and foot, weighted with a huge stone, and thrown into the sea. The man lingered for fifteen days and then died.

Supporting the regular army in its operations were the tribal levies, the *harkas*, which at the height of 'Abd al-Krim's power—in the summer of 1925—numbered some 60,000 men. Thus, with the addition of the regular army in its role of "ram-rodding" the *harkawis*, his total fighting force was no more than 65,000, if that. Of these *harkawis*, Gabriélli estimates that 15,000-20,000 were Aith Waryaghar; 6,000 were Thimsaman; 5,000 each, Axt Tuzin and Igzinnayen; 2,000 each, Aith 'Ammarth and Ibuqquyen; and the rest, some 20,000, a mixture of Eastern Rifians, Sinhaja Srir, Ghmara, and Jbala.[40] This was not a large fighting force (especially given the proportions to which the Franco-Spanish forces swelled), but it was a formidable one. The value of these contingents as fighting men varied, naturally, with their origins: all conceded that while the Central Rifian tribes as a whole were second to none as guerrilla warriors, the palm went to the Aith Waryaghar, and in particular, to the Aith 'Arus, Aith Turirth, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Aith 'Abdallah. The Aith 'Ammarth contingent rendered particularly valuable service as scouts; the Ibuqquyen were quick to adapt and learn; the Igzinnayen, "crazy but very brave"; the Thimsaman, shrewd; and the Axt Tuzin, slow but steady.

These *harkas* were organized almost exactly as the regular army was, with this difference: those stationed on the fronts (east and west against Spain, south against France) were led by *kibar mhalla*, while those organized for tribal defense were led by men called *qaid tabur nj-harkth*, each of whom had 400 men under him. These were divided into two sections of 200 men each, led by a *qaid l-miyatain*, or *qaid* of 200, after which came the *qaids* of 100, 50, and so on down the chain of command to the ordinary tribesmen. As always, the rank was directly related to the number of men commanded, in an orderly and regular progression: Moroccans in general have much respect for military behavior and hierarchy. All men considered capable of bearing arms (i.e., from the age of sixteen, when a youth must begin to observe the Ramadan fast, to fifty) were liable to be called up, and whereas service in the regular army was voluntary, in the *harkas* it was obligatory. Mobilization was either partial or general: the former involved service by turns for a stipulated period of time, a specific number of men being drafted from each local community in the clan in order to fill up the clan quota; the latter was the *harka li had-sayim*, the *harka* "of everyone who fasts," and it involved every male old enough to carry a gun.

Each individual about to be conscripted showed up with his rifle and cartridges (which the government did not supply for tribal levies, given the fact that every self-respecting tribesman was expected to possess his own); he carried his rations, bread and dried figs, in the hood of his jillaba. The pay scale was not fixed, but depended upon the type of operations engaged in. During periods of relative quiet, the *harka* levies were sent to Ajdir for four to eight days of drill instruction by 'Abd al-Krim's regular army. Discipline was not severe, as may be seen from the following *qanun nj-harkth* quoted from Blanco[41]

> Praise be to God. It is obligatory for all *qaids* and *harka* members to present themselves in fixed turns (for mobilization). No one may be even a day late. No one may go on leave during his turn of service without authorization from the *kbir mhalla*. Whoever does not obey these orders will incur the following punishments: for *harka* tribesmen who are tardy in reporting back to their posts, two days' extra service in the *harka* for each day of absence without leave, and a fine of 10 ptas.; for *qaids* of 25 men, the same, and a 15 pta. fine; for *qaids* of 50 men, the same, and a 20 pta. fine; for *qaids* of 100 men, the same, and a 25 pta. fine; and for *qaids* of 200 men, the same and a 30 pta. fine.—This is an order emanating from the fortunate Makhzan, may God protect it.—In Taghzut (Sinhaja Srir) on 23 Ramadan 1344 (March 8, 1926).—By order of 'Abd al-Krim bin Haddu bin Si Ziyyan.

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[40] Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, p. 49. We have, however, made one or two re-estimates in terms of the known tribal population figures of the time, and in terms of their relative strength *vis-à-vis* each other.

[41] E. Blanco Izaga, op. cit., 1939, p. 85.

FURTHER REFORMS: THE SUBSTITUTION OF LAW FOR CUSTOM, AND THE ISSUE OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS

Three of 'Abd al-Krim's most crucial reforms have already been discussed: the outlawing of the blood feud, the decollectivization of oaths, and his efforts to undermine the *liff* system. The effects of these changes may be approached in another way, and at a more general level. The Rif had been essentially a Berber area, in speech, thought, and custom. 'Abd al-Krim left it a legacy of Arabization and Islamization (the latter in the sense of greater conformity with the precepts and the letter of the Law), and we shall now look at some of the effects of this legacy. The process of Arabization may not have been wholly initiated by 'Abd al-Krim—for the Shari'a has always been on the doorstep, so to speak, of the Rifian *'urf* or *qa'ida* or Customary Law, and vice versa—but he hastened it to a degree that was quite unprecedented.

Along with the reorganization of the military forces along Arab and Makhzan lines came another, even more important facet of the Arabization process: the nearly full-scale substitution of the Shari'a for the old *'urf*, the Customary Law that had, with few modifications, reigned for centuries. In an orthodox Islamic "state" (whether real or hypothetical), Customary Law has little or no place. Therefore the *'urf* had to go, as detrimental to the Rifian Islamic image. Since his father had been a *qadi*, and since he himself had gone a step further and had become a *qadi* of *qadis*, the *'urf* was totally repugnant to 'Abd al-Krim, representing a backward and hidebound traditionalism. His views on this score were no doubt strongly reinforced by his exposure to Salafiya doctrine during the period when he was editing the Arabic section of the *El Telegrama del Rif* in Melilla.

'Abd al-Krim therefore officially adopted and stressed the legal system of Maliki Islam (which in any event had always been rather more than tacitly accepted in the Rif). As a result, *qadis*, who had heretofore been minimal in number, were now acquired or trained locally. They were then sent to each clan of each tribe in order to administer the Shari'a there. For each *qadi* who was appointed there were now, in addition, always two *'adul*, or notaries public, who assisted him.

If we hark back to the days of the *Ripublik* and of the *aitharbi'in*, when the *fqih* of the local Friday mosque was the only literate individual within a considerable geographical radius, we may note how many of the offenses and sanctions of a graver nature which formerly fell under their jurisdiction were now assimilated either by the Makhzan of 'Abd al-Krim, *r-hkam n-'Abd r-Krim* or by the Shari'a. This assimilation was an integral part of what may be conveniently referred to as 'Abd al-Krim's Arabization program. The result was that by mid-1926 and the effective occupation of the region by Spain, Customary Law in the Rif had to all intents and purposes become a dead letter (in contrast to the situation in the Middle and Central Atlas regions of the country, where the French were very careful to preserve it under glass). The old Berber political system, in the North of Morocco, had become Arabized and Islamized.

'Abd al-Krim's reforms did not stop here: on the contrary, they reached down, in one way or another, to touch almost every Rifian social institution and almost every phase of social and ritual life. In the domain of religion, for example, he made it absolutely mandatory for everyone to pray the required five times a day. This was definitely something new to at least some Rifian tribes: certain Aith 'Ammarth informants, for instance, admitted quite candidly that before 'Abd al-Krim's time, their men hardly ever prayed, and their women never. The Aith Waryaghar, on the other hand, are far too self-righteous ever to make any such admission; but as any reformer must set his own house in order before trying to do the same for others, it is certain that 'Abd al-Krim saw to it that the injunction was very rigorously carried out in his own tribe. Any man who missed even one of his daily prayers had to serve from fifteen to twenty days in a *harka* on the front. He also ordered women to pray, and any woman who did not comply was fined a chicken. He even ordered the *tulba* in the mosques to attend strictly to their Qur'anic studies and to instruct the small boys of each community in the Holy Book. The implication here is that the *tulba* were henceforth barred from stitching jillabas, an occupation that had previously been theirs and that had helped them supplement their income. This task was to be taken over by professional tailors—who could be seen, in Spanish times, working furiously with Alfa sewing machines, lined up in rows in front of their shops in the permanent settlements of any Rifian market community.

A *qanun* from the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of the Igzinnayen (Igzinnayen-Aith Waryaghar MS. 2), dated June-July 1925, the peak summer of 'Abd al-Krim's peak year, stipulates by order of the Commander-in-Chief that anyone who steals vegetables, fruits, nuts, or grain will be fined one duro and one frank (i.e., 6 pesetas), and that if he is reluctant to pay, he will receive eight days' imprisonment (the mere existence of jails in Waryagharland is an index of how centralized 'Abd al-Krim's government had become). The same eight-day jail sentence applied if a man's animals should browse in the leaves of trees belonging to others. The document revealingly concludes:

> . . . There is to be no question about this, and the fines must be paid. Everyone, tribal authorities included, must do as Our Lord ['Abd al-Krim] says, as the People of the Book and the Sunna say; and those in the Makhzan [of 'Abd al-Krim] were agreed about this, the question of the rights of those who plant trees. Every overseer must be in his own terrain, in order to watch out for this, and anyone who is not agreed to what is written here will go to prison for eight days. This decree was made by intelligent people, and all the just and upright people were agreed about it. And the peace. The Basha Qaid Muhammad Amzzyan Akhiyyad and Muhammad bin al-Hasan.

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Raisuni was at least ten years older than 'Abd al-Krim, having been born about 1869-71 in the Bni Msawwar tribe of the Northwestern Jbala. He was an Idrisi *sharif*, a descendant of a patri-parallel cousin

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In 1913 Raisuni took to the hills, and from his new headquarters at Tazrut in the Bni 'Arus, his relations with Spain took on a new form: a series of defensive and offensive military actions interspersed with peace pacts and periods of cooperation. This phase was to last until 1921, when the Rif assumed the center of the stage in the Spanish protectorate. During this period, Tazrut was twice bombarded and twice evacuated. Raisuni's politicking with the Spanish assumed an almost classic "in-again, out-again" character, in which, even though he was proclaimed the leader of a *jihad*, his own self-interest was clearly the dominant factor. (His son Khalid Raisuni, later to become Pasha of Larache, or l-'Ara'ish, under the Spanish, was a lesser carbon copy of his father; with independence in 1956 he had to flee Morocco and take refuge in Spain, for having used his influence to feather his own nest, contrary to the national interest.)

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Twice emissaries were sent from Ajdir to Tazrut to see Raisuni and try to win him over to the war of independence for all of Northern Morocco; although the details of what passed between them are not known, the indications are strong that twice Raisuni hedged. It was then that Raisuni's lieutenant, Hmidu l-Khriru from the Bni Huzmar, disgusted with his chief's behavior, went over to 'Abd al-Krim.

It appears that the spark that set off the Rifian crackdown was an attempted tribal revolt in late 1924,[47] probably fomented by an agitator of the Darqawa religious order. It centered in the Jbalan tribe of the l-Khmas, in the Jbil l-Khzana near Shawen, but spread as far east as Targist. The l-Khmas had always been allied to Raisuni, and did not take kindly to the discipline imposed upon them by the Waryaghar *harka* commanders and officers of the regular army. After the recapture of Shawen they revolted, ambushing a large regular army patrol and mutilating the bodies. The Rifians turned on them savagely, killing 41, taking 11 prisoners, and imposing a *haqq* fine of 20,000 pesetas.[48] This incident gave 'Abd al-Krim—exasperated beyond endurance not only with Raisuni's behavior but with the whole complex of beliefs surrounding him, and his constant trafficking with the Christians—the excuse he needed, and provided the impetus for the Rifian march on Tazrut.

Starting from the regular army camp at Taghzut in the Bni Hassan, the column that went to get Raisuni was an impressive one: l-Khriru with 1,200 men in the *harka* of the vanguard; 600 Rifians in the center, including 300 Aith Waryaghar members of the regular army, with four machine-guns, under the *qaid l-mishwar*, 'Abd al-Krim Haddu n-Si Ziyyan; and a rearguard of 2,500 Ghmara under the *qaids* of the Bni Silman and Bni Rzin. The forces of l-Khriru drew back when the combat began, after which the Rifians, setting up their machine-guns, advanced and took possession of Raisuni's house and *zawiya*. They entered it at nightfall, and were said to have killed some 36 slaves on the roof who tried to resist; once they were inside, they disarmed 120 of Raisuni's men. Colonel Blanco's informant, from the Thimsaman, said he was the first to enter Raisuni's room, where he found him alone, seated and supporting his arms on two large cushions (Raisuni was, at the time, very obese and very ill). It seems that l-Khriru was ashamed to enter, and only came in the next day. When 'Abd al-Krim, afterwards, attributed the capture of Raisuni to him, this was a political maneuver. There was no looting, and all articles were inventoried in orderly fashion;[49] finally, under some mats, the *fqih* taking the inventory discovered some sacks containing 31,000 duros, which were given to the *qaid l-mishwar*, 'Abd al-Krim Haddu n-Si Ziyyan. In the same room the searchers saw a large box containing books and papers, and when they were able to move it, they found more money underneath. L-Khriru took over two tents, 50 guns, and a saddle worth 4,000 duros, while Blanco's Thimsaman informant kept a horse and a German pistol. The women of the household were respected, and guards were put over them, according to this same account. Only Raisuni himself spoke, saying that he was sorry that war between Muslims, which he did not believe in, could not have been avoided.

Other accounts of the amount of money taken from Raisuni's house are very much higher, and Woolman may well be correct in saying that Spain had paid Raisuni a huge monthly stipend of 80,000 pesetas (nearly 12,000 dollars at the time).[50] In any case, Raisuni had hedged his last bet. Now he only wished to die—and he did, three months later, in Waryagharland. On the journey back to the Rif, Raisuni was carried in a litter and was treated with a cold deference by his captors. He was met by 'Abd al-Krim in person in the Bni Bu Frah. 'Abd al-Krim, "the son of the *fqih*," closely queried Raisuni, "the biggest Christian," about his repeated procrastination over the previous invitations (or perhaps summonses) to join him.[51] Raisuni, hostile to the last, was then marched

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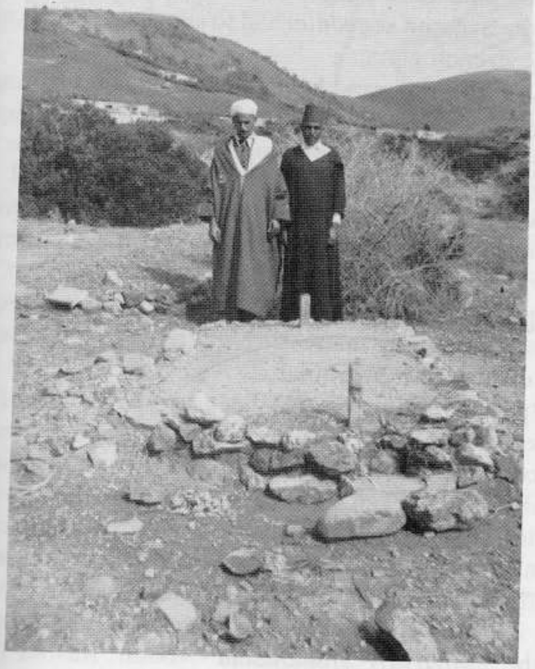
[47] Notes from papers of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga on an interview with Si Muhand n-Si Hmid nj-Mqaddim and his brother Si 'Abdssram, of Habbuqush, in the Truguth clan of the Thimsaman, on December 23, 1932. See also Garcia Figueras, op. cit., 1930, pp. 209-224, and *Intervenciones Militares de la Region de Yebala Central*, op. cit., 1934, pp. 169-180.

[48] This figure is taken from Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 92.

[49] According to Bermudo-Soriano, on the other hand, there was much looting, especially by the "vindictive and furious Aith Waryaghar" (op. cit., 1941, p. 90), but his book is as biased in favor of Raisuni as it is against 'Abd al-Krim and his representatives.

[50] Woolman, op. cit., 1968, p. 163.

[51] In this connection, a quotation from Woolman is of relevance: "An incident that serves to show not only the hatred with which many Jbala regarded Raisuni, but also the prompt severity of Rifian justice, has to do with the *qaid* of (the Jbalan tribe of) the Bni Layit. This notable had been instructed to deliver a message from 'Abd al-Krim asking Raisuni for the last time to join forces with the Rifians or take the consequences. Out of revenge, and either knowing or guessing the contents of the letter, the *qaid* purposely withheld the note in the hope that Raisuni would be destroyed in the coming battle. Raisuni fell, but so did the *qaid*. His complicity was discovered, and he was shot to death on the spot, for having caused so much unnecessary killing." Woolman, op. cit., 1968, pp. 163-164, citing Harris, op. cit., 1927, p. 188.



Grave of Mulay Hmid ar-Raisuni at Thamasind in Central Waryagharland (1953)

by the regular army to Thamasind and put in jail, where, swollen with dropsy and sunk in ignominy, he expired on April 3, 1925. He was buried without ceremony in the Thamasind community cemetery. In 1953 I saw and photographed his grave there, and it is virtually indistinguishable from any of the others. It seems safe to assume that the Sharif Mulay Hmid r-Raisuni, despite his *baraka*, which availed him nothing in the end, will never become a Moroccan national hero. One can only agree with Barbour that ʻAbd al-Krim was a "nobler type of resistance fighter."[52]

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ʻAbd al-Krim's treatment of Raisuni affords us a very good introduction to his attitudes about *shurfa*, *mrabtin*, and the whole question of religious orders. He had the deepest distrust of all of them, perhaps both from his upbringing in Waryagharland—where the combined influence of all three factors is slight, although lip-service may be paid—and certainly from his early exposure to Salafiya doctrines during his student days in Fez. We have seen what happened to Sidi ʻAbdssram Bu Rjila. ʻAbd al-Krim was a deeply devout and religious Muslim, but he made no attempt to disguise the fact that the religious orders, in particular, were odious to him, and that he used them as stepping-stones to consolidate and expand his own political power as president of a lay "republican state." To explain how he did so necessitates a brief comment, heretofore not adequately given, on the overall historical role of religious orders in Moroccan politics.[53]

Although religious orders have never been a potent political force in the Rif, their power in other parts of the country—including, in the north, almost all the Sinhaja Srir, Ghmara, and Jbala—was almost unlimited. This power was kept intact largely because the orders operated, in most cases, behind the scenes. In more than one sense the orders were the true political barometer of the country. On some occasions they helped to raise Sultans to the throne, and on others they constituted a very serious danger to the central government by functioning as a "state within a state," so to speak, exploiting the fervor and the credulity of the Muslim masses in order to attain their often devious ends. The members of all orders, whether Darqawa, Nasiriyin, or even ʻAisawa, traveling through the countryside, not only collected the alms and *ziyara*, which they considered to be their due, but often managed to stir up the always latent animosity of the tribespeople either toward the Christians or even toward the Makhzan. In any case, they, and the *zawiyas* or lodges which they represented, generally succeeded in reaping whatever harvests accrued from their political intrigues.

ʻAbd al-Krim was very keenly aware of the nature of the problem presented by the orders. On the western fringes of his domain, in particular, he gained the support of the majority of them not only against the influence of the protecting nations, but, implicitly, against that of the Sultan as well. His characteristic energy gained him a degree of authority over the orders that no previous government, central or dissident, had ever been able to impose. All religious tithes were directed toward the war effort and were paid into the coffers at Ajdir, and one gathers that ʻAbd al-Krim even appropriated the proceeds from *habus* properties for governmental use and expenditures, an act heretofore unheard-of among religious authorities. This was indeed a piece of economic reform; and it should also be noted that although the original basis of the treasury was the ransom money obtained for the Spanish prisoners, market taxes, customs duties

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[52] Nevill Barbour, *Morocco*, New Nations and Peoples Series, London: Thames and Hudson, 1965, p. 160.

[53] See F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods in Moroccan Politics," *Middle East Journal*, IV, 4, 1950, pp. 427-446; and Georges Drague (pseud. for Georges Spillmann), *Esquisse d'Histoire Religieuse du Maroc*, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, II, Paris: Peyronnet, n.d., but ca. 1951, pp. 108-109, for certain specific comments on ʻAbd al-Krim's relations with the orders.

(which brought in up to 5000 ptas. per day), the *tirtib* tax, and *haqq* fines imposed upon fractious tribes (such as that levied on the l-Khmas in 1924, and 500,000 ptas. squeezed from the Bni Zarwal the following year) all helped to keep the Minister of Finance occupied. (Gen. Goded notes that in the first six months of 1343 A.H.—i.e., the end of 1924 and beginning of 1925—311,168 ptas. were spent on payment to the army and the functionaries, while 221,937 ptas. went toward "diverse expenditures.")[54]

Old Si 'Abd al-Krim, the reformer's father, may have been a member of the Darqawa order, but the allegation that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member seems to be without foundation:[55] a son does not necessarily join an order just because his father was a member. Nonetheless, the charge was current at the time,[56] and adduced in support of it was the fact that the Darqawa order supported 'Abd al-Krim's campaigns against the Ghmara; another charge was that later on, failing to impose his authority over the Darqawa, he persecuted them and shifted his allegiance to the 'Alawiyin.[57] This last seems hardly credible, for at the time the number of 'Alawiyin in the entire Rif was infinitesimal; this order only began to make inroads in the region as a result of its importation by migrant laborers returning from Algeria during the 1930s.

What is far more likely is that 'Abd al-Krim, from the beginning, looked upon all *fuqra*, or members of orders, with suspicion, and that he did so to the extent of prohibiting *dhikr* meetings for the recitation of the order's litany. Not only this, but he even threatened those who violated his laws with being strangled in the markets with their own rosaries. The first order to feel the repression was indeed that of the Darqawa, and the reason may have been expressed in an unsigned Spanish administrative report of this period, dated July 1928. According to this account, when 'Abd al-Krim's constituents, especially the Aith Waryaghar, wanted to make him "Sultan of the Rif," despite his repeated categorical refusals, he finally told them—possibly in a moment of combined resignation and levity—that it would be better to confer this title upon the Fqir Sidi r-Hajj Muhand Asahrawi, the local *mqaddim* of the Darqawa order and an emigrant Saharan who had been living for many years in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. However, when he saw that the pragmatism and literal-mindedness of his followers prevailed, that they took him at his word and went to offer the "Sultanship" to the Saharan, 'Abd al-Krim lost his temper and threatened to take revenge on anyone who took action in the affair from then on. And the Saharan *mqaddim* had to slip across the border to the French zone.

'Abd al-Krim now began to campaign vigorously both against the orders and against the whole complex of reverence for saints. Only the Khamalsha or Ikhamlishen order in the Sinhaja Srir escaped his crackdown: in this case, and probably again for political reasons, he helped Sidi Muhammad Bu Ghilib to extend his sway over all the other branches of the Khamalsha that had not yet recognized him.[58] (After the war, in a very interesting and revealing document quoted at length by Shinar,[59] 'Abd al-Krim stated that the head of the order had been an old friend of his father's and that he was the only "marabout" in the region who seemed to have any real grasp of his aims.) 'Abd al-Krim even obliged one of his Ministers of Justice, the Fqih Bu r-Hiyan (Bu Lihya, who came from a traditional lineage that Shinar somewhat impatiently calls "miracle-mongering marabouts," in the Axt Tuzin), to study the Salafi-inspired commentary on the *Manar*, by Muhammad 'Abduh, Rashid Rida, and other publications in Arabic that were oriented toward orthodox reform. As for the other *shurfa*, *mrabtin*, and *fuqra*, 'Abd al-Krim said, in the postwar declaration cited above, that they were quite incapable of understanding "that *habus* funds could not be used for any nobler purpose than that of achieving independence for the Rif. . . ."[60]

'ABD AL-KRIM'S ZENITH AND CAPITULATION: THE INVASION OF THE FRENCH ZONE AND THE END OF THE RIFIAN WAR (1925–1926)

'Abd al-Krim was at the zenith of his power early in 1925. In April, the same month in which Raisuni died, he made what later proved to be his greatest error. Allusion was made earlier to the "political penetration," by the regular army and the *harkas* of the Jbalan tribes to the southwest of the Rif, all along the Wargha River and all within the French Zone.

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[54] Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, pp. 91-92.

[55] Shinar, op. cit., 1965, p. 168, n. 2, citing Vidal, op. cit., 1950, p. 435.

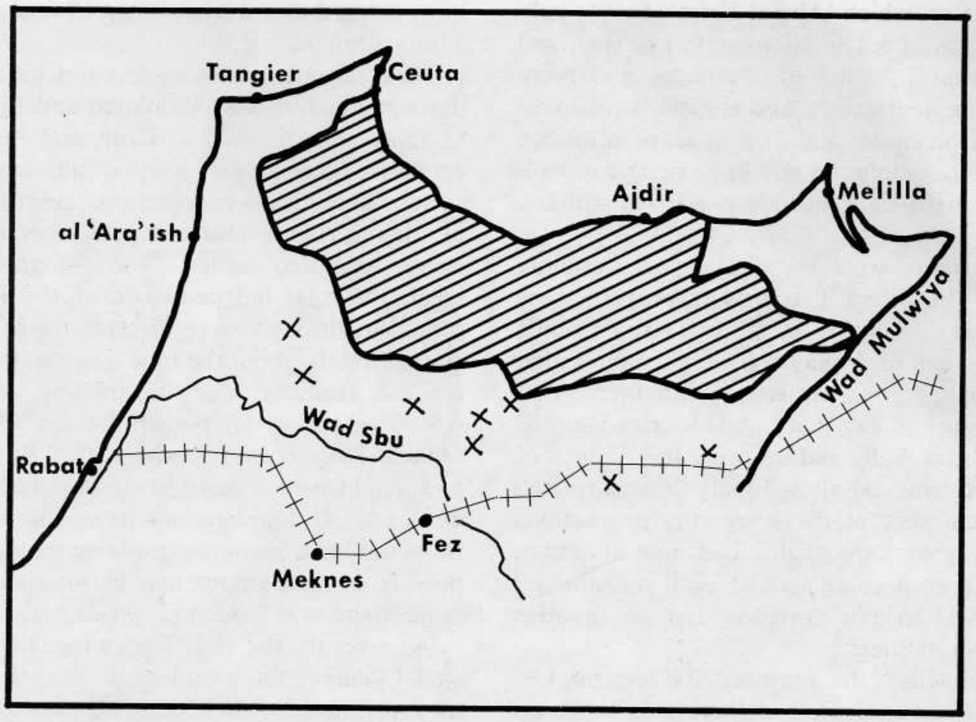
[56] Rodriguez Padilla, op. cit., 1930, p. 10.

[57] Drague (psued. of Spillmann), op. cit., ca. 1951, pp. 108-109.

[58] Ibid. pp. 108-109.

[59] Shinar, op. cit., 1965, pp. 171-173, translating from *al-Minhaj* (Muharram-Safar 1345/1927), pp. 96 ff. which in turn quotes the Egyptian newspaper *al-Shura* in which 'Abd al-Krim had published the document in question.

[60] Ibid., p. 172, note 57. On p. 169, Shinar cites Allal al-Fasi, *The Independence Movements in Arab North Africa* (trans. from the Arabic by Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh), Near Eastern Translation Program, No. 8, Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1954, p. 137.



Map VII: The *Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya,* the Rifian Republican State of 'Abd Al-Krim: Mid-1925

Shaded Area: Territory under 'Abd Al-Krim
×××—Attempts by 'Abd Al-Krim to push the southern front further south
┼┼┼┼┼┼┼┼┼┼┼┼ —French-built railroad, Rabat-Tunis

during the course of 1924. The first of these tribes to go over to 'Abd al-Krim's cause appears to have been the Bni Waryagil (ironically enough, despite the lack of kinship between them and the Aith Waryaghar). 'Abd al-Krim's main target, however, was the Bni Zarwal, where the top *shaikh* of the whole Darqawa order in Morocco, Mulay 'Abd ar-Rahman bin Tayyib ad-Darqawi, resided in his *zawiya* at Amjjut. 'Abd al-Krim, always a Salafi, had not forgiven the Darqawa for the revolt which they had inspired in the Ghmara, nor for the presumption of the would-be Darqawi "Sultan of the Rif" who had escaped. On the subject of religious orders, he was absolutely intransigent, and the French-supported and reactionary Darqawi *sharif* was to him as the proverbial red flag to a bull. In any case, all of the Northern Jbala was now under his sway, and there seemed nothing to prevent his taking over the Southern Jbala tribes.

Accordingly, on April 13, 1925, 'Abd al-Krim launched a carefully planned surprise attack on all the French outposts along the Wargha River. It was carried out by no more than 4,000 men (mostly Jbala *harkawis,* but stiffened with Aith Waryaghar and Rifian regular army troops, under the personal command of Si Mhammad). In particular, the attack was directed toward the Bni Zarwal, who within a matter of days were overrun by Rifians. The *zawiya* at Amjjut was burned, and Mulay 'Abd ar-Rahman, the Darqawi *sharif,* who had, one might say, not only not paid any *haqq* to 'Abd al-Krim but had also heretofore resisted all the latter's attempts at peaceful penetration, had to run for his life toward the south, to whatever of the Bni Zarwal territory still remained to the French. (Three months later, at the height of 'Abd al-Krim's successes in the French zone, the *zawiya* of Mulay Bushta l-Khammar in the Fishtala tribe was also put to the torch by the Rifians (on July 17), even though it was not associated with any religious order; but such was 'Abd al-Krim's mood.)

The French were taken completely unawares, and their undermanned garrisons were gasping for breath under the hammering blows of the combined Rifian-Sinhajan-Ghmaran-Jbalan forces. They who, only days and weeks before, had been complacently ridiculing the capabilities of the Spanish army in the field, and almost patting the Rifians on the back for having beaten them, were now fighting for their lives. In the first three months after the initial attack, outpost after outpost was knocked over: Biban, 'Ain Ma'tuf, Awlai, Awdur, Bni Darkul (all of these in Bni Zarwal territory), Wurtzagh, l-Qal'a Slas, Amargu, Fishtala—and the list goes on. Biban was particularly crucial as the "gates" to Fez, which 'Abd al-Krim's forces only missed entering by about 40 kilometers. Fez was, and is still, the cultural capital of Morocco, and there seems to be little doubt that 'Abd al-Krim's plan was to capture it, if he could, and to rally all of Morocco to his standard; certainly the budding young nationalists in Fez seem to have been entirely sympathetic to his cause.[61]

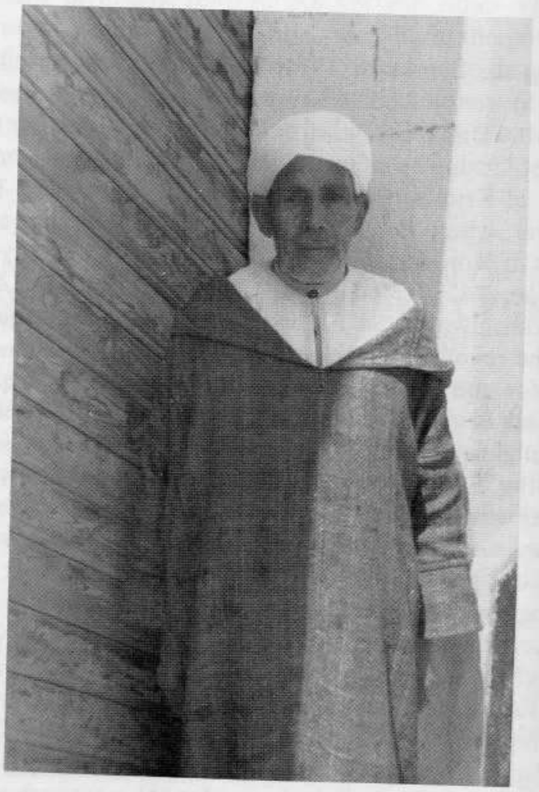
At the time there were rumors, almost certainly unfounded, to the effect that in Fez prayers were already being said secretly in 'Abd al-Krim's name rather than in that of Mulay Yusuf. I submit that this is confounding wish-fulfilment with fact; yet I would also venture to say that 'Abd al-Krim himself, viewing it all from Ajdir and awaiting the reports of his messengers, was possibly hardly less surprised than the French were at the staggering proportions the Aith Waryaghar "snowball" had now assumed. Throughout the spring and indeed until midsummer of 1925, 'Abd al-Krim's horizons and possibilities seemed virtually limitless.

But, as it happened, the venture 'Abd al-Krim had embarked on was hopeless, and there was to be no turning back. He had not attacked because of any alleged obligations of *liff* alliance to the southern Jbala tribes, but rather because he wanted to realize his greatest ambition: to see all of Morocco, but especially the Spanish zone, free from foreign domination. On military grounds, the invasion of the French zone was probably conceived by 'Abd al-Krim as a maneuver that would hurt the French so much that they would support his claims for retention of the Rif.

At some point during the summer, a joint but unofficial Franco-Spanish communiqué was sent to 'Abd al-Krim. Its provisions seem unimportant today, but in mid-August 1925, when the Rifians were possibly of two minds about it, suddenly there were two rather conflicting further pronouncements, one French (August 14) and one Spanish (August 16).[62] The French one guaranteed the tribes of the Rif and the Jbala administrative, economic, and political autonomy, but under the sovereignty of the Sultan, and subject, more directly, to his (Spanish-controlled) *khalifa* in Tetuan; an added rider stated that Rifian independence was not possible because it ran counter to existing international treaties. The Spanish, however, added to this the clause that in future the Sultan's authority over the "Rifian Republican State" was to be "purely nominal"; this can, of course, and no doubt correctly, be construed as a decisive step toward direct Spanish administration.

Most European authors, even including such latter-day commentators as Woolman and Furneaux, seem to think that if 'Abd al-Krim and his brother had accepted these terms, they would have achieved a certain amount of recognition, autonomy and even of "home rule." This is a veiw that I do not at all share. As noted earlier, 'Abd al-Krim fought for an ideal: the total independence of the Rif. If he had gained it, through force of arms, he might then have started to talk about the total independence of Morocco. It is fruitless, albeit fascinating, to speculate on what might have happened: for the whole career of 'Abd al-Krim is loaded with "ifs." But to imply that he should have accepted Franco-Spanish half-measure concessions is tantamount to saying that in the end he would have become a grudging tool of both colonial powers. From the moment of his invasion of the French zone, there was indeed no turning back.

As a result, the situation changed overnight. Marshal Lyautey, the architect of French Morocco and the only man in the country who had realized the implications of the war and of what 'Abd al-Krim was doing in the Rif, was sent back to France, and



'Allush n-Shiddi of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, *qaid* of 100 men under 'Abd al-Krim and then leader of the Lopez Bravo *harka* of 1926 (1954)

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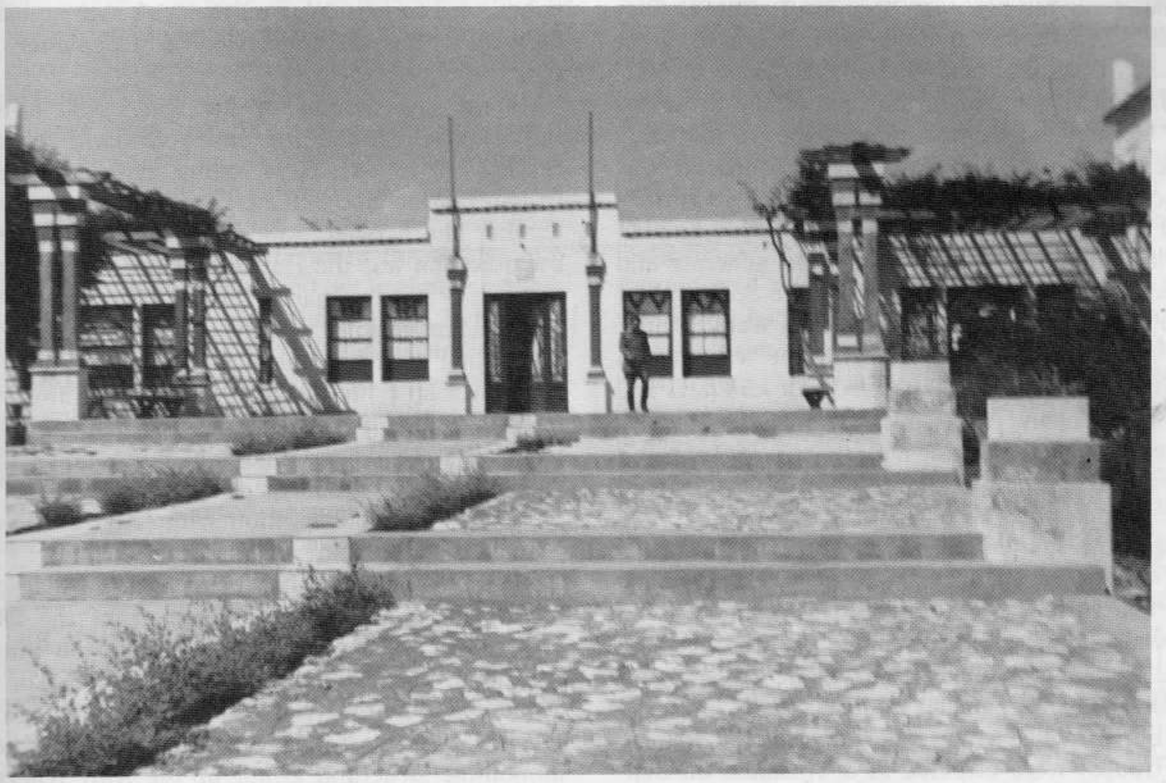
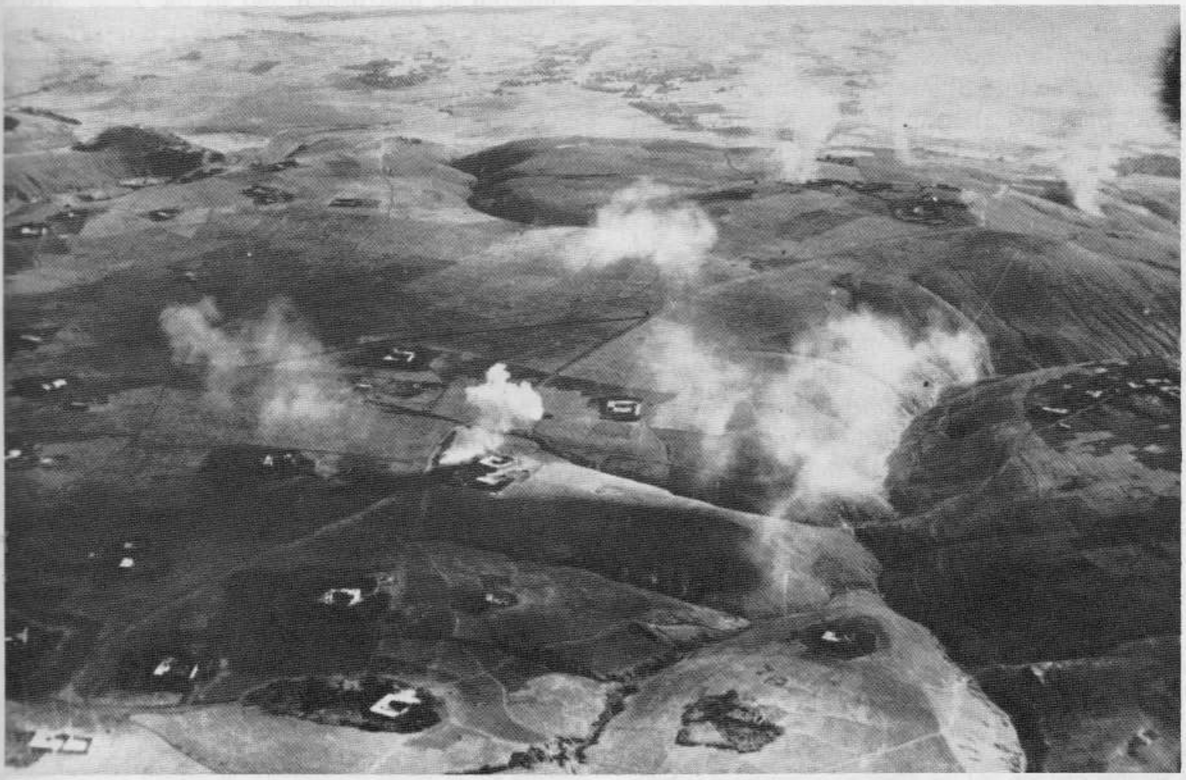
[61] See 'Allal al-Fasi, op. cit., 1954, pp. 94-105. Also Kenneth Brown, personal communication, April 15, 1967, based on personal information from Muhammad l-Hasan l-Wazzani.

[62] Woolman, op. cit., 1968, pp. 181-182.



The Spanish headquarters for the main tribal administration post in Waryagharland, at Ajdir, built on the site of 'Abd al-Krim's former seat of power (1953)



Aerial bombing of local community in median Waryagharland, about 1926. Photograph from personal archives of the late Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga a civilian took his place as proconsul. But another Marshal of France was immediately called in to direct the French counterattack—Pétain, the Hero of Verdun. Monteil states that in the face of the president of the "Republic of Confederated Tribes of the Rif," the French Army of Occupation in Morocco was increased to 325,000 men and reinforced by a further 400,000 supplementary troops (32 divisions and 44 escadrilles), under the command of 60 generals and of Marshal Pétain. At the same time the Spanish had 100,000 in the field, of whom 40,000 were regular army.[63] And all of these against what was then a maximum of 60,000-75,000 Rifian-Jbala *harkawis* and regular Rifian army!

Planes, troops, tanks, and materiel in overwhelming numbers were rushed to the defense of Fez, simply because a one-time *qadi* from Waryagharland had challenged the sacrosanct notion of *Maroc français*. The Rifian Army was, throughout the autumn, pushed further and further back. The Spanish gained hope, and because of the agreement in Madrid between Marshal Pétain and General Primo de Rivera, the combined Franco-Spanish landings (in which the French only supplied a few troopships, and the Spanish all the troops) were effected at al-Husaima on September 8. In this connection one of 'Abd al-Krim's former ministers mentioned a tactical error committed by his chief: some 400 troops (Rifian regulars under his brother Si Mhammad, plus Jbalan *muhajirin* or "migrants" from Raisuni, under l-Khriru) were fighting in the west, around Shawen, and were evidently expendable, but 'Abd al-Krim refused to allow them to come to the aid of the Rifian positions near al-Husaima itself. This may well be so; but how long they could have staved off the actual Spanish landings is not certain, even with the ferocious resistance of the Aith Waryaghar. Many of the latter knew that they were going to their deaths, for 'Abd al-Krim had been quite candid on this point, but it merely stiffened their resolution to die fighting.[64]

'Abd al-Krim's snowball was melting fast now, and except for certain areas of resistance further to the west, it was gradually reduced to the nuclear tribes of the Central Rif with which it began. Soon the Central Rifian heartland itself was threatened. The Oujda Conference of 1926, and its failure, plus the combined Franco-Spanish pincer movement on the nuclear Rifian tribes, and in particular on the Aith Waryaghar, will be dealt with at the conclusion of this chapter.

* * *

In the last months of the war, 'Abd al-Krim's intransigence turned him into a virtual dictator. His reprisals in his last days against those who refused to join him or who defected from his authority grew harsher and harsher. Among those who still secretly opposed him was the Hajj Biqqish of the Igzinnayen, whom we met in Chapter 14. In 1922, 'Abd al-Krim had attacked Biqqish, and the latter, wavering between submitting to the Spanish and surrendering to 'Abd al-Krim, chose the second course. For this reason his son Hmid nj-Hajj Biqqish was made a *qaid* (of what rank we do not know).[65] But Biqqish himself was still one of the most powerful men in the Igzinnayen, and his cooperation with 'Abd al-Krim was only of the most superficial sort.

Biqqish's daughter had been given in marriage to a prominent man in the sublineage of the Dharwa Ufqir Misa'ud, in the wider lineage of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim, in the mountain Waryaghar subclan of the Timarzga. 'Abd al-Krim was very suspicious of the resulting alliance, for it could put a chink in the now monolithic structural armor of the Aith Waryaghar. When 'Abd al-Krim (aided by pressure from the *kbir mhalla* Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan) persuaded those Igzinnayen in Iharrushen and in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa to come over to him and to desert Biqqish, the latter was left only with his own lineage-mates in Ikhuwanen and his ally-affines in the Timarzga.

It was late in 1924 that 'Abd al-Krim decided to act, and to retaliate for a houseburning expedition that Biqqish himself (with some 800 men) had carried out at the request of his Dharwa Ufqir Misa'ud allies against the rival Timarzga lineage of the Yinn 'Abdallah. He sent a strong *harka* of Waryaghar mountaineers from the Aith 'Arus, Aith Turirth, mountain Aith Bu Ayyash, and Timarzga into Igzinnayenland on a second houseburning and *haqq*-collecting mission. They were led by Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, Qishuh of the Aith 'Arus, Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Aith Turirth, who had succeeded Mzzyan n-Hmid of Ignan when the latter was killed in the Igzinnayen in 1925, and Sha'ib n-Misa'ud n-Bu Tahar, a Timarzga *qaid l-miya* from another sublineage of the Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim.

The operation was not confined to the Igzinnayen, for the members of the *harka* in question first burned no less than ten houses of the Dharwa Ufqir Misa'ud in Timarzga (seven in r-Dwahar, two in Tazirand, and me in Tifarkslin), because of the persistent refusal of the members of that particular sublineage to join their fellow tribesmen in their invasion of Ikhuwanen, Biqqish's bailiwick in the Igzinnayen.

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[63] Monteil quotes these figures as having been given officially to the tribune of the French Chamber of Deputies on June 1, 1956—a good three months after Morocco achieved her independence. Cf. Vincent Monteil, *Maroc*, Collection "Petite Planète," No. 31, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962, pp. 154-157.

[64] The Spanish landings and the eventual occupation of Ajdir are well described from the Aith Waryaghar point of view in Renisio, op. cit., 1932, pp. 230-233.

[65] Emilio Blanco Izaga, *La Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia*, unpublished MS., 1940.

The *harka* from the Jbil Hmam then duly went across to Ikhuwanen and burned many more houses there. They captured Biqqish himself and took him to Ajdir, where 'Abd al-Krim made him pay a *haqq* of 3,000 duros (15,000 pesetas) and threw him into jail along with his son Hmid and the leading members of the Dharwa Ufqir Misa'ud lineage who still supported Biqqish.[66] Even the prestige of Hmid n-Biqqish (who had proven himself to be very valiant in earlier combats on the front) had greatly waned by this time, and the detention of his father coincided exactly with the attack on the French zone, in which 'Abd al-Krim had wanted no doubtful elements to participate. After three months, however, 'Abd al-Krim, in order to find out what old Biqqish's real feelings were, sent him to the Branis and the Marnisa (the *qaid* of the latter tribe, 'Amar n-Hmidu, was a lifelong enemy of 'Abd al-Krim) to inspect the southern front and to incite the struggle against the French.

Sick but hard-headed, old Biqqish sat in the Friday market of the Branis, doing absolutely nothing. He was denounced and sent once again to Ajdir as a prisoner. Again, he was set free after a few months to return to his family, and at the same time, 'Abd al-Krim released his son Hmid. This probably occurred early in 1926, and now the news that the Branis and the Marnisa had both capitulated to the French came through. It was too much for 'Abd al-Krim. He decided to get rid of the Biqqishes, father and son, once and for all, and he saw to it that while the latter was on his way home, he was quietly disposed of in the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, and that the former was given a glass of poisoned mint tea to drink at the Zawith n-Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, further up the Nkur River. Thus the two leading members of the Biqqish lineage never reached home alive.

By the time this occured, early in 1926, 'Abd al-Krim's power was waning. As a prelude to the fiasco of the Oujda Conference, in April of that year, there was a preliminary "sounding-out" at Camp Berteaux, near Tawrirt of the French zone, and west of Oujda. All the interested parties sent their delegates, and 'Abd al-Krim's emissaries included Si Muhand Azarqan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Muhammad Shiddi of Ajdir, and Haddu l-Kahal of the Ibuqquyen: the last two were intended to speak for the Rif as a whole and not just for the ruling clique of the Aith Waryaghar. At Camp Berteaux, the French and Spanish envoys stated unequivocally that the further conference at Oujda would not take place at all unless 'Abd al-Krim liberated all his European prisoners immediately. The Rifian delegates were annoyed at this piece of colonialist arrogance, and Haddu l-Kahal was flown back to the Rif to discuss the matter with 'Abd al-Krim, who refused categorically. And so the proceedings were delayed until April 27, when the "peace talks" were moved on to Oujda itself as originally scheduled.

It may be, as Woolman suggests,[67] that 'Abd al-Krim was afraid that the European armies would discover the true and doubtless pitiable state of the prisoners. But opinions differ rather widely on the treatment of the prisoners of war: Coon says that sometimes 'Abd al-Krim's jailers gave them bread mixed with dirt,[68] and while documentation from the files of Emilio Blanco Izaga reveals that Hammush n-Ziyyan, the head jailer, sometimes stole money from the prisoners' letters and burned the letters, and even killed a few prisoners, he was hardly the horror that Spanish administrative reports made him out to be at the time.[69] Sánchez Pérez affirms 'Abd al-Krim's own maltreatment of prisoners, but states that both his mother and his brother Si Mhammad acted as steadying influences upon him.[70]

Nevertheless, most of the European accounts of the period, journalistic and otherwise, all being highly colonialist-oriented, were full of tales of horrible tortures and atrocities meted out to the prisoners of the "Riffs." On the other hand, one may refer to a photograph published in Roger-Mathieu's *Mémoires d'Abd el-Krim*, facing p. 80, which depicts seven grinning Spanish soldiers holding up five decapitated Rifian heads, suspended on strings through the ears. It would hardly seem necessary to reassert that it was the Rifians who were fighting for their independence.

At any rate, now came the Oujda Conference itself, and here the major issue was that of Rifian autonomy. The French and Spanish delegates pointed out that the Rif was an integral part of Morocco and, as such, subject to the control of the Sultan. Irrespective of how much "home rule" the Rifians might be permitted, ultimate control of the Rif had to rest in the hands of the Sultan. For this reason, furthermore, the Rifians had to recognize the Franco-Spanish partitional treaty of 1904, which, even before the Treaty of Algeciras in 1906, provided the real basis of both the two protectorates.

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[66] It will be recalled that the Aith Waryaghar subclan of the Timarzga did not collect their share of the *haqq* fine for murder at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, but rather in the Sunday Market of Thiddas, in Ikhuwanen, in the Igzinnayen, a market which had been set up by Biqqish himself.

[67] Woolman, op. cit., 1968, p. 200.

[68] Coon, op. cit., 1958, p. 318.

[69] Unpublished administrative documents, dated 1928, in the files of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga.

[70] Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., 1950, p. 62.

On May 1, the Rifian delegates were given a week in which to deliver their final answer. It appears that they themselves had hesitated and even hedged on certain points, but 'Abd al-Krim's reply to the Franco-Spanish ultimatum was a resounding negative. As a result, on May 9, the pincer movement of the two European armies upon the Central Rif began in earnest. It was fatal. With the Spanish army pushing down from the north, after the al-Husaima landings, and the French Army pushing up from the south, up through Igzinnayenland and 'Ammarthland, the Rifian regular army and the *harka* leaders, whether Igzinnayen, Aith 'Ammarth or Aith Waryaghar, who were on the Wargha River and Jbala fronts quite naturally dropped everything to rush back and defend their own homes.

The *izran* couplets sung in the preceding year, 1925, had expressed confidence:

A Muray 'Abdrkrim aza'im asiyas
Izudj umiyara afransis ardssas!
Oh Mulay 'Abd al-Krim, a fighter and astute
Has sworn to destroy the French to their foundations!

A 'Amar n-Madani, ay afrukh ayinni
Ijahidh s-alayman, i'awidh s-ukhadhmi
Wami s-Allah kh-n-nbi, ur immut dh-arumi.
Oh 'Amar n-Madani,[71] what a man he was,
He killed with his German rifle and with his knife,
He remembered God and the Prophet, but the Christian did not die.

Even this last *izri*, however, contains an allusion to the strength of the European powers, and by late 1925 and early 1926, the predominant note was a combination of bravery with a realization of the hopelessness of the odds against the Rif. The following are representative of the many *izran* dating from this final stage of the war:

Aya Muray Muhammad, imma shhar gh-ansbar?
R-braqi zi dhigzirth, farqait zi r-bhar!
Oh Mulay Muhammad [i.e., 'Abd al-Krim], how long can we stand it?
The firing of cannons from the Island [of al-Husaima], and ships from the sea are coming!

A Muray Muhammad, a balak anqadhar!
Imimmi ghan qqim a khanagh itariya!
Aghyawi l-qudiya adhasin imhadhira!
Oh Mulay Muhammad, look out, for we are all going to die!
Because if we stay, they will rule us!
And when they come, they will catch the *qadis* and erase all their writings!

Whether the jibe at the *qadis* in the last stanza of the second verse is an allusion to 'Abd al-Krim himself is not clear. Sánchez Pérez[72] also provides a summons to battle, from the same period, as cried out in Arabic by the *abarrah* in the Monday market of the Aith 'Ammarth: *La ilaha illa'llah!* (There is no god but God!) *Allah yin'al ash-Shaitan!* (May God curse Satan!) Each of these formulae were repeated three times in order to give the people time to congregate. And then: *A l-muminin, a ulad l-kamal!* (Oh Believers, O Sons of Perfection!) *Ghadda insha'llah, 'ala l-barud fi l-mut'a flaniya ma'a n-nsara!* (Tomorrow, if God wills, you will collect in such and such a place for war [lit. "gunpowder"] against the Christians!)

Day-by-day and blow-by-blow accounts of what happened in that final month of May 1926 are given both by Laure[73] and by Damidaux.[74] The last-mentioned work even shows a photograph (facing p. 78) of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan of the Igzinnayen sacrificing a bull to the French officers and forces who had penetrated their territory, on May 13, as *ta'arqiba*. It may well be noted that nothing of the sort, no sacrifices whatsoever, occurred in Waryagharland when the final capitulation came about.

It was all over very quickly, and the elaborate structure that 'Abd al-Krim had erected collapsed to nothing. By May 17–20, the French and Spanish forces had met at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, the principal market of the Waryaghar highlanders. The French had taken all of the Igzinnayen and the Aith 'Ammarth, and had pushed from the Timarzga up into the Jbil Hmam to Sidi Bu Khiyar, and from there into the Aith Turirth; finally they even took the redoubtable Aith 'Arus, although a night counterattack on May 21–22 led by Qishuh and Muh n-'Amar 'Abdallah of that subclan, in which the latter was killed, was only repulsed with considerable loss. It had been ordered by 'Abd al-Krim, but was his last single act of aggression against the French. The Spanish, pushing down from the north, had by this time occupied all of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, including the mountain communities of Tazurakhth and Aith

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[71] An *amghar* from Izifzafen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari lowlands.

[72] Sánchez Pérez, op. cit., ca. 1931, p. 23.

[73] Lt. Col. Laure, *La Victoire Franco-Espagnole dan le Rif*, Paris 1927: See especially the excellent and detailed campaign map.

[74] Capt. C. Damidaux, *Combats au Maroc, 1925–1926*, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1928.

Bu Khrif. On May 8-10, the Spanish sustained very heavy losses in a last-ditch battle at the "Hillock of the Saints" (the last resting place of Sidi Mhand a-Musa) at Aith Hishim in the Imrabdhen, and they were to sustain further losses in the very last fight of what was properly speaking, the Rifian War. This was the Battle of the Sunday market of Thisar, beside the Upper Ghis River, in the exact center of Waryagharland, and it was the final stand of the Aith Waryaghar against Spain.[75]

It is most ironic that this final battle of May 29 actually occurred two days after 'Abd al-Krim himself had surrendered to the French. He, his brother Si Mhammad, Si Muhand Azarqan, and their families had all taken refuge, again ironically, with the *sharif* Sidi Hmidu bin Sidi Brahim bin Sidi Muhammad l-Wazzani (d. 1933), the head of an important branch zawiya of the Shurfa Wazzaniyin, at Snada in the Aith Yittuft. Despite 'Abd al-Krim's ideas about *shurfa* and religious orders, and despite the fact that Sidi Hmidu had never been a particularly strong supporter of 'Abd al-Krim, the latter nonetheless respected him and accepted the offer of asylum at his house, while Sidi Hmidu awaited a sign from the French.

At Snada, the 'Abd al-Krims and their families and dependents were all induced by Captain Suffren of the French *Affaires Indigènes* corps and by Lieutenant Robert Montagne, then of the French navy (and not long afterward to become the most brilliant and eloquent spokesman for French protectorate sociology), to come down to Targist, which the French had by then temporarily occupied. Here he surrendered on May 27, 1926, to a Franco-Moroccan column under Colonel Corap.

Thus the Rifian leader was in French custody before the Spanish, who would surely have hanged him as a war criminal, could get their hands on him. This was perhaps the biggest irony of all, for it deprived Spain of the real fruit of her efforts (which, despite the French allegations, were great) in the final victory. The Spanish officer corps felt badly cheated, and their bitterness was enhanced when they learned that 'Abd al-Krim had made good his "escape" with all his money and personal possessions intact: 750,000 duros (3,750,000 pesetas), packed in 30 boxes of 5,000 duros apiece, 210 mules to transport his property and family, six luxury bags or trunks and one leather bag.[76] Possibly some of the money had previously been Raisuni's but even so, there is no question of 'Abd al-Krim's having enriched himself at the expense of his constituents to the extent that Raisuni had done.

The rather pathetic reemergence of 'Abd al-Krim in later life will be discussed in the next chapter; Suffice it to say that his deportation by the French to Réunion Island off Madagascar,[77] for just over twenty years, and his subsequent ship-jumping in Egypt in 1947, are another story having no real bearing on the Aith Waryaghar who had produced him. What did have a bearing, and a most important one, on Waryagharland and on the Rif in general, was the incontrovertible fact that the now Arabized political system, and the thoroughgoing substitution of the Shari'a for the 'Urf were now there to stay in his homeland. One may applaud not only the ideal for which he fought, but also the military efforts and successes of the Qadi of Ajdir, even though they were doomed to ultimate failure; but his almost total overhaul of the political and jural structures of the Central Rifian tribes was, in the opinion of the present writer, his most lasting achievement. This is so even though the circumstances were ripe for it.

THE END OF THE FIGHTING (1926–1927)

By virtue of a previous agreement with the Spanish, the French occupying forces in the Jbil Hmam, in the Aith 'Ammarth, and in the southern Sinhaja Srir retired back to their own zone by July-August 1926. The French "*Saligan*" (Senegalese) troops had left a nasty taste in the mouths of the Central Rifians by the time the Spanish authorities took over their zone, designated by the terms of the Protectorate, and occupied it in full (even though the French were to stay on in Igzinnayenland until 1956).

The same Spanish authorities expressed not only grave consternation but astonishment at the number of guns sullenly turned over to them by the Aith Waryaghar alone; a 1927 administrative report by an unnamed *interventor* shows his intense surprise at the figure of 6,000 rifles, and he goes on to imply that still more were hidden in the Aith Hadhifa, Aith 'Abdallah, and Imrabdhen. This was probably true, and it seems equally probable that the guns had to be extracted slowly and persuasively, and with care; a lowlander *qaid,* Sha'ib w-'Aisa of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, had Dris nj-Hajj Am'awsh beaten to death in the Wednesday market of Tawrirt for not turning two rifles over to the Spaniards. Other reports, however, indicate that the remaining guns were handed over, most reluctantly, during the course of 1928. In addition, the Spanish had recovered over 100 cannon, 220 machine guns, 8 mortars, 6 automatic rifles, a few automobiles and an enormous quantity of grain, which 'Abd al-Krim had left behind.[78]

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[75] Montagne would have it that the Aith Waryaghar who took part in this final engagement crept away at night from their position beside the French encampment at Targist to do so, and without French knowledge; and that they surrounded and almost annihilated a Spanish column of 800 men at Thisar, because they wanted one last chance against their enemies. Both claims seem somewhat exaggerated. Cf. Robert Montagne, *La Política Africana de España*, MS., trans. from French by Servicio de Intervencion de la Region de Gomara, Chauen, October 1939, and "Abd-el-Krim," *Politique Etrangère*, July 1947, pp. 1-33 (in Spanish translation, and esp. p. 19).

[76] Unpublished administrative report, dated 1926, in the files of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga.

[77] Madagascar was later, in 1953-1955, to become famous to Moroccans as "Madame Gaspard" or "Madame Kaskar," the site of the exile of the Sultan Muhammad V, the symbol of Moroccan Independence from France.

The surrender of the Aith Waryaghar had not been accompanied by the slightest amount of fanfare or by the sacrificial ritual of *ta'arqiba* that the French had come to expect from tribes submitting to them over the course of the pacification of their zone. The only thing that happened was the transfer of arms to the new authorities, who proceeded to imprison, in Melilla, a number of Aith Waryaghar who had been close to 'Abd al-Krim. (One of these was Hmid Budra, the former Minister of War, who had continued the resistance in the Jbala until his capture there by the Spanish in the summer of 1926,[79] although he was released about 1929 and subsequently became *qaid* in the lowlands.) This did not happen to everyone, by any means; it is said that when the column of General Dolla arrived in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, the first question the general asked was who was in charge there. Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, the former *kbir mhalla,* immediately stepped forward. Dolla asked him point-blank if he had fought against France and, more particularly, against Spain during the late five-year unpleasantness, and when Haddu answered in a vigorous affirmative, spelling out the gist of all his major *mhalla* operations, Dolla appointed him *qaid* on the spot—a position he held until the pressure of the public opinion of his own Aith Bu 'Ayyash constitutents was to force him out of office in 1950-1951.

The incident between the Qaid Haddu and General Dolla may not have been untypical, for those who remained at home. In August 1926 Major López Bravo conceived the audacious idea of forming a *harka* composed entirely of Aith Waryagher, to be attached to Colonel Capaz for the final mopping-up operations about to begin in the Sinhaja Srir and the Ghmara. The top *qaid* of this *harka* was 'Allush n-Muhand Shiddi, of Lower Ikattshumen in the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, who had not only been a *qaid* under 'Abd l-Krim but one of the latter's most valiant supporters, not surrendering to Spain until after the last battle of May 29 at Thisar. The *harka* was to be disbanded in June 1927 after pacification had been completed, with 'Allush n-Shiddi to be awarded a Spanish *mhalla* captaincy; but every single member of it had previously been active either in 'Abd al-Krim's regular army or in the tribal levies. And its members, now fighting far from home, distinguished themselves briliantly in action, even though the mere formation of this *harka* had caused considerable consternation in Spanish military circles.[80]

There were, however, other Rifians who preferred to continue the struggle against Spain further to the west, in the higher mountains of the chain which the Spanish had not been able to penetrate as of mid-1926, owing to operations in the Central Rif itself. Among these men were Emilio Blanco's Thimsaman informant Si Muhand n-Si Hmid nj-Mqaddim; the so-called "Slitan" (a diminutive of "Sultan"), a *sharif* of the Ikhamlishen lineage from the Aith Hmid in the Sinhaja Srir; Hmidu l-Khriru of the Jbala; and most important perhaps, Muh Azdhadh of the Aith 'Arus in Waryagharland, a man who had been a leading *qaid l-miya* on the French front and who had not only done more than his share of knocking out French outposts in the Branis and the Dsul, but who had also participated in the final attack on the French in the Aith 'Arus itself on May 21, 1926—after which he had escaped into the cedar forests of the Sinhaja. There was still a small hard core of malcontents, and these men were typical examples.

For the Spanish, the problem was simply that the highest mountains in the Sinhaja Srir and in the Ghmara, in the center of their zone, had not yet been occupied or pacified. Even with the surrender of 'Abd al-Krim and his quick disappearance from the scene, the Spanish columns from Tetuan and l-'Ara'ish (Larache) and those from Melilla had not yet met in the middle of what now effectively constituted Spanish Morocco. But after the "raid" by Colonel Capaz on the Ghmara, and under the guiding hand of General Sanjurjo (for whom al-Husaima, in Spanish times, was renamed "Villa Sanjurjo"), all of this was to happen fairly quickly.

First, Hmidu l-Khriru, the ex-lieutenant of Raisuni who had gone over to 'Abd al-Krim, was shot down in an engagement with Spanish forces in the Bni Yidir tribe of the Jbala on November 3, 1926; with the death of this legendary figure, who was still less than thirty years old, resistance to Spain in the Jbala was silenced once and for all. Along with 'Allush n-Shiddi, another prominent member of the Spanish-oriented Aith Waryaghar *harka* that took part in the operation was Sriman n-Muhand r-Khattabi of Ajdir, 'Abd al-Krim's old enemy who had, indeed, fought on the Spanish side against him from the time of the al-Husaima landings until the end of the war.

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[78] Article "Beni Urriaguel" in Espasa-Calpe, *Enciclopedia Universal Illustrada*, Madrid 1932, Appendix, vol. 2, pp. 92-93. The *Vademecum* of the *Intervenciones Militares del Rif* for 1929 indicates that by the end of that year, in Waryagharland alone, 570 repeating rifles, 718 single-shot ones, 3487 unclassifiable pieces, and 102 pistols and revolvers, totalling 4877 pieces, had been turned in. The same source indicates that all told, 11,284 pieces had been turned in for the whole Western and Central Rif, including the Sinhaja Srir, while 19,888 pieces had been turned in from the Eastern Rif, according to the *Vademecum*, for the same year, of the *Intervenciones Militares de Melilla*. This gives a total of 31,373 for the whole eastern half of the Spanish Zone.

[79] Gen. Goded, op. cit., 1932, pp. 85-86.

[80] Ibid., pp. 335-336.

However, further east in the Sinhaja Srir, in the geographical center of the Rifian chain, there still remained Slitan and Muh Azdhadh, who had joined forces. Muh Azdhadh was a man who would simply not give in, while Slitan, on the other hand, seems to have been rather more of an opportunist. Together they assembled a *harka* of the Sinhaja Srir tribes, the Jbalan tribes of the l-Khmas and the Bni Hmid s-Surraq, and the Ghmarans of the Bni Khalid, over the winter of 1926-1927. They were the leading spirits in the very last defeat that Spanish arms ever suffered in the pacification of the North Zone. On March 26, 1927, the Spanish post at Taghzut, in the Sinhaja Srir, was invested by this *harka*, and the guiding hand in the operation was obviously that of a man who had been trained in 'Abd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army—Muh Azdhadh. The garrison of the post was wiped out, and the very next day, at Admam in the Aith Hmid, so was the relief column led by Captain Ostariz, of which 12 officers and 292 men were killed. Then a freak blizzard that began on April 12 effectively stopped the Spanish search for their own dead.[81]

This, however, proved to be the end of an old era and not the prelude to a new one. On May 22, Muh Azdhadh was killed in the very last shooting skirmish of the whole pacification, at 'Anqud in the territory of the l-khmas,[82] while Slitan somehow managed to evade capture and cross the border into the French zone with a large number of his followers. (He was later allowed to return, but the Spanish authorities always regarded him with suspicion.) By July 10, 1927, and after the dissolving of Lopez Bravo's famous Aith Waryaghar *harka* the previous month, General Sanjurjo was able to announce that Spanish Morocco had now been fully and officially pacified, and that the whole zone was now under the titular overlordship of Mulay al-Mihdi, the Spanish-created and Spanish-promoted *khalifa* in Tetuan. But as with the French *Résident-Général* in Rabat, the real power lay in the hands of the Spanish *Alto Comisario*, the High Commissioner and Spanish proconsul.

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[81] Unpublished notes in the files of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga; cf. also Woolman, op. cit., 1968, p. 213.

[82] This is according to the unpublished Blanco account, which here differs slightly from that of Gen. Goded, who has it (Goded, op. cit., 1932, p. 392) that Muh Azdhadh fell in the April 22 attack on Sidi Miskin in the territory of the Zarqat (Sinhaja Srir).

16. PROTECTORATE (1926–1956) AND INDEPENDENCE (1956–PRESENT)

Since the subject of this book is the Aith Waryaghar, only the most general references to Spanish administrative reforms that affected the Spanish protectorate of Morocco as a whole need be made here. Once the pacification had been effectively accomplished, the Spanish military administration divided up the zone allotted to them into five *territorios*. From west to east, these were: (1) Lukkus (with its territorial capital at l-'Ara'ish or Larache); (2) Jbala (with its territorial capital, and capital of the whole zone as well, at Tetuan); (3) Ghmara (with its territorial capital at Shawen); (4) Rif (with its territorial capital at the recently created town of al-Husaima or "Villa Sanjurjo"); and (5) Kart (with its territorial capital at Nador). Of the Central Rifian tribes, the Aith Waryaghar, Ibuqquyen, and Aith 'Ammarth all fell into the *Territorio del Rif*, while the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin fell into that of the *Kart*. (The Igzinnayen, however, fell into the French *Région* of Fez, under military command from Taza. Such were the fortunes of the war.)

Each *territorio* had its *interventor territorial*, generally a Spanish army lieutenant-colonel; under him were *interventores comarcales* or regional interventors, generally army majors; and under them were the *interventores de Kábila* or tribal interventors, usually army captains, whose posts were all located hard by the tribal *suqs*, as centers of tribal control. Other Spanish personnel included a doctor, a school-teacher and often a veterinarian at each post; the nurses, male and female, were generally locals. At the larger posts there was usually also another army captain in charge of the territorial *mhalla* or Moroccan troops in the Spanish army. There was in addition the "unofficial" Spanish community, generally very small, of mechanics, laborers, etc., who invariably congregated in the local Spanish café, which also functioned as the bus-stop.

In the Spanish Zone the *interventor* was known to the tribespeople as *muraqib*, while in the French Zone his *Affaires Indigènes* counterpart was referred to as *hakim;* the functions of both, as well as the systems of which they were an administrative part, were very similar. Indeed, reliable evidence shows that the Spanish system was a virtual carbon copy of the French *Bureaux Arabes* of Algeria,[1] with appropriately different labels. The central feature of both systems, as they affected the tribal areas, was one and the same: the Spanish *interventor de kábila* was the new administrative opposite number of the tribal *qaid*, the highest local authority. But whereas the latter existed at the top rung of his own tribal ladder, the former was at the bottom rung of a ladder of military administration that went up through the territorial *interventor* back to the Delegation of Native Affairs in Tetuan, and, ultimately, to the High Commissioner of the Zone: the incumbent of this topmost position in the Spanish protectorate hierarchy was usually a lieutenant-general. As Gellner has pointed out, this situation was almost exactly paralleled in the French zone, in which the top rungs of the administrative ladder stretched back to the Residency in Rabat.[2] This organization made sense, since the northern zone was, in effect, "leased" to Spain by France; it evidently had no precedent in any Spanish colonial policy in the New World. The only difference between the Spanish and the French systems was one of kind, not of degree: the Spanish *interventors*, owing to a higher tribal population density in the north zone, were three or four times as numerous in their area as their French *Affaires Indigènes* counterparts.[3]

None of the above need be read pejoratively. Colonialism and colonial rule have never been a blessing anywhere, while colonialist ideology is today merely tiresome; but the colonial of Spain in Northern Morocco was certainly no worse than most, and indeed, rather better than many, in at least one sense: that of economic balance. There was virtually no economic gulf between colonizers and colonized, and for the most part, the Andalusian peasants who came to Morocco were as poor as the Moroccans themselves. However, there is also the other side of the economic coin: the question of development. In forty-four years of theory (1912-1956) and in thirty years of practice (1926-1956), Spanish Morocco must have been something of a drain on the Spanish economy; but the fact remains that the Spanish zone, particularly by comparison with the French zone, was not only underdeveloped but undeveloped. Mikesell[4] has pointed out that even as late as 1955, there were only 1,000 km. of paved primary and secondary roads in the entire zone. And the central part of the zone, the *territorios* of the Ghmara and the Rif, were the least developed of all. These facts had their repercussions in Waryagharland.

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[1] Capt. Cándido Lobera Girela, *Memoria sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Analogos en las Plazas del Norte de Africa*, Melilla: Tipografía El Telegrama del Rif, Sept. 1905. Lobera was the editor of the Melilla newspaper *El Telegrama del Rif* from its inception in 1902, and a very influential early architect of Spanish colonial policy in Morocco.

[2] Ernest Gellner, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco: Tribes as Minorities," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, III, 1962, pp. 297–311, esp. p. 304.

[3] R. Montagne, *La Política Africana de España*, MS., op. cit., 1939.

FROM 'ABD AL-KRIM TO BLANCO'S QAIDATES AND THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR (1926–1939)

Even before 1921 the Spaniards had come to the full realization that the Aith Waryaghar were the key to the Rif; political pronouncements about the tribe during the war made references to it as "el foco de la rebelion," and Lobera made his famous statement about the "basic premise" of Spanish policy: "sometido Beni-Uriaguel, reinará la paz en el Rif" ("when the Aith Waryaghar have submitted, peace will reign in the Rif").[5] When the Spanish occupation did come, it came in a very matter-of-fact way, without ceremony on either side. No ritual sacrifice of bulls by the Aith Waryaghar, only the surrendering of guns; and installation by the Spanish of key tribesmen who had manifested (or who would manifest) friendly feelings to the new protectorate regime, and the temporary jailing in Melilla of a good many of 'Abd al-Krim's more outspoken partisans. (By 1929-1930, the bulk of the latter had been released.)

To consider, first, those Rifians who were friendly to Spain, we must refer to a phrase that crops up often in the Spanish literature on the subject—*los pensionados de la Isla*, "the pensioners of the Island." This phrase is so often taken for granted that it is never really explained. It refers to the individual Rifians, mostly from the lowland Aith Waryaghar and the Ibuqquyen, who for various reasons had been against 'Abd al-Krim as early as 1920 and who had appealed to the Spanish authorities on the Island of al-Husaima for protection. Between 1921 and the Spanish disembarcation at al-Husaima in 1925 these men were living in Tetuan on Spanish pensions, and hence the appellation. They numbered perhaps twenty in all, and principal among them was Sriman n-Muhand r-Khattabi of Ajdir. It has already been noted that he was in charge of a large *harka* of "friendlies" at the disembarcation, and that he took a prominent part in the López Bravo *harka* operations in the Jbala, after 'Abd al-Krim's surrender; he also accompanied Colonel Capaz on his famous "raid" into the Ghmara, where he was wounded in the head.

For his services to Spain, Sriman r-Khattabi was, in 1927, awarded the position of top *qaid* or *qaid quyad* of the Aith Waryaghar. It may be recalled that a precedent for this position had, in fact, existed as far back as the 1880s, when the Hajj Haddu w-'Aisa had been granted a *dahir* for the job by Mulay al-Hasan I, and had been formally ratified as top *amghar*. The position was now, however, less of a formality than it had been earlier, because the force of the Spanish military administration was behind it. The loyalty of the Qaid Sriman to Spain was of course based largely on his undying hatred of 'Abd al-Krim.

The period 1926-1934 was one in which the new Spanish administration and its representatives began to know who was who in Waryagharland. As a result, there was a considerable amount of jockeying around of tribal authorities. For the "fifth" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari, including its discontinuous subclans of the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga, a joint *qaid*-ship was created: Sha'ib w-'Aisa ("Sha'ib Chico") of Buham (Aith Yusif w-'Ari) held the position in 1926-1927; Muh n-'Amar nj-Mqaddim of the Timarzga in 1927-1928; and Sharrat n-Muh Abuqquy of Ajdir (lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa) from 1928 to 1934. In the "fifth" of the Aith 'Abdallah, the first *qaid* was Muh n-'Amar Muhand of Ibunharen, 1926-1927; then 'Amar nj-Hajj Muhand of Thazaghin, 1927-1928; and finally, Muh n-Muhammadi Abarqash of Bu Khlifa, from 1928 until his death in 1956. In the "fifth" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu Khrif ("true" Aith Bu 'Ayyash) held the position of *qaid* from 1926 until his deposition in 1950-1951; his *khalifa* or assistant was 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand of ar-Rabda in the Aith 'Adhiya (d. ca. 1948). (Since each "fifth" or top-level segment contained at least two clans or subclans, the *khalifa* was always chosen from the opposite one to that in which the *qaid* had originated, in order to provide as adequate representation as possible.)

In the "fifth" of the Aith Hadhifa, the first *qaid*

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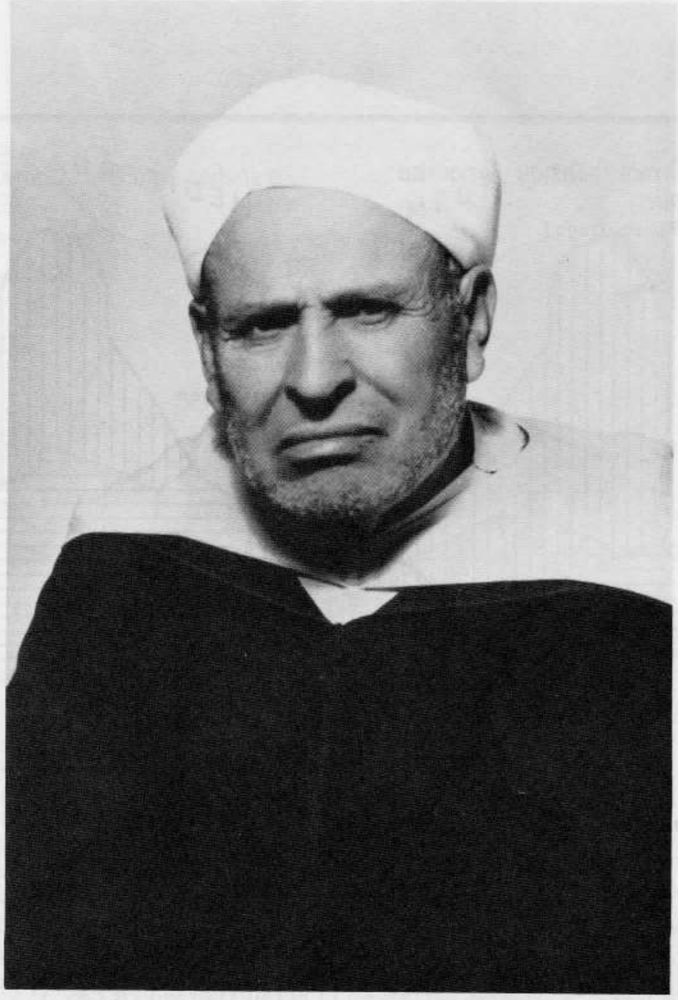
[4] Mikesell, op. cit., 1958.

[5] Cándido Lobera Girela, *Notas sobre el Problema de Melilla*, Melilla: Tipografía El Telegrama del Rif, 1912, pp. 153-154.



Qaid r-Hajj Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, former *kbir mhalla* under 'Abd al-Krim and then *qaid* of the Nkur Qaidate under the Spanish administration (1954)

was 'Amar n-Siddiq of Ihadduthen, and on his death in 1928, he was succeeded by his brother's son Siddiq n-Muh n-Siddiq; he lasted until the Aith Hadhifa and the Aith 'Abdallah were merged into a single *qaid*ate in 1934, when he became *shaikh* of the former, a position he held until independence. In the Imrabdhen, the first *qaid* was Muh n-Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa of the Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, the son of a man who had defected from and who had been killed by 'Abd al-Krim; because of his violent disposition, he was replaced before the year 1926 was out by Sha'ib n-ar-Ra'is; he in turn was replaced by the younger brother of the previous *qaid*, 'Allush n-Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa, who again held on until independence.

In 1930 a *qaid*-ship was created for the three subclans of the Jbil Hmam—the Aith 'Arus, Aith Turirth, and Timarzga; the post was filled by Muh n-'Amar nj-Mqaddim of the Timarzga, who, four years later, became the *khalifa* of the Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, when the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil Hmam subclans were administratively merged.

The merger in 1934 was the work of Major Emilio Blanco Izaga, a Vizcayan who was then the *interventor comarcal* of the Aith Waryaghar at Ajdir. One of the ablest tribal administrators ever produced by the Spanish protectorate system, he was also an avid amateur ethnologist, and frequent allusion has been made to him earlier. Prior to 1934, the original administrative organization set up by 'Abd al-Krim had been adhered to, with a *qaid* in charge of each "fifth," while 'Abd al-Krim's later refinement of a *qaid* in charge of each clan and subclan was for some reason disregarded.[6] At first, (Map VIII) 'Abd al-Krim had in fact named six *qaids* (one for the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith Turirth, another for the Aith 'Ari and Timarzga, and one each for the four remaining "fifths"), whereas later (Map IX) he had named eight (the six

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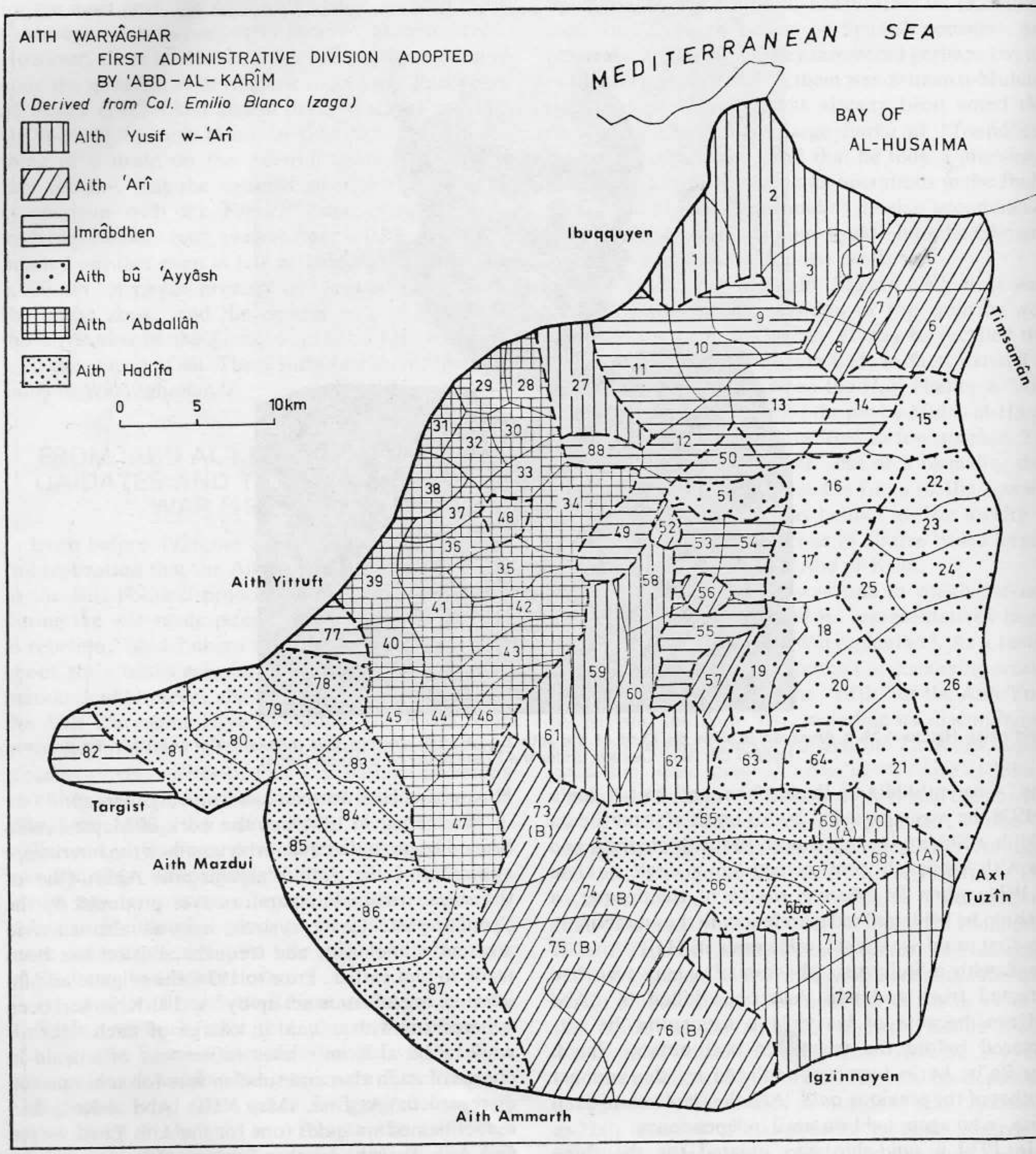
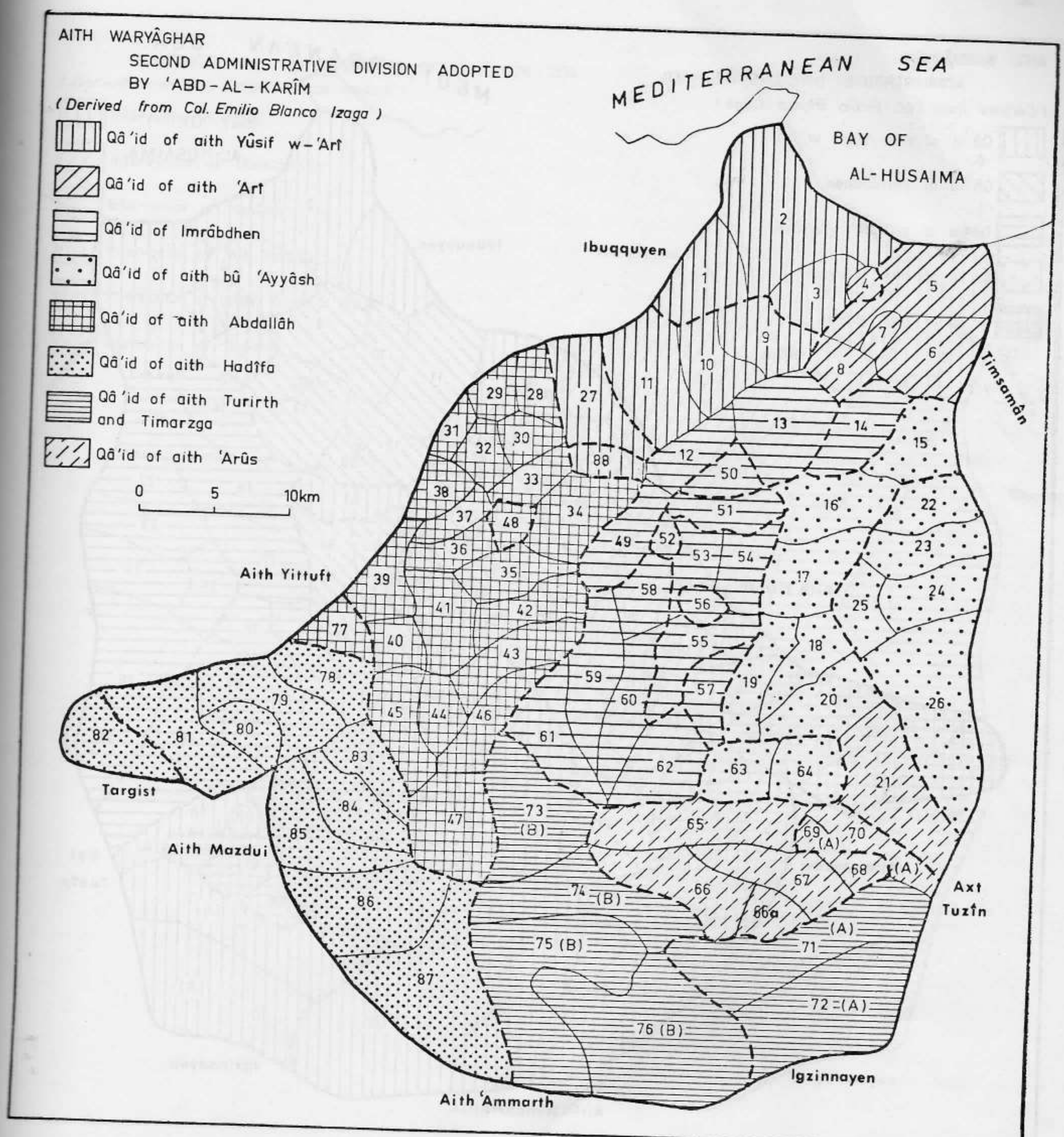
[6] Cf. the previously unpublished maps of Waryagharland drawn by Emilio Blanco Izaga, 1934, and reproduced here with certain necessary corrections in detail (Maps VI and VIII through XII).


AITH WARYÂGHAR
FIRST ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION ADOPTED BY 'ABD-AL-KARÎM
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Aith Yusif w-'Arî
Aith 'Arî
Imrâbdhen
Aith bû 'Ayyâsh
Aith 'Abdallâh
Aith Hadîfa
0
5
10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith 'Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Axt Tuzîn

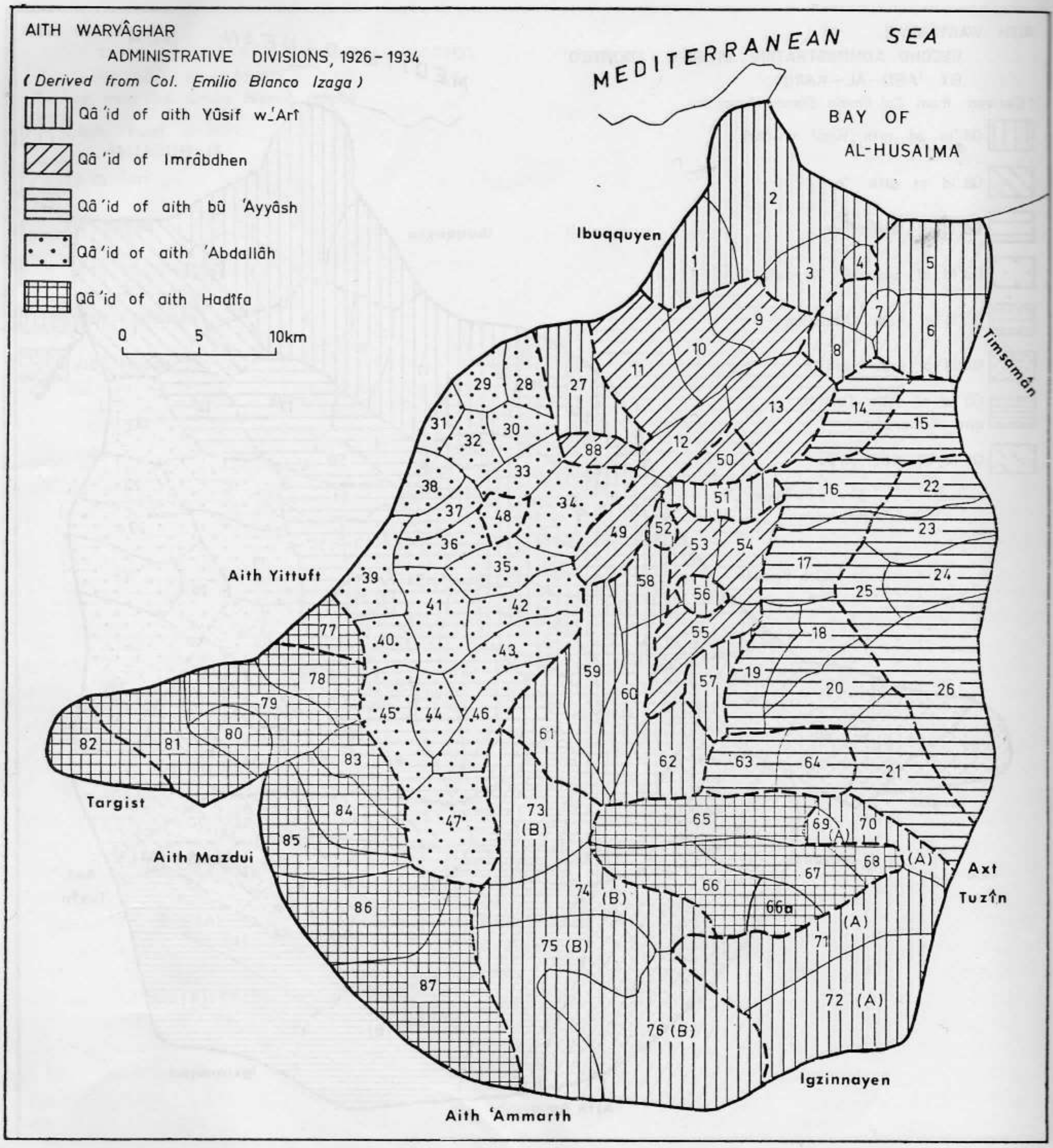
Map VIII: Blanco Map 2 (1934)—First Administrative Division

See Key with Map VI, Chapter 10


AITH WARYÂGHAR
SECOND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION ADOPTED BY 'ABD-AL-KARÎM
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Qâ'id of aith Yûsif w-'Arî
Qâ'id of aith 'Arî
Qâ'id of Imrâbdhen
Qâ'id of aith bû 'Ayyâsh
Qâ'id of aith Abdallâh
Qâ'id of aith Hadîfa
Qâ'id of aith Turirth and Timarzga
Qâ'id of aith 'Arûs
0 5 10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith 'Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Axt Tuzîn
73 (B)
74 (B)
75 (B)
76 (B)
69 (A)
70
68 (A)
(A)
71
72 = (A)
66a

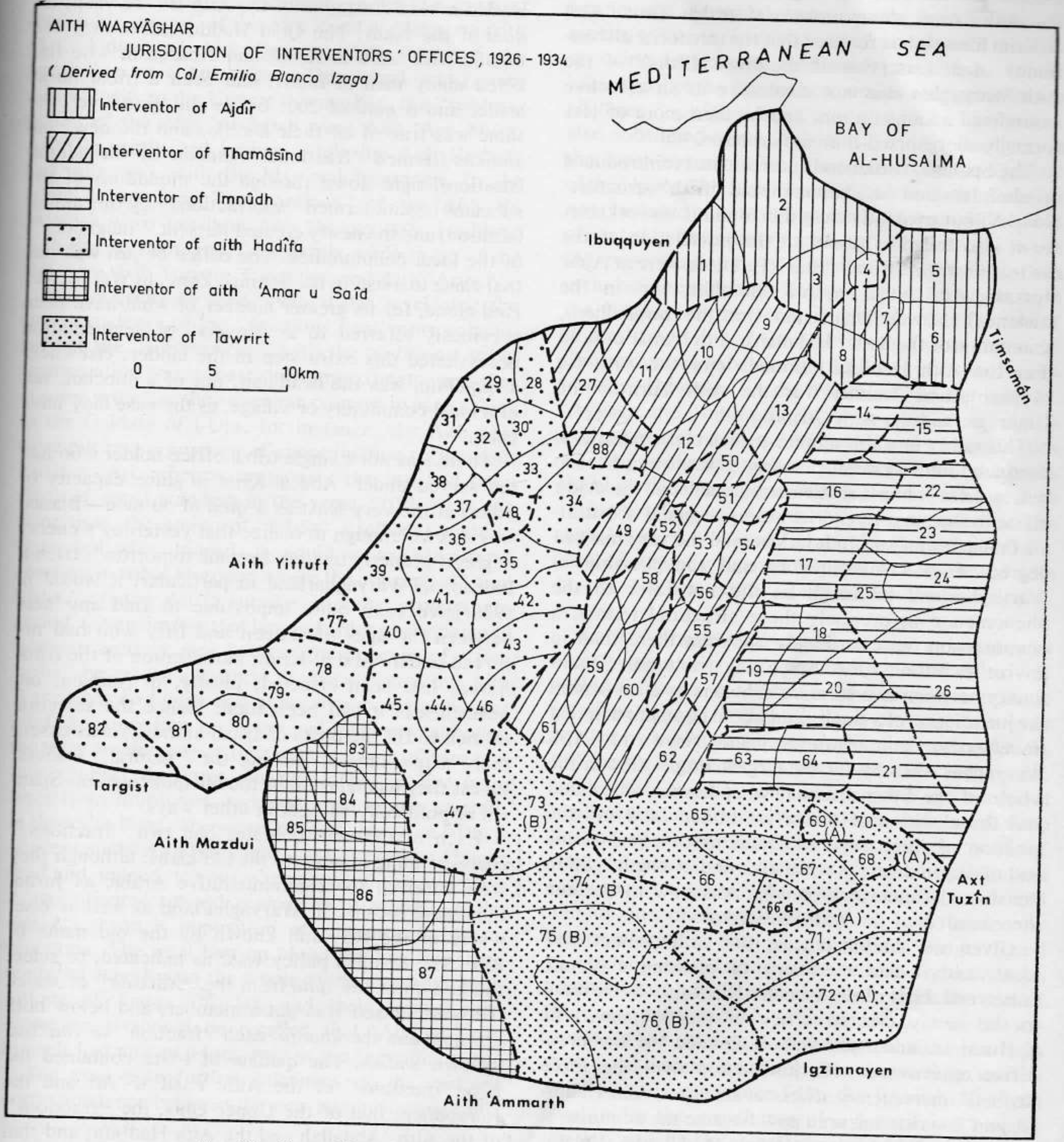
Map IX: Blanco Map 3 (1934)—Second Administrative Division

See Key with Map VI, Chapter 10


AITH WARYÂGHAR
ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS, 1926-1934
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Qâ 'id of aith Yûsif w-'Arî
Qâ 'id of Imrâbdhen
Qâ 'id of aith bû 'Ayyâsh
Qâ 'id of aith 'Abdallâh
Qâ 'id of aith Hadîfa
0
5
10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith 'Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Axt Tuzîn
(A)
(B)

Map X: Blanco 4 (1934)—Administrative Divisions, 1926–34

See Key with Map VI, Chapter 10


AITH WARYÂGHAR
JURISDICTION OF INTERVENTORS' OFFICES, 1926 - 1934
(Derived from Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga)
Interventor of Ajdîr
Interventor of Thamâsînd
Interventor of Imnûdh
Interventor of aith Hadîfa
Interventor of aith 'Amar u Sa'îd
Interventor of Tawrirt
0 5 10km
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Ibuqquyen
Timsamân
Aith Yittuft
Targist
Aith Mazdui
Aith 'Ammarth
Igzinnayen
Axt Tuzîn
73 (B)
74 (B)
75 (B)
76 (B)
69 (A)
72 (A)
66 a

Map XI: Blanco Map 5 (1934)—Jurisdiction of Interventors' Offices, 1926–1934

See Key with Map VI, Chapter 10

above, but with the Aith Yusif w-'Ari alone under one *qaid*, the Aith 'Ari alone under another, the Aith Turirth and the Timarzga together under a third, and the Aith 'Arus alone under a fourth). Thus 'Abd al-Krim himself had realized that the territorial discontinuity of at least two of the five "fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar was not conducive to an effective centralized administration, and he then more or less formally reorganized it on a clan basis.

The Spanish, if Blanco is correct, had reintroduced an administration based upon the old "fifth" structure, (Map X) but evidently they too found it unworkable, for it also failed to jibe with the jurisdiction of the six *interventors'* offices (Map XI). These were at Ajdir (for the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari in the lowlands), Lower Thamasind (for the Imrabdhen), Kammun (for the Aith 'Abdallah), Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id (For the Aith Hadhifa), Imnudh (for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Tawrirt (for the Aith Turirth, the Timarzga, and the Aith 'Arus).

This rather unstable administrative superimposition continued until 1934 (or possibly 1935), when Blanco sent a most important memorandum from the Ajdir office to the main territorial headquarters at al-Husaima (Villa Sanjurjo).[7] In it he stressed the very marked degree of clan discontinuity and reduplication in Waryagharland (although he did not refer to the phenomenon in precisely these structural terms), a phenomenon more strikingly apparent there than in any other Rifian tribe. Since any territorial discontinuity between two or more subclans or clans within the jurisdiction of a single *qaid* would be an impediment to effective administration, and since the Aith Waryaghar were by far the largest single tribe in the whole of the Spanish zone, what Blanco advocated was the abolition of the office of top *qaid* and the creation of three separate *qaid*ates of equal status and of approximately equal size and strength, within the overall framework of what was now to become the *comarcal* of the Aith Waryaghar.

Given the circumstances, this arrangement was ideal, and it had the merit of pleasing everyone concerned. First of all, Sriman r-Khattabi was elevated to the newly created office of pasha (*basha*) of al-Husaima, and Ajdir was designated the *comarcal* office or bureau, with jurisdiction over the three "tribal" *intervencion* offices at Imzuren, Aith Hadhifa, and Tawrirt. Imzuren now became the administrative center of the lowland Qaidate of l-Uta (lit., "plain, lowland," Rif. *r-udha*); Aith Hadhifa (or Bni Hadifa) became that of the Qaidate of the Upper Ghis; and Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, became that of the Qaidate of the Nkur. Hmid Budra, 'Abd al-Krim's ex-Minister of War and now out of jail, became the *qaid* of the Uta; Muh Abarqash of the Aith 'Abdallah, the *qaid* of the Upper Ghis; and Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, the *qaid* of the Nkur. The Qaid Haddu had been a *kbir mhalla* with 'Abd al-Krim, and Abarqash, who had killed many men in feuds, had been a tribal *harka* leader and a *qaid* of 200. Below the *qaid* level, the same was true of all their *khalifas* and the new clan *shaikhs* (termed "fractional" *shaikhs* by the administration), right down through the *mqaddims* of the subclans (again, termed "subfractions" by the administration) and the newly created *jaris* (lit. "neighbors") of the local communities. The office of *jari* was one that came to exist, in the Spanish Zone, in Waryagharland alone, for its greater number of what have been previously referred to as "levels" of segmentation necessitated this extra step in the ladder; elsewhere a *mqaddim* was the headman, not of a subclan, but of a local community or village, as the case may have been.

There was not a single tribal office-holder who had not served under 'Abd al-Krim in some capacity or other, at the very least as a *qaid* of 50 men—Blanco was shrewd enough to realize that yesterday's enemy might, if properly treated, become tomorrow's friend. Indeed, in Waryagharland in particular, it would in 1926 have been quite impossible to find any man between the ages of sixteen and fifty who had not served under 'Abd al-Krim; mobilization of the tribal *harkas* had been effected, ideally, in rotation, but nevertheless it had been total. Hence the selection of men to fill the posts of tribal authority was essentially a question of picking the "natural" leaders, unless they happened to be too outspokenly anti-Spanish or politically suspect in other ways.

Each of the new *qaid*ates had two "fractions," corresponding roughly to the old clans; although they were referred to in administrative Arabic as *farqa*, they were locally, in Waryagharland as well as elsewhere in the Rif, still known by the old name of *rba'*. The Spanish policy was, as indicated, to select the *khalifa* of the *qaid* from the "fraction" of which the *qaid* himself was not a member, and below both the *qaid* and the *khalifa*, each "fraction" or *rba'* had its own *shaikh*. The qiadate of l-Uta contained the two "fractions" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Imrabdhen; that of the Upper Ghis, the "fractions" of the Aith 'Abdallah and the Aith Hadhifa; and that of the Nkur, the "fractions" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Jbil (Hmam).[8]

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[7] *Las Yemáas Tradicionales Rifeñas*, MS., 1934.

[8] We have rendered the "fraction" names as pronounced locally in Waryagharland. Officially, they were known as Ait Yusif w-'Ali and Imrabten, Bni 'Abdallah and Bni Hadifa, Bni Bu 'Ayyash and Jbil.

Each "fraction" was administratively subdivided into three "subfractions" known, again administratively, as *farqa*, but locally as *r'ayyith*, and each of these was headed by a *mqaddim*. In the Uta qaidate, the "subfractions" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari were Aith 'Ari, Ajdir, and Aith Qamra, while those of the Imrabdhen were Aith r-Qadi, Thamasind, and Zawith n-Sidi Yusif. In the Upper Ghis qaidate, the "subfractions" of the Aith 'Abdallah were Aith 'Aru Musa, Aith Tmajurth, and Isrihan, while the Aith Hadhifa had only two, Aith Bu Jdat and Iraqraqen. In the Nkur qaidate, the "subfractions" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash were Lowland Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Highland Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Tazurakhth, while those of the Jbil were Aith Turirth, Timarzga, and Aith 'Arus.[9]

It may easily be seen, even at this level, that the correspondence of the "fractions" and more particularly of the "subfractions" with the traditional tribal segmentation was at best only approximate, and that in some instances they even ran counter to each other. In the Qaidate of l-Uta, for instance, the Aith 'Ari were put into a position of subordination to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, whereas previously the two had been clans of equal standing in the same "fifth." At the same time, the notion of "fifths" itself was entirely dispensed with. Indeed, it would seem that almost nowhere in tribal Morocco where the concept of "five fifths" existed did it survive into the protectorate period. Given the fact that law and order now emanated from an entirely new source, the concept of "five fifths" became a structural archaism: since the Aith Waryaghar no longer had guns, they could no longer feud, and since they no longer had *imgharen* (although the term *amghar* was to reemerge in a new administrative context), the latter could no longer receive *haqq* fines from murderers—who also no longer existed, in theory at least. The orientation of the "five fifths" concept, in the Aith Waryaghar case, was toward blood feud and, indeed, toward war in general. Specifically, it was oriented toward repression of murder in the markets through imposition of enormously heavy sanctions. The total ban on blood feuding therefore rendered superfluous the whole system and the institutions of *haqq*, *liff*, *'ar*, and their subsidiaries. However, it should be recalled that 'Abd al-Krim himself had moved a long way in the same direction.

We may note further instances of the lack of correspondence between the new administrative units and the old segmentary ones. Within the "fraction" of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, both Ajdir and Aith Qamra (the latter a mixture of Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Imrabdhen lineage elements) were elevated from local community status to "subfractional" status, with a corresponding increase in territorial jurisdiction. In the "fraction" of the Imrabdhen, similar changes affected all three "subfractions," one of which, Thamasind, also subsumed some Aith Yusif w-'Ari lineages, in the local community of that name. In the Qaidate of the Upper Ghis, the "fraction" of the Aith 'Abdallah now included one "subfraction," Isrihan, which was affiliated in its entirety to the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, while the two "subfractions" of the Aith Hadhifa both included discontinuous lineages of the Imrabdhen. In the Qaidate of the Nkur, the three "subfractions" of the "fraction" of the Jbil (Hmam) were the same three mountain subclans that had always existed traditionally. However, in the "fraction" of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, the "subfractions" were created entirely on a geographical basis, the "Lower" and "Upper" Aith Bu 'Ayyash having no correspondence with the traditional division into "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith 'Adhiya; "Upper" Aith Bu 'Ayyash included certain Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Imrabdhen lineages, and the local community Tazurakhth was, like Ajdir and Aith Qamra further north, elevated to "subfractional" status.

Each "subfraction" contained a given number of local communities, referred to both administratively and in Rifian as *dshar*, but inappropriately translated into Spanish as "village." Each of these was now headed by a *jari*, an administrative designation which, in Spanish Morocco, was peculiar to Waryagharland. Each *dshar* or local community, made up of several resident lineage groups, was further segmented along the lines of these groups into "quarters" or "barrios" (sing. *hawma*), in the administrative terminology, and each such "quarter," functioning as the residential unit of one or more lineages, was now headed by a man referred to both as *m'awn* (lit., "helper") and as *amghar*—an old term resuscitated in a new context, albeit with a certain loss in status. Both the *jari* of the community and his *m'awns* would help, for example, in the collection of the annual *tirtib* tax from their constituents, and when the community wanted some specific assistance from the Spanish Makhzan (such as in the installation of a fountain or a well), the *jari* and his *m'awns* approached the *interventor* jointly.

I do not know what the pay rates of the various tribal authorities were in the early days of the Spanish protectorate, but in 1953-1955 the administration paid each *qaid* 1,000 pesetas per month, each *khalifa* 500 ptas. per month, and each *shaikh* 150 ptas. per month;

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[9] Again, we have rendered the "subfraction" names as pronounced locally in Waryagharland. Officially, those of the Ait Yusif w-'Ali were known as Ait 'Ali, Ajdir and Ait Qamra; those of the Imrabten were Ait l-Qadi, Tamasint and Zawiya Sisi Yusif; those of the Bni 'Abdallah were Ait 'Ali u-Musa, Ait Tmajurt and Isrihan; those of the Bni Hadifa were Ait Bu Jdat and Iraqraqen; those of the Bni Bu 'Ayyash were Bni Bu 'Ayyash dyal-Uta, Bni Bu 'Ayyash dyal-Jbil and Tazurakht; and those of the Jbil were Tawrirt, Timarzga and Ait 'Arus.

mqaddims and *jaris* got nothing. (The only other pay at the time was 16 ptas. per day for nominally voluntary, though at times enforced, day labor on road gangs; prisoners were generally under the supervision of one of the *interventor's* orderlies and were put to work hoeing his garden.) The rates of pay were admittedly very small, but considerable prestige and power attached to the three top positions, which were invariably held by men of locally illustrious lineages who were wealthier than their constituents. Some balance was brought to the situation by the Rifian attitude toward hospitality: *qaids* and *shaikhs* were expected to entertain frequently, and it is common for the Aith Waryaghar either to praise or to abuse a tribal authority on the quality of the cuisine in his household.

The Blanco reform had two main effects: (1) it largely did away with a system of command based upon the traditional discontinuity and reduplication of subclans and lineages, substituting for it one based on a neat territorial contiguity; and (2) because of the existence of three qaidates of approximately equal size and of absolutely equal status, it moved at the same time in the direction of administrative decentralization at the local level—though not at the level of the *comarcal* or above. This local decentralization was contrary to the reforms that 'Abd al-Krim had no doubt envisioned on this score, although in other ways, despite its emphasis on regrouping, it was a kind of logical follow-through of his own alterations to the political system. One result, not too paradoxically, was that each qaidate, with its own *qaid* and *interventor,* began to look on itself as virtually a separate "tribe;" even in Rifian it was common to hear the word *dhaqbitsh* employed to designate the territorial and geographical area of a *qaid*'s jurisdiction, covering, in each case, the two administrative "fractions." Not only this, but the *qaids, khalifas, shaikhs,* and *mqaddims,* as well as the *interventors,* all met, despite their relative autonomy, when convoked by the *interventor comarcal* in Ajdir, while he in turn made tours of the major markets in each qaidate every week, consulting with the local *interventor,* the tribal authorities, and the *amin* or market ticket collector, to see that all was functioning smoothly.

At the judicial level, each qaidate had a *qadi,* assisted by the usual two *'adul* or notaries, to administer the Shari'a. Both the *qaid* and the *qadi* were assisted by a *katib* or secretary, who took down the minutes of meetings or cases that came up before their respective tribunals (*mahkama*), which were generally located in separate rooms of a special tribunal building erected just off the market. The *'adul* were invariably local men, while the *qadi* was usually a man of another tribe, a fact which tended to make his verdicts more impartial. Prior to 1938, the *interventor* was, it seems, able to "intervene" in the *qadi*'s business as much as in the *qaid*'s, but after that year the *qadi* was given a greater measure of autonomy and was henceforth directly responsible to the *qadi n-nahya,* the territorial *qadi,* in al-Husaima, who was in turn responsible to the Khalifa's Minister of Justice in Tetuan.

'Abd al-Krim had established the supremacy of the Shari'a for all time, and the combined forces of the Shari'a and the jurisdiction of the Spanish Makhzan, between them, gave the *coup de grâce* after the mortal blow that 'Abd al-Krim had already inflicted upon Customary Law. It is of interest that, quite unaware of 'Abd al-Krim's Salafiya leanings; the Spanish Africanist League, in a petition to the government in 1925, had already proposed the division of the Spanish zone into three provinces, one of which, the Rif (between the Wuringa and Nkur rivers), would be governed according to Berber usage, with respect paid to Berber institutions and the Berber jural system, just as the French were already doing in their zone. But the government in effect rejected the proposal because a single judicial organization for the whole zone had already been set up in Tetuan, and the protectorate administration was unwilling to spend time and money on any further changes.[10] Many *interventors,* notably Blanco himself, were very much disturbed by the attitude of the Spanish government on this score; and Blanco continued to urge that tribunals of Berber Customary Law be installed in the Rifian tribes, so that Custom might thus be perpetuated.[11] Such sentiments were wishful thinking, however, and in uttering them, Blanco (who was at heart a romantic) had reckoned without the profound changes that 'Abd al-Krim had effected in the political system. Even the French, in the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen, had realized that the installation of customary tribunals there would have been useless.

Given the fact that jurisdiction over homicide and woundings had now been taken over by the Makhzan of the protectorate, and that jurisdiction over adultery, for example, as well as all matters relating to personal status (inheritance, marriage, divorce, and land and water tenure), had been brought under the Shari'a, the field of operations of Custom had become very drastically reduced. Nonetheless, matters that fell under the jurisdiction of the *aquwwam* (vigilance over orchards, trespassing on the holdings of others, letting animals stray into a cemetery, damages to irrigation ditches, the taking of irrigation water out of turn, failure to show up to repair a ditch after a heavy rain, etc.) were still and are still considered today to fall under the rubric of *'urf* or *qa'ida*, Custom. These are situations in which there is no obvious conflict with the Shari'a, and the traditional jurisdiction was therefore permitted by 'Abd al-Krim to survive unscathed. But a *qadi* who was not familiar with local custom in Waryagharland, on issues such as those above, might conclude that the degree of fit between Law and what remained of Custom was neither so tight nor so perfect in practice as it may have been in theory. Blanco, indeed, asks the cogent question of whether, during the 1930s, the Shari'a in Waryagharland was being Berberized, or whether Custom was being Arabized—which, he adds, is not the same thing.[12]

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[10] Cesareo Rodriguez Aguilera, *Manual de Derecho de Marruecos,* Barcelona: Editorial Bosch, 1952, p. 109.

[11] Notation by Emilio Blanco Izaga, dated April 1939: he thought it ridiculous of the Spanish administration in Morocco not to have kept the Rif free from "contamination" by the Shari'a, as the Berbers in the French Zone and in Algeria were being kept; and he opined that Spain had Arabized the Rifians through an ignorance of Customary Law. This is a harsh judgment indeed, as well as a totally false one.

In any case, the dominant unit in the political life of the tribe was now the "fraction," where it had formerly been the clan and the "fifth" (whether or not they had been identical units). Because of the large size of the Aith Waryaghar, these "fractions" were the equivalents of whole tribes elsewhere; and in Spanish times and in the Spanish Zone, they gave a "confederational" appearance—which had also been supported by 'Abd al-Krim—to Waryagharland as a whole. Thus, "fractional" autonomy was, to a certain extent, implicit; but as the "fraction" *per se* was, in Waryagharland, to some degree a new unit created by the administration, and as the concept of the old "fifth" continued to live on only as a construct in the minds of old men, the skeletal framework of the now modified political structure thus retained a measure of its former Berber base; but the Berber content became a thing of the past.

It was in this manner that an Arab- and Makhzan-style administration became the standard governmental pattern for the tribes of the Central Rif. In the Aith 'Ammarth the four original clans became also the four administrative "fractions," while in the Igzinnayen the French created no less than seven "fractions" (Jbarna, Ishawiyen, Marar, Asht Mhand, Asht Yunis, Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, and Asht 'Asim), with one *shaikh* for each of the first six and three for the disproportionately large "fraction" of the Asht 'Asim (which had now come to subsume that of the Imzdurar as well).[13] During the Protectorate the only aspect of the *qaid*'s tribunal or *mahkama* which made it resemble the old *agraw* of the *aitharbi'in* was that the *qaid* himself was never alone in the tribunal room to render decisions, but was always surrounded by his *khalifa* and his *shaikhs* and *mqaddims* (and to a greater extent than in the Jbala), whose opinions he consulted and considered before rendering his own decision. Because of 'Abd al-Krim and a subsequent protectorate administration, however, it was the *qaid*, more than any of the other tribal functionaries, who had the final say. The very nature of the protectorate system made him more of a *primus* among the *pares* than the top *amghar* had previously been, although in Waryagharland it must be remembered that there were now three *primi* among three new *qaid*ates of *pares*.

In any event, from the vantage point of today, it seems just as well that the criticisms that Blanco and other military *interventors* leveled against the Spanish administration for failing to underwrite Rifian customary law went unheeded. That administration, by not adopting customary tribunals, continued both to coast along on the recent Shari'a-oriented administrative apparatus which 'Abd al-Krim had left the Rifians as his major legacy, and to avoid, very wisely, the pitfalls and the strictures encountered by the French in their zone through the promulgation of the famous Berber Dahir of 1930. As it happened, nationalism of a militant and violent kind appeared in the Spanish zone only at the very end of the protectorate period (with the emergence of the Army of Liberation of the Rif), not for the three or so years of predominantly urban resistance preceding it, as happened in the French Zone. The Berber Dahir was a means whereby the French kept Berber-speaking tribes in the "deep-freeze" of customary law; the fact that it did not apply in the Spanish zone may well have been a contributing factor. As we shall see, the role played by the Aith Waryaghar in the overall context of the Moroccan nationalism of the mid-1950s was, in sum, negligible, because for once they took a back seat to the Igzinnayen. It might even be said that they took a more active, though possibly less complex, part in the Spanish Civil War, to which we now turn.

* * *

The monument at the Isaggen, or Yellow Plain of Ktama (actually located in the tribal territory of the Aith Siddat) in the Sinhaja Srir, which was erected by the Spanish administration to commemorate the beginning of the Spanish National Movement under Franco on July 17, 1936, has now been transferred out of independent Moroccan territory, but it is nonetheless symbolic of an era. What it represented was the whole-hearted support given to Franco by all of

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[12] Cf. Note 11.

[13] Blanco, *La Kábila Fronteriza de Gueznaia*, MS., op. cit., 1940.

Northern Morocco at a speech he made there on that day, before taking the lead of the Spanish Nationalist armies to march into Spain to do battle with the leftists and communists of the Spanish Republic.

There is no doubt that Franco's support from Spanish Morocco was indeed whole-hearted, for the Republicans had been painted as the unbelieving enemies of both Christianity and of Islam, and the Spanish recruitment programs to get young Moroccan tribesmen into the *mhallas* to be sent to Spain to fight were very active. It was said at the time that Rifians were enrolled virtually without having to pass a physical examination, while Jbalans and Ghmarans were put on a waiting list! Be this as it may, a letter was sent to Franco only a few days later by Sriman r-Khattabi, who was now the pasha of al-Husaima, and it is quoted in translation and *in extenso* by García Figueras.[14] It leaves no doubt about the Qaid Sriman's own sentiments nor about his spokesmanship for all of the Aith Waryaghar on this particular occasion.

Sriman r-Khattabi threw the total support of the Aith Waryaghar to the Spanish Nationalist Army. Reduced to local terms, this support was of a personal character, an endorsement of just those Spanish officers who had made names for themselves in the Rifian War. Aside from the more obvious names of Franco, Sanjurjo, Mola, Dolla, Goded, Lopez Bravo, and Varela, the roster included a number of only slightly more junior officers who, such as Emilio Blanco Izaga (from Vizcaya), Andrés Sánchez Pérez (an Extremaduran from Zamora), and Eduardo Maldonado Vázquez (a Castilian), had had considerable experience already as tribal *interventors* in the Rif. Their flair for Rifian ethnology and history, for which there is considerable footnoted evidence in this work, was perhaps surpassed only by the mutual liking and respect (tempered with the ability to back-chat) between them and their administrative charges, and by their patriotism as Spaniards. With the Aith Waryaghar in particular, men such as these had established an informal but nonetheless solid kind of "give-and-take" relationship, on a personal basis, a relationship that was still evident in their post-Civil War successors in the same enlightened (although by the mere nature of things, paternalistic) military ethnological tradition.

In military terms, however, this support was, at the overall or "global" level, rather more impressive. At the time, the Nationalist Army in Peninsular Spain numbered only 30,000 men, but "more important was the Moroccan Army, composed of the 4200-man *Tercio*, 17,000 Moroccan *Regulares* and 11,000 Spanish recruits from the ordinary units—a total of 32,000 of the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped, and most sternly disciplined and combat-worthy troops in the (Nationalist) Army."[15] Thus the Moroccan force more than doubled Spanish Nationalist effectiveness; and in this sense Morocco had not functioned in vain as the training ground of the Spanish Army.

The Spanish Republicans were to make a big issue of this fact, both in the press and elsewhere; but there is no question that in 1936, a crucial year for Spain in any case, the Spanish Army controlled northern Morocco, and the Army was solidly Nationalist. Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga (died 1949), for example, was to remain in Morocco throughout the Civil War, but, as *Interventor Territorial del Rif*, he was a leading spirit in the recruitment and mobilization of Rifian *taburs* to fight in Spain, many of them under the command of Gen. Varela, who was eventually to become Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan.

The bravery of the Rifian *taburs* in Spain in 1936-1939 was no less than that of their fathers and elder brothers had been against Spain in 1921-1926. Some of them are said to have fasted during Ramadan even though, in this newer context, they were paid soldiers and were certainly not *mujahidin* in defense of their own homeland. At any rate, as far as they were concerned, it seems that the moral issues of the war were clear enough: they were helping those Spaniards whom they knew and liked, as against others whose lack of religious belief was both incomprehensible and insulting. Many Rifians feel a respect for Franco himself which, it might be added, persists to this day. Their courage in combat, particularly at the siege of Madrid in the winter of 1936-1937, was equalled only by their no less traditional love of plundering the spoils (among which sewing machines were rated as an especially desirable item).

The accounts of Spanish Republicans about the Civil War make the "Moros" under Franco appear hateful. This is hardly surprising, for the many centuries of Muslim occupation and domination of Spain have produced in the average Spaniard an undying antipathy for all things Moroccan: the sophisticated Arab of al-Andalus he can admire and even like, but not the backwoods Berber. As the Moroccans came to realize that most of the Spaniards who had settled in the northern zone of their country were at almost exactly their own economic level, or only barely above it, the casual references made by insensitive Spaniards to *los moros* infuriated them. Furthermore, they had to learn Spanish, for the Spaniards, except for a very few, had no desire or inclination to learn Arabic or Rifian, and communication had to be maintained somehow.

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[14] Tomás García Figueras, "Mística y Poesía del Alzamiento Nacional en Marruecos," in same author, *Miscelánea de Estudios Varios Sobre Marruecos*, Vol. III, Tetuan: Editora Marroquí, 1953, pp. 235-309. Reference here is to pp. 241-242.

[15] Stanley Payne, *Politics and The Military in Modern Spain*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967, p. 346.

But there was another side to the question. Even though there were, after independence, bitter recriminations from the Moroccan side over the almost total lack of economic development, of any sort, by Spain in her zone (which she had used first and foremost as a training ground for her army), this same lack of development was a correlate of the absence of any real economic gulf between colonizers and colonized. Thus the issue of "haves" and "have-nots," which was such a big one between the French colons and their charges in the southern zone, simply never arose. Whatever Moroccan feelings in general might have been about Spain, they never, by the early or mid-1950s, reached the pitch of the searing hatred for the French that existed in the south. (In this respect, the Rifians, once again, were different, owing to their exposure to French colons in Algeria through labor migration: many of them even liked the Algerian French, who had favored them, although they were certainly concerned about the treatment given their fellow-countrymen by the Moroccan French in the southern zone.)

To return to 1936: the paradox is that the protected were now drawn in to help their protectors, and this they did outstandingly well. The pick of the crop even became members of Franco's personal household guard (many of them Aith Waryaghar), a unit which, with considerable reluctance, he disbanded only late in 1957, sending its former members back to a now independent Morocco. But although the Rifian identification with Franco during the national struggle was total, the *izran* which were sung by soldiers about to leave home or returning on leave were full of the pathos of the war:

1. *Ghaghwadh r-hazzam-inem, ghani khas r-mdhimmadh*
   Nishnin nughur ghar Spanya animmidh.
   Guard your belt and put another one over it,
   For we are going to Spain to die.

2. *Aspanya ghars r-'adhu, ibddan dh-ibillajen*
   Franku dh-arukhu hasi tim'awwajen!
   Spain has a bloodfeud, and its "villages" are divided,
   Franco and the "Reds" [*arukhu,* from Sp. *rojo*] are both fighting for them!

3. *Aspanya dh-ishshur, Madhrir i'ammar*
   Axsigh arhimm i-shim a bu-hbir ir'amar!
   Spain is crawling [with people], and Madrid is full
   I am sorry for you, in my spirit and in my soul!

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE PROTECTORATE AND THE REEMERGENCE OF 'ABD AL-KRIM (1939–1956)

The Spanish Civil War ended with a Nationalist victory early in 1939, at which time all the soldiers who had served in the Moroccan *taburs* at the front were returned home. Only Franco's personal Moroccan guard remained. For Rifians, the main event of a fairly quiet World War II was the occupation by Spain, using her Moroccan troops, of the small International Zone of Tangier from 1940 to 1945. This gave the Rifian soldiery of the occupying forces the first taste of a city that they felt had always been "theirs" in any case. (We may recall here Mulay Isma'il's restocking of the Tangier garrison with Rifian soldiery of an earlier era, in 1684.)

The Spanish Moroccan troops were just on the verge of returning to their own zone when disaster suddenly struck all of Morocco, and the Rif perhaps in particular. It came in the shape of the worst famine and drought in recorded history, during the summer of 1945, and continuing throughout the autumn and winter of 1945–1946. I have not, unfortunately, been able to acquire any statistical information on the number of refugees who literally swarmed out of the Rif in hundreds, and on foot, to look for work in Tetuan and particularly in Tangier. From all accounts, the problem of Rifian refugees (many of whom became Tangier's "New Rifians" as opposed to the "Old Rifians" who made up the bulk of the original population of the Fahs of the Tangier zonal hinterland)[16] was considerably more critical than any refugee problems previously posed by the Rifian war. It should be remembered that by this time the Aith Waryaghar already numbered 60,000. A good many Rifians of all tribes who poured into Tangier were saved by the soup kitchens set up for them by the American heiress, Miss Barbara Hutton. Even twenty-five years later, nobody in Waryagharland who is old enough to remember it recalls the "Year of Hunger" without a shudder. A good many of these people returned home when a trade recession hit Tangier in 1951 after the initial postwar boom. More of them stayed, however, held by the fact that they had by then acquired more or less steady employment in a variety of occupations—as night watchmen at the RCA and Mackay radio stations, construction workers, porters at the docks, taxi and truck drivers, masons, carpenters, fishermen, tailors (these last largely from the Aith Waryaghar and the Thimsaman), *shawsh*-es or majordomos at the various European legations and consulates in the city, hotel concierges, waiters, cooks, bartenders, and even restaurateurs (the owner of one of Tangier's best restaurants was a man from Tifarwin in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash). The extent to which these Rifians became submerged in the local population is revealed by the fact that generally their children, in the early and mid-1950s, were speaking only Arabic; this was so even if both parents were Rifian.[17]

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[16] Cf. Hart, op. cit., 1957, pp. 153–162.

At home in Waryagharland, the most dramatic incident that occurred between the end of World War II and the end of the Protectorate was the removal from office in 1950-1951 of the Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Nkur *qaid*ate. The circumstances of his removal, through the sacrifice of a bull, as *'ar*, effected by his dissatisfied constituents in front of the Spanish High Commissioner on the steps of the Catholic Church in Tetuan, have been described in Chapter 11. The position of Qaid of the Nkur remained vacant until late in 1953, when it was given to Hmid Budra, who had up until then been *qaid* of the Uta lowlands; this last job now went to 'Allush n-Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa of the Imrabdhen, the younger brother of Muh n-Hammu who had himself held the same position for a year or so shortly after the protectorate was effectively established.

In the Jbil Hmam subclans, Yidir n-Sriman n-Muhand of Aith Juhra in the Aith 'Arus, the *shaikh* of the Jbil under the Qaid Haddu, was also removed from office at about the same time because of his having slept with the wife of one of his lesser constituents, whose only recourse was to complain to the Spanish authorities. Both the Qaid Haddu and Shaikh Yidir are dead now (the former died in March 1955, the latter about 1957), and their names are mentioned here not to make a point of their conduct, but to stress another point entirely: that when a high-ranking tribal authority was removed from office or died, there was sometimes a gap of several years before a suitable successor was chosen.

It was thus only in 1953 that Yidir n-Sriman was succeeded as *shaikh* of the Jbil Hmam by Sidi Hmid n-Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud. The latter was an excessively polite old man who was accorded due respect as a member of a holy lineage and as the brother of a living saint (whose *baraka* was widely recognized by all, but who was politically ineffective). The choice, however, may have been in part a reaction away from Shaikh Yidir, whose hard-headedness was an administrative byword. An even more striking example of a long vacancy was that of the *mqaddim*-ship of the Aith Turirth: Hajj Mammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass had died in 1946, but the position remained vacant until 1953, when it was awarded to his much younger paternal half-brother, who was only thirty-five at the time. The *mqaddim*-ship of the Upper Aith Bu 'Ayyash had been held by the Hajj Sillam n-Muh n-Muh Amzzyan, who was the Qaid Haddu's elder brother's son. When Hajj Sillam died in 1954, he was succeeded by his own son Muhammad, who, like all the other tribal authorities, was deprived of command by the new Moroccan administration during the transfer of power immediately after independence, but who was to achieve considerable notoriety as the leader of the Rifian uprising in 1958.

Inherent, of course, in these quite frequent vacua in the authority structure was the desire of the administration to have the post filled, if possible, by a successor from the same lineage, if his predecessor had proven able. In the event of the removal of an incumbent from office, the available candidates for the position all had to be checked out in Tetuan on any number of grounds (such as ability, attitude toward the administration, and, of course, suspected nationalist sympathies) before final approval of any one of them was forthcoming. And the administrative wheels of the protectorate bureaucracy did not always turn very rapidly.

Emilio Blanco's administrative restructurings of 1934-1935 had affected only the Aith Waryaghar, but in October 1952, and under the aegis of the final Spanish High Commissioner, Lieutenant-general Rafael García Valiño, another reform was put into effect that applied to all the tribes of the Spanish zone. I refer to the creation of the *juntas de farqa* or *juntas de fraccion*, a kind of "fractional council." Ten years earlier, in August 1942, *juntas rurales* had been created by one of Garcia Valiño's predecessors, Lieutenant-general Luis Orgaz Yoldi, and they existed in each of the five *territorios* of the zone. Members included pashas and *qadis* of the region, and *interventors* of both *territorial* and *comarcal* rank, the regional paymaster and assessors; in each, the *na'ib* of the Grand Vizier (when he existed) acted as president—with the "most qualified" pasha or *qaid* taking his place if he were absent—while the *interventor territorial* was vice-president.[18]

However, it had been discovered over a ten-year period that what García Figueras and de Roda Jiménez refer to as "the basis of collective life" existed more concretely at the level of the clan than at that of

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[17] Ibid., p. 158.

[18] Tomás García Figueras and Rafael de Roda Jiménez, *Economía Social de Marruecos*, 3 vols., Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950-1955, vol. 3, 1955, pp. 142-153.

the tribe, and that the *jma'a* (here employed in the Arab sense of council or assembly of notables, not in its Rifian sense) was the "sustaining force behind the political architecture of a tribe," in that it was responsible for offensive and defensive alliances with or against other tribes of a like order.[19] Thus the old *junta rural* was now to be transformed and amplified, the apparent reasons for the amplification being to come closer to the "grass roots," to come to grips with the segmentary base on which a more solid administrative structure could be founded, and, finally, to have the new clan-level *junta* take over the attributes of the old *jma'a*. As a result, 287 such *juntas* were established in the whole of the Spanish Zone (and in Waryagharland, two in each of the three *qaid*ates, i.e., six in all). Each one was presided over by the clan *shaikh* and had a representative from each constituent local community within the clan territory, while a *fqih* acted as secretary. The local community representatives were elected by the members of the community in front of the *'adul*, and the election was legalized by the *qadi*, after which a petition was sent to the Grand Vizier in Tetuan saying that the *junta* had now been formed. This petition was sent through the tribal *qaid*, who kept one copy and forwarded his own recommendations to the Grand Vizier as well. If the latter approved, he then formally ratified the nominations.

Each *junta de farqa* normally met every three months, although sometimes special sessions had to be called, if the *shaikh* as president or half the members plus one wanted them. Reelections of members were held every year, but any member was eligible for reelection. Discussions of the order of the day were led by the *shaikh*, with the *qaid*'s approval. Only the *talib* or the *fqih*-secretary was paid. The *junta* had jurisdiction over: fountains and springs, watering places for animals, constructions undertaken in the markets, paths between local communities, reforestation (a negligible item in protectorate times), construction of grain silos for animals, keeping the community lit at night, clearing and rotation of collective land, drying out of ponds which might harbor anopheles mosquitoes, and acquisition of seed, plows, fertilizer, and manure. The *junta* was also responsible for the collection of the *tirtib* tax; it contributed to Qur'anic instruction in the community mosque schools, helped out at the orphanages, and sustained, in part, fellowships given to students from the clan for further study in the territorial capitals or at the Luqash University in Tetuan.

Each local community—here in the Rifian sense of *jma'th*—had, in subsidiary form, to: (1) agree on the division of land and establish the day for clearing the land (usually through burning) before agriculture could begin; (2) set the day for the beginning of plowing, weeding, and collecting and gathering in common lands; (3) determine or work out the "turns" in group service (i.e., *dḥwiza*) in work such as road repairs; (4) nominate their representative for the new clan *junta;* (5) help the tribal authorities look for delinquent individuals; (6) intervene in the division of irrigation water and in the establishment of pasture land; (7) resolve disputes within the community; (8) agree on the leasing of agricultural and wooded land belonging to the *jma'th;* (9) care for the local cemetery; (10) help maintain individual security and public order; (11) help with the disposal of public garbage and waste; and (12) help materially any individuals whom misfortune had befallen, and help them economically in such cases approved by the *junta* itself.[20] As is readily discernible, the bulk of these duties were nothing more or less than matters that had normally fallen under the jurisdiction of the old local community council, the *aitharbi'in n-d-dshar*, merely transposed into the terminology of the Spanish administrative bureaucracy.

The *junta* had five sources of income: the *tirtib* tax, identity cards, the market tax, warrants, and wood cutting on its territory.[21] Of these the *junta* received all of the income from the identity cards and the market tax, and 20% of that from the *tirtib*, the warrants, and the brushwood cutting on common land. The territorial paymaster put the funds in the bank, in the name of the *junta* concerned. The heads of the *nubath* or nuclear families—for by the 1950s the *nubth* was becoming the most prominent and most viable socioeconomic unit, largely because of the great increase in labor migration to Algeria—received 50% of the *junta* funds, and the rest was saved for the common needs of the *jma'ath* concerned as represented in the *junta*. Garcia Figueras and de Roda reported that at the date of publication of their work (1955) not all the clan *juntas* had been completely activated,[22] although I saw them working in Waryagharland as of 1953.

The *juntas* were not to last much longer, for independence was to come in 1956; but it seems certain that they served as a potential and a partial model for the creation, by the independent Moroccan administration, of "rural communes" (sing. *jama'a l-qarawiya*) all over the country, in 1958. Of this, more will be said later.

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[19] Ibid., p. 146.

[20] Ibid., p. 149.

[21] Ibid., p. 149. The "warrants" in Spanish are labeled *patentes* and the "wood-cutting" is given the high-sounding designation of *aprovechamientos forestales*. Yet the Spanish administration adopted a far more lenient attitude toward woodcutting by the locals than did the French-trained and conservation-minded Moroccan administration which was to follow it.

[22] Ibid., p. 151.

We now proceed to the most important single item on the agenda of the *juntas:* that of the *tirtib* tax. In the idiom of Valentin Beneitez Cantero, the *tirtib* tax had been established in 1901 by Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz, "in a fiscal revolution, for the *shurfa* of the country had never previously paid taxes, as the lay public had done." Beneitez goes on to say that the *tirtib* was, by decree, an attempt to subsume the traditional Muslim *zakah* and *'ashur* taxes under a single heading of "agricultural tax."[23]

Self-taxation of the *zakah* and *'ashur,* or *dha'ashurth,* type, enjoined on all believers as the Third Pillar of Islam, had always been looked upon by all Moroccan tribesmen as thoroughly legitimate; but the arbitrary amalgamation of both of these forms of taxation into one, and under a different name, was regarded by them as repressive, particularly when it became a mainstay of protectorate tax-collection procedure.[24]

ZAKAT
+
BAJUR

In the Spanish protectorate, *tirtib* was defined as the tax paid by each head of a *nubth* or nuclear family, on each head of livestock he possessed and on each hectare of barley or of other crops concerned. The tax, itemized, varied: it was less on dry-farmed land than on land under irrigation, and in any case it followed Qur'anic tax stipulations, "in principle." In 1953, the rates of payment were as follows:

a. *Animals:* 1 cow—13 ptas.; 1 calf—6 ptas.; 1 bull—15 ptas.; 1 goat—1.50 ptas.; 1 sheep—1.50 ptas.; 1 donkey—4.20 ptas.; 1 mule—13 ptas.; chickens—nothing.
b. *Grains:* Barley seed—16 ptas. per *lata* (4 *latas* = 1 *mudd*); Wheat seed, rye seed, maize seed, and broad bean seed—31 ptas. per *lata*.
c. *Vegetables and Fruits:* Garden vegetables were reckoned by hectare; cotton (in the plain)—330 ptas. per hectare; fig trees, pear trees, and olive trees—0.75 ptas. per tree; almond trees—1 pta. per tree.

These figures may not represent much money in themselves, but to tribes composed of poor agriculturalists they represented a great deal. Every year in May and June, when the tribal *interventor* went around with his voluminous bilingual forms (Spanish and Arabic) for *tirtib* registration, it became a period in which the crucial question a tribesman asked himself was how much he should declare. Despite the cross-questioning by *interventors* on *tirtib*-collecting expeditions, the amounts to be collected could never, in the Central Rif, be pushed too far or too hard. The Spanish were as aware of this fact as the Rifians were, and in some ways the *tirtib* was regarded as something of a joke: viz, Hajj Muhand n-'Amar outsmarting the *interventor* and then being "tax-exempt." But the real irony of the whole situation was that by 1961, five years after independence, when King Hasan II revoked the *tirtib,* the whole of the Rif was still two years in arrears. Everyone else in tribal and rural Morocco rejoiced over the revocation, but the Aith Waryaghar groaned over the two extra years of *tirtib* tax on which they still had to make good.

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By 1947, the mass of the Moroccan population was gradually becoming aware of the nationalist activities of the Istiqlal (Independence) Party in the urban centers, notably in Fez, and later in Casablanca, both in the French zone. But the Spanish zone had its own nationalist political party, the Islah (Reform), under 'Abd al-Khalaq Torres of Tetuan. This party had virtually the same objectives as the Istiqlal, with which, indeed, it was to merge shortly after independence. Nonetheless, nationalist sentiments were considerably slower to reach the Rif in their newer guise.[25] The name of 'Abd al-Krim was only mentioned in whispers, because no news of him had been forthcoming from his exile on Réunion Island.

It appears, however, that when World War II was over, 'Abd al-Krim had requested permission to live in France. He pointed out that as his children were growing up and that as his daughters were of marriageable age, there was no future for them on the Island of Réunion. Over the winter of 1946-1947, the French Government suddenly agreed to his request and announced that it would release him, his brother Si Mhammad, and their families, and lodge them all on a comfortable estate at Villeneuve on the French Riviera.

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[23] V. Beneitez Cantero, op. cit., 1952, p. 146.

[24] What Beneitez Cantero does not say is that the establishment of the *tirtib* was a long-delayed but most important side-effect of the Spanish "expedition" to Tetuan in 1859-1860, which spelled economic ruin for Morocco. Cf. Germain Ayache, "Aspects de la Crise Financiere au Maroc après l'Expedition Espagnole de 1860," *Revue Historique,* vol. CCXX, Oct.-Dec. 1958, pp. 271-310.

[25] Vidal reports that the *mqaddim* of the 'Alawiyin religious order in Waryagharland forbade the members of his order to join the Islah Party under penalty of expulsion. The warning was repeated several times, indicating that a number of members of the order were nationalists and that they were trying to get the order involved in the nationalist movement. At the time, the *mqaddim* took the safest line, for, unlike the French, who had been playing politics with the orders since the inception of their protectorate, the Spanish authorities had always tended to look askance on all orders as a potential danger point—even though the association of the orders with nationalism in the Spanish Zone was at best lukewarm. Cf. F. S. Vidal, op. cit., 1950, pp. 427-446, esp. p. 442.

This news greatly angered the Franco-ist Spanish protectorate authorities, because they were keeping their fingers on the pulse of a growing Moroccan nationalism in Tetuan; but the French, who were doing just the same in their own zone, paid them no heed. In May 1947 'Abd al-Krim and his personal entourage of forty-two lowland Aith Waryaghar—men, women and children—departed from Réunion Island aboard the Greek ship *Katoomba*, bound for Marseille. On May 31, when the ship was held up at Port Sa'id in the Suez Canal, the whole party made a dramatic escape by simply jumping ship.

The previous evening, King Faruq of Egypt had extended an offer of sanctuary to 'Abd al-Krim through the governor of Port Sa'id, and the former Rifian leader had decided then and there to accept. The whole group ('Abd al-Krim himself, his two wives and eleven children, and his brother and the latter's family, plus retainers) were whisked off the ship on a purported tour of the town, in a maneuver staged by exiled Moroccan nationalists and Egyptians working in conjunction. All their luggage, including the coffin containing the body of 'Abd al-Krim's mother, was apparently left on board. (Léon Gabriélli, who, as a French *controlleur civil*, had interviewed 'Abd al-Krim in 1924 at the Zawith n-Tighza in the Thimsaman, had the onerous task of disposing of all the gear when the *Katoomba* arrived in Marseille, of sending the body of 'Abd al-Krim's mother back to Casablanca for burial in a Muslim cemetery, and of disposing of the Villeneuve estate.)

The Spanish now had the laugh on the French, whose reaction seems to have been one of extreme embarrassment and perhaps equally extreme relief. 'Abd al-Krim, safely ensconced in Egypt, could become a spark to ignite the fires of the rising North African nationalism. Nonetheless, the French consoled themselves with the fact that the direction of the Moroccan Nationalist movement was now in other, and considerably younger, hands—particularly in those of 'Allal al-Fasi, the leading spirit of the Istiqlal Party. Gabriélli, it is evident, considered the now aging Rifian leader to be more a source of embarrassment to the French than a real danger.[26] At least France was no longer responsible for him.

'Abd al-Krim and Si Mhammad were given housing in Cairo by Faruq, who also provided the former with a monthly stipend of 600 pounds sterling,[27] which was continued by Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir when the Egyptian revolution swept him into power; and the two Rifians became, respectively, President and Vice-President of the North African Defense League. All the leading nationalists in Morocco, and many of those in Algeria and Tunisia as well, came to confer with 'Abd al-Krim in Cairo. The latter's main activity there was taking adamant stands first against French and then against Spanish colonialism in North Africa, and delivering blasts at both powers periodically in the Egyptian and Arab press. Since France and Spain would never voluntarily leave North Africa, he said, revolution was thus the only way to force them to do so.

Even when Morocco did achieve her independence after the revolution that 'Abd al-Krim had predicted (perhaps armed resistance would be a better term in the case of Morocco), the old Rifian warrior would not return home. Although he was invited by King Muhammad V (who declared 'Abd al-Krim a Moroccan national hero in 1958, and told him in a state visit to Cairo in February 1960 that he had formally returned all the property, in Ajdir and elsewhere, that had been confiscated from him by the Spanish),[28] 'Abd al-Krim refused to return until the last foreign soldier had departed from Moroccan soil. By this last he meant French and Spanish soldiers, all of whom in fact left the country in 1962; he evidently did not include the personnel of the U.S. air and naval bases in Morocco in his denunciations (the bases themselves were formally handed over to the Moroccan authorities in 1963).

It must be admitted that 'Abd al-Krim's actual role in the Moroccan national struggle for independence, which began in earnest after the exile, by the French, of King Muhammad to Madagascar in 1953, was negligible; but he still had great symbolic value, and the querulous irascibility manifested in his frequent outbursts against colonialism was a reminder of the man he had once been. The issue of his return to Morocco, as well as that of the evacuation of foreign troops, was a major one in the Aith Waryaghar uprising of 1958–1959; but it was never to happen. The Amir Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi, who had been ailing for ten years and who was now eighty-one or eighty-two, died in his sleep in Cairo on the night of February 5, 1963.

'Abd al-Krim's brother Si Mhammad finally returned to Morocco more than four years later, but while he was waiting for his possessions to arrive from Egypt, he died in the Avicenne Hospital in Rabat on December 17, 1967; thus he, too, never saw the

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[26] Gabriélli, op. cit., 1953, pp. 217–224.

[27] Furneaux, op. cit., 1967, p. 239.

[28] Si Muhand Azarqan, 'Abd al-Krim's onetime Foreign Minister, who had been living in Tangier since 1955 (following his enforced residence of nearly thirty years at al-Jadida), was appointed the custodian of 'Abd al-Krim's property, some forty-two separate tracts of land of various sizes, mostly in the Aith Waryaghar, though some in other parts of the Rif and the Sinhaja Srir.

Rif again, although his body was buried in Ajdir with full honors. That of 'Abd al-Krim himself, at last report, still remains in the cemetery of the Great Mosque of 'Umar in Cairo, although announcements were made at the time of his death that it would be transported to Morocco. In mid-1963, King Hasan II, the son and successor of King Muhammad, apparently hoped to have the body reburied in the newly built Mausoleum in Rabat, which houses that of his father (who had himself predeceased 'Abd al-Krim by barely two years). This issue, it seems, still hangs in the balance because of the lack of confidence with which the Royal Palace views the Egyptian- and Syrian-trained sons of both the 'Abd al-Krims, some of whom are officers in the Royal Moroccan Army.

This equivocal situation is, in my opinion, a legacy and a reflection of the equivocal position of 'Abd al-Krim himself. He had been long gone from the Rif and from Morocco but never forgotten, and there are more ways than one to interpret this fact. Quite apart from his Salafiya-inspired reforms, which brought about the successful replacement of Customary Law in the Rif by the Shari'a, there is the fact of the undeniably great value he had as a symbol of resistance for the latter-day Moroccan nationalists, when the fight for independence reached its height. There is also the fact, which he himself expressed in perhaps a more modern vein, of his steadfast abhorrence of colonialism and all that it stood for, whether of the French, the Spanish, or any other variety. Yet at the same time, as Shinar points out,[29] there was his willingness to follow and to learn from the European model insofar as the construction of a modern nation-state was concerned. Hence 'Abd al-Krim's liking for Kamal Atatürk and his deep distrust of the Moroccan *shurfa* and religious orders, coexisting with his whole-hearted attachment to Islam and his desire for purification, which drove him straight into the arms of Salafiya reformism. From the latter arose his identification with the objectives of modern Muslim nationalism of the Near Eastern variety—although not necessarily with those of Arab Socialism. 'Abd al-Krim was an eminently practical man, and had no leanings toward mysticism: he wanted both to purify the Rif and to modernize it. And here, as Shinar very rightly concludes, is his unique contribution: thanks to his vision, a dissident Berber movement was able to fire the enthusiasm and imagination and speed the growth of nationalism among sophisticated urban young men of the bourgeois class that has little in common with the rude and rapacious mountain tribes, whom it was traditionally taught to fear and despise."[30]

This is indeed the long view of the situation. But on the other side of the ledger, there are the facts that for twenty years, while detained on Réunion Island, 'Abd al-Krim had been left out of things; that Moroccan nationalist leadership had passed into the hands of precisely that younger intelligentsia from Fez (notably 'Allal al-Fasi); and that 'Abd al-Krim, although he capitalized as best he could on the slim rewards of "elder statesmanship," felt both cheated by and out of tune with the activist and militant wing of Moroccan nationalism of the 1950s, as represented by the Istiqlal—perhaps because he himself was first and foremost a *za'im*, a *qadi* who could wield the sword even better than the pen, while many of his successors in the field were more subtle rhetoricians and dialecticians. To refer to him, however, as Berque does, as "*un héros de la négativité*"[31] seems not only a curiously misplaced value judgment, and a very harsh one, but one that accents only the last fifteen or so years of his life—when he was not only ailing but was certainly aware of the fact that he was now a "back number" who probably had lived too long. It is surprising that so eminent a specialist in Islamic sociology as Professor Berque should take such an uncharitable view of the matter. A number of authorities have succumbed to the temptation to compare 'Abd al-Krim with 'Abd al-Qadir of Algeria (who in many ways was the antithesis of 'Abd al-Krim: a noble Arab *sharif*, highly traditionalist, steeped in mysticism and basically unwilling to learn anything from the civilization of the European infidels, he nevertheless has the chevalieresque qualities of the *grand seigneur* that appealed to nineteenth-century French romanticism); however, only Shinar, thus far, has brought off the comparison with any honesty and realism.[32]

Nonetheless, a crucial point still remains, and it is perhaps the most important of all: 'Abd al-Krim, who during the Rifian War had steadfastly denied any claims to the Moroccan Sultanate, on genealogical or any other grounds, undeniably posed a serious potential threat to the throne. As the Moroccan newspapers said at the time of his death,[33] his stature demanded that his body be brought back to Morocco for reburial; but it is said that Si Mhammad hedged over this, implying that if his brother's body could not be reburied in Ajdir, it would stay in Cairo where it was. The result is that although the name of 'Abd al-Krim is greatly respected in modern Morocco, and his memory is officially honored, his sons are regarded with a none-too-trusting eye by the Palace. They are, to be sure, Aith Waryaghar by birth, but they are also virtual strangers to Waryagharland, where in September 1963 they were apparently treated with respect and their speeches were given mild ovations—but little more; in any case, the authorities were watching. Waryagharland is admittedly one of Morocco's classic trouble spots, but it seems unlikely that any troubles that may emanate from it in the future will bear the imprint of the legacy left by the Qadi of Ajdir. Even the Aith Waryaghar fully realize that nothing can now bring 'Abd al-Krim back to life. At least he lived to see one of his thirty-five-year-old ambitions fulfilled: that of an independent Morocco.

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[29] Shinar, op. cit., 1965, pp. 173-174.

[30] Ibid., p. 174. The idea behind the quotation is totally accurate, but the adjectives "dissident," "rude" and "rapacious" seem here to be open to question.

[31] Jacques Berque, *La Dépossession du Monde*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964, p. 94.

[32] Shinar, op. cit., 1965, p. 174.

[33] Cf. for example *Le Petit Marocain* and *La Nation Africaine*, Rabat, both dated February 7, 1963.

The question of an independent Rif was, of course, the most ambiguous issue of all, given its incompatibility with the idea of a Moroccan nation and with the context of a wider, national society. Even though 'Abd al-Krim never mentioned the matter again after 1926, both the two colonial powers and, later, the government of independent Morocco were keenly aware of the implied threat. This is precisely what I mean by saying that 'Abd al-Krim's notions of "apartness" (if not "separatism") were the same as those of his people, of the Aith Waryaghar, raised to a higher power: the power of international politics. In this sense, 'Abd al-Krim was a true product of his social environment.

THE ARMY OF LIBERATION, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE, AND THE TRANSFER OF POWER (1953–1956)

Until August 20, 1953, Moroccan resistance to the French had been sporadic and poorly organized, but on that date the French Resident-General, Guillaume, deposed King Muhammad V (then known as the Sultan Sidi Muhammad bin Yusuf) and sent him into exile in Madagascar, installing a puppet, Mulay Muhammad bin 'Arafa, in his place. The reason for this deposition was the king's gradual but ultimately total identification with the nationalists of the Istiqlal—whose symbol, indeed, he had become since his famous Tangier speech of 1947. The leading lights of the party, al-Fasi, Balafrej, and Ben Barka, were all themselves already exiled or in jail, but there were many others to carry on the struggle. For a few days after the event, Morocco was utterly stunned at the outrage; the French could not possibly have committed a bigger blunder. The *baraka* of the king was the greatest in the land, and after his exile his symbolic value and prestige attained utterly unprecedented heights when, Moroccans said, his image was seen in the moon of Ramadan. The Sultanate was as sacred or near-sacred as any single institution could be (and the same is now true of the Monarchy). The appeal of Muhammad V to all Moroccans was tremendous, and so was his charisma. (Beside him, the figure of 'Abd al-Krim dwindled into virtual nothingness—except insofar as the Rifians were concerned.)

Active terrorism exploded against the French in the cities, with fearful violence. The Spanish zone, and indeed the rural areas of the French zone itself, were as yet unaffected. Much to the surprise and anger of the Residency in Rabat, an announcement now came through from Lieutenant-general García Valiño in Tetuan to the effect that Spain had no intention of supporting the new puppet regime, that the sympathies of all Moroccans in the Spanish zone were totally with the Sultan in exile, and that henceforth, until his return, they would owe their loyalties only to Mulay al-Hasan bin al-Mihdi, the true Sultan's cousin and legal (as well as Spanish-supported) *khalifa* in Tetuan. The move was not only a reflection of the bad feeling between France and Spain at the time, but also, of course, a ploy by Spain both to placate the Moroccans and to entrench her own position in a protectorate she had no intention of relinquishing, whatever the French might do. García Valiño's stopgap measure worked right up until early 1956. While bombs were being thrown into Casablanca cafés and *goums* were patrolling the streets of that city in 1954, the peak year of the resistance, the Rif was as quiet as a tomb.

But this quiet was deceptive. I had no idea what was going on under the surface of it all when I first returned from Morocco to the United States in August 1955. (I arrived in New York on August 20, the very day that the Sma'ala tribe near Wad Zem perpetrated a savage massacre of almost the entire French population—and the subsequent French reprisals were even more savage. It was the second anniversary of the King's exile.)

On my return to Waryagharland in June 1959, although conditions were most uneasy, all my Aith Waryaghar friends heralded my return as being the beginning of a new era of peace if not necessarily one of well-being. The region had indeed been peaceful, on the surface, when I left it, and it was peaceful again, on the surface, when I returned. But much had happened in between, and a composite description of the events in question now follows.

On the night of October 1-2, 1955, three attacks, simultaneously planned and arranged, were directed at the three French *Affaires Indigènes* posts in the territory of the Igzinnayen: Aknul, Buridh, and Tizi Usli. Notices of these attacks appeared in the *New York Times*, and all that was then known about the attacking force was that it styled itself the "Moroccan Army of Liberation."

In Moroccan Arabic, this "Army of Liberation" was called *jaish t-tahrir*, and its highly clandestine formation and organization are of very great interest. The point must be made that the urban resistance was, in fact, slow in spreading to the countryside, which was one reason the French so fervently and so mistakenly believed in the myth of "Berber support" until the very end. When the attack on the Igzinnayen posts came, "Armies of Liberation" sprang up overnight, so to speak, in other areas of rural and tribal Morocco as well, notably in the Imarmushen (Marmusha) of the Middle Atlas. The cardinal point is that these forces were formed very largely, or even entirely, of Berber tribesmen from the French zone who had been receiving clandestine military training in the Spanish zone. In the Rifian case—for it was in the Rif that the Army of Liberation first struck—the involvement of the Igzinnayen was total, and that of the Aith ‘Ammarth, across the frontier in the Spanish zone, was only slightly less; although they provided no commanders, their casualties were considerable. Another major point is that Aith Waryaghar and Aith ‘Ammarth involvement would certainly have been much greater than it was had it not been for the experience and the restraining hand of Captain José Erola, the *interventor comarcal* at Ajdir, who was almost universally liked and respected throughout Waryagharland.

It should be made clear that this training of the Army of Liberation had gone on with the full connivance of General García Valiño, the Spanish High Commissioner in Tetuan; it appears that late in 1956 a delegation from the Liberation Army even decorated him with a *khanjar* or dagger, the symbol of the resistance, for his support of their cause.[34] The training took place at a camp near Nador, and it only seems to have begun in late May 1955, when the first arms for the new army arrived, in secret, presumably from Egypt.

This fact is of interest, for it seems that in 1954 and early in 1955 there was indeed no official or formal organization known as the Army of Liberation. Instead, resistance operations were under the nominal control of the Istiqlal Party (with which all nationalists were to become associated, to a greater or lesser degree), and the Party's head and senior member, ‘Allal al-Fasi, was titular supervisor-in-exile in Cairo. Al-Fasi met Dr. ‘Abd al-Krim al-Khatib in Cairo and put him in charge of Liberation Army operations. Khatib's role seems in fact to have been negligible; however, it was assumed in Rabat, after the king's triumphal return there in mid-November 1955, that he was important, for the king knew almost none of the Liberation Army leaders. As it happens, ‘Abd al-Krim himself also had almost nothing to do with the Liberation Army, but he willingly lent its forces the prestige of his name.

The arms that had arrived in Nador from Cairo were taken charge of on May 26, 1955, by ‘Abdallah Sinhaji and Bin ‘Abdallah al-Wakuti, both of the original Liberation Army nuclear units of twenty-eight men each, who all made *‘ahd* with each other in their Nador meeting so that none would betray his companions. On June 12 another meeting was held in Nador, and al-Wakuti gave the men, all of whom were from the Igzinnayen, their instructions to "shoot and hide." Two days per week were spent in the practical application of these instructions, and on August 20, the day of the Sma‘ala attack on Wad Zem, Si ‘Abbas l-Msa‘idi came to Nador to join ‘Abdallah Sinhaji. On that day, each man was given a number, from one to fourteen. Fourteen of the twenty-eight men were soldiers and fourteen were civilians. There were fourteen rifles that came in the first shipment to the Igzinnayen, and the handling of each one required two men: one to fire the rifle and the other to pick up the cartridges and take over the firing if the first man were hit. Among themselves their password was *tsa‘ud*, "nine."

On September 10 they began to take the rifles and the cartridges from Nador to the Igzinnayen at night, sometimes on foot and sometimes by car to Thara Mghashth in the Axt Tuzin; and from there on foot or muleback across the French zone frontier to Tizi Usli. On September 28, a watch was given to each man so that the attack would begin everywhere at the same time. Si ‘Abbas l-Msa‘idi announced that it would start on Sunday morning, October 2, at 0110 hours, and would be directed at all the "bureaux" of the Igzinnayen, as well as several further south (such as at Marmusha in the Middle Atlas). At 1250 hours all the telephone lines had to be cut, and at 0100 hours all the bureaux had to be surrounded. The attack went off as scheduled, with twenty eight men each participating at Buridh, Tizi Usli, and Aknul, and the same at Mzgitem in the (French-Zone) Mtalsa, as at Saka and at the Aith Warayin posts in the Middle Atlas.

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[34] A photograph was taken of the ceremony and was later published in the UNFP newspaper *al-Maharrir:* John Waterbury, interview with Dr. ‘Abd al-Latif Bin Jillun, Casablanca, June 1966. It seems that at some point, too, Lalla Amina, the little princess born during the King's exile, was given one of these daggers. Muhammad V was not very pleased at the gesture, but he was politely informed that had it not been for such brutal weapons, neither he nor his little daughter would be back in Morocco. An excellent discussion of the role of the Army of Liberation in post-independence Morocco in general is to be found in Waterbury, *The Commander of the Faithful*, op. cit., 1970, pp. 203-213.

One informant suggested that if any single thing set off the Liberation Army campaign in the Igzinnayen, it was the matter of a sum of 400,000 francs that was supposed to have been sent to Tizi Usli to pay workers for building walls in the market, for repairing irrigation ditches nearby, and for a number of other small items. The Algerian frontier had already become very largely closed to Rifian migrant laborers (for the Algerians' own war of national liberation had begun on November 1, 1954, and was to last until 1962), so they had virtually no more work or remittances, and only pitiful earnings from a few hectares of grapes and a few herds of goats. The money in question was still awaited toward the end of 1955, and its failure to arrive may well have been influential in the decision of the Liberation Army command to launch the attack on October 1-2.[35]

In the field, and specifically in the Igzinnayen, two commanders came to the fore on the night that the attack began. They were Si 'Abbas l-Msa'idi, said to have been the head of all Liberation Army field operations both in the Rif and in the Middle Atlas, and Si l-Hasan n-Hammush, the operations leader for the Igzinnayen attacks. Si l-Hasan was a local man, from Izkrithen in the Asht 'Asim clan of the Igzinnayen, who had previously been *khalifa* to the *qadi* at Buridh, under the French. After the resistance began, he was harbored in Aith Turirth territory in Waryagharland, which became, along with the Timarzga and the Aith 'Ammarth, a major Liberation Army base, owing to the fact that the French could not fire on Spanish-held territory; it was there that he planned all operations. He was evidently very brave in combat, but he was not to last long: aged nearly sixty, he had long suffered from a tumor on his neck, and on November 28 he died of it in the Aith Turirth. He was buried in the local community cemetery in Bulma, and in 1958 his body was removed to the Igzinnayen, to rest in the new cemetery commemorating the Liberation Army dead beside the Thursday market at Ajdir. His place in the Liberation Army was taken by his son 'Abdallah, later to become an officer in the Royal Moroccan Army.[36]

Si 'Abbas l-Msa'idi remains a considerably more elusive and enigmatic figure. Less than thirty years old, he was not a Rifian, but a Middle Atlas Berber from the Ait Ishaq. He started out as a worker in a bottling plant in Casablanca, and moved on to join the ranks of the *fida'iyin*, the urban resistance; he was arrested in 1954, escaped, and finally entered the Rif in disguise. Here he took over the whole of the Liberation Army command, and represented its most extremist wing. He wanted, indeed, to keep on fighting after independence, and had no intention of turning his arms over to King Muhammad V when the rest of the Liberation Army did so at the end of May 1956. He was liquidated on June 27, 1956, in Fez, where he had come to negotiate a Liberation Army deal, by order of Mehdi Ben Barka (now himself presumed dead; the man who was to split the Istiqlal Party wide open and to become the leader of the opposition in Rabat less than three years later). If such a drastic measure had not been taken, the Liberation Army, virtually unmanageable by then, would never have been brought under the thumb and domination of the Istiqlal.[37] Si 'Abbas was also to be reburied at the Thursday market of Ajdir in the Igzinnayen in 1958, and to be given the grave of honor there, with a flagpole beside it: the issue of his reburial had political consequences to be discussed shortly. In any event, there is no question that if Si 'Abbas had remained alive, the Liberation Army would have continued in the same direction that it was going and would have degenerated into mere banditry, for it was the only nonofficial organization in Morocco that had arms at its disposal.

The reason, it seems, that the Liberation Army kept on fighting even after independence was to strengthen the king's bargaining position with the two former protectorate powers. At the end of October 1955, Muhammad V was recalled to France from Madagascar, and November 18, the twenty-eighth anniversary of his accession to the Moroccan throne, marked his triumphal return to Rabat, amid wild and delirious rejoicing in which all of Morocco, it seemed, flocked in to welcome its home-coming ruler. France recognized the full independence of French Morocco on March 2, 1956, and Spain did the same for her zone on April 7. She had no option but to follow the French lead, and did so grudgingly. And between these two dates, García Valiño's previously successful ploy backfired, for violence at last erupted in the Spanish zone. One manifestation of it occurred in Waryagharland, where up until now the *interventors* had been able to contain the tribe. A large crowd of malcontents suddenly came across from the Thimsaman into the Monday market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intention of killing the Qaid Hmid Budra. It seems that the *interventor,* who was present, had no choice but to order his *mkhaznis* to open fire on them. He left the Rif directly afterward, and Budra went home, never to budge from his house again until his death ten years later. In the formerly French part of the Rif, all of the *Affaires Indigènes* posts had been evacuated at the beginning of October 1955.

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[35] Interview with Michel Kamm, correspondent of *Le Courrier du Maroc*, Fez, July 1960.

[36] Another Liberation Army commander of note in the Tizi Usli sector was Muhammad l-Ghabushi, of the Asht Yunis clan of the Igzinnayen. He had been a sergeant in the French Army, and was eventually integrated into the Royal Moroccan Army as an officer. He had risen to the rank of major by 1961, at which time he was the military *qaid* of Waryagharland, at Ajdir.

[37] Waterbury, op. cit., 1970, pp. 204-209.

The new regime had very definitely taken over, although there was considerable confusion over the course of the transfer of power, which had occurred in name during March and April of 1956, but which only occurred in fact over the course of the summer of that year. The Liberation Army was the biggest single instrument of force in the land, and during April and May it ran rampant. The Aith Waryaghar now jumped on the bandwagon, as the Aith 'Ammarth had done when it all began, and with the virtual absence of any Spanish authority, there was a short period of indiscriminate looting, pillaging, and banditry all over the Rif (as well as the killing of some French settlers in the Zimmur region northwest of the Middle Atlas), plus the paying off of a number of old scores, amid the general euphoria immediately following independence.[38]

However, on April 9, two days after the Spanish had officially turned over their northern protectorate to the Moroccans, Muhammad V made a state visit to Tetuan, and tribesmen from all over the Spanish zone flocked in to pay obeisance to him.[39] And finally, on May 30, his appeal to the Army of Liberation from Rabat brought all the members of that powerful and unofficial organization into the capital to surrender their arms. He had recognized considerably earlier than they had that the struggle was over. At the very same ceremony, the new Royal Moroccan Army (*Forces Armées Royales;* in Arabic, *jaish l-maliki*) was officially constituted, and all former French zone and Spanish zone "native troops" (French *goums* and *tirailleurs* plus Spanish *regulares* and *mhalla* soldiers) were amalgamated into it, while members of the more irregular Liberation Army were given the option of either being commissioned or enlisting, as the case may have been, in the new national army or of returning to their homes. Most of the Rifian contingent—including many Aith Waryaghar—were there in force, and they opted for the latter alternative. Very few if any Rifians were involved in the subsequent resuscitation of the Liberation Army during the skirmishing operations of 1957–1961, mostly, again, against Spain (who finally turned over her southern protectorate to the Moroccans in April 1958), which went on in the Moroccan South.

Thus, at one stroke, a national army of some 30,000 men was created. Its officer cadres had been largely French-trained, although some had risen from the ranks; but it was not long before General Muhammad Mzzyan, an Eastern Rifian from the Iqar'ayen, who had fought for Franco with distinction in the Spanish Civil War and who had been the top-ranking Moroccan officer in the Spanish Army (which included only a few junior Moroccan officers), as well as Captain-General of the Canary Islands, resigned his Spanish commission to take charge of the Moroccan Army, in a dual command with his former opposite number in the French zone, General Kittani.

Slightly more than two years later the Royal Army was to meet its first test of strength and proved the instrument by which the Aith Waryaghar got soundly punished, when the euphoria and ardor of the magic concept of *istiqlal* or independence had cooled, and when the Aith Waryaghar undertook to stage an uprising against the new Moroccan government.

THE ISTIQLAL PARTY AND THE AITH WARYAGHAR UPRISING (1956–1959)

In the spring and summer of 1956, enrollment in the Istiqlal Party became general all over Morocco. This was, after all, the party that had lived up to its name by sweeping Morocco from protectorate status to full-fledged independence, and on this record the Istiqlal stalwarts, with 'Allal al-Fasi in the vanguard, rode in to political power. The year 1956 was the year of the Istiqlal Party as well as that of King Muhammad V (who was to change his title from *Sultan* to *Malik,* "King," officially in 1957). Such, indeed, was the King's charisma that the cries and ululations of "*Ihya l-Malik! 'Ash! 'Ash! 'Ash!*" (Long Live the King!) were stronger than ever in a state procession which I happened to witness in Tangier in September 1957.

The love of all Moroccans for their King persisted virtually without change until his sudden death in

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[38] An *izri* or couplet sung in the Rif at the time commemorates this feeling:

Afransis kaixmadh am wis xumdhan garru
A dharwa n-Nbi ur snijari walu!
The Frenchman is burned as a cigarette is burned
But to the sons of the Prophet, nothing has happened!

[39] In May 1956, King Muhammad V held an official audience in Rabat, and 10,000 Rifians went there to see him, by every available means of transportation. When they arrived at the Royal Palace there were numerous other groups there already, each one yelling, "Long live the King" and "'Allal al-Fasi" if sympathetic with the Democratic Independence Party (PDI). Everyone, however, seems to have taken notice of the Rifian and Aith Waryaghar delegation, who roared out, "Long Live the King and Our Champion 'Abd al-Krim al-Khattabi!"

February 1961. But by 1957 the general pro-Istiqlal sentiment had begun to get noticeably cooler; nowhere was this more true than in the Rif, and among the Aith Waryaghar in particular. By 1958 it was completely dead in most of the Berber regions.

A major source of discontent had soon set in when the Aith Waryaghar realized that not only were none of their own people being appointed to the new local and provincial administration in al-Husaima, but also that these posts were all, virtually without exception, from provincial governor (*'amil*) on down through super-*qaid* (*qaid al-mumtaz*) and *qaid*, being filled by French-speaking Istiqlal supporters from the southern zone. (After independence the former French zone became known as the South Zone and the former Spanish zone, the North Zone.) In Waryagharland, none of the tribal authorities under the preceding Spanish dispensation had survived the transfer of power: those who had not died were simply removed from office. Perhaps the most significant administrative change in the immediate post-independence period was that the *qaid* was no longer the *primus inter pares* among the local tribesmen that he had been previously, but a young (and generally urban) Moroccan bureaucrat trained in French administrative techniques in Rabat—for the new provincial governments now depended upon the equally new Ministry of Interior. Instead of two separate chains of command in which the *Affaires Indigènes* officer or the *interventor* was at the bottom of his administrative hierarchy, standing parallel to the *qaid* at the top of his, there was now a single unbroken line of authority which led from the tribal areas through the provincial hierarchy right back to the capital of the kingdom. The upshot of this was, of course, that nobody above the level of *shaikh* was a local man; and even those who had been *shaikhs*, *mqaddimin*, and even *jaris* at the local community level under the Spaniards were ousted from their positions, which, as of the early summer of 1956, the new administration filled with other men whom it deemed more reliable politically.

This was by no means all. Since one very tangible legacy of the Spanish administration was that a considerable number of Aith Waryaghar had learned to speak passable (and in some cases, even fluent) Spanish, it galled them that French-speaking Arabs from the South Zone, of whose existence they had previously been but dimly aware, had now come up from nowhere, so to speak, to fill the key jobs. With some justification, the Aith Waryaghar wanted a slice of the pie, and they were not getting it. The fact that one of the first governors of the province after independence was a Casablanca Negro did not help matters; inevitably, and doubtless invidiously, comparisons were made between him and Bu Hmara's black general, Jilali Mul l-Wudhu.

Yet paradoxically, perhaps not only was the province—and the North Zone in general—poorly administered, it was also under-administered. Indeed, the Royal Inquest headed by Prime Minister 'Abd ar-Rahman Aneggai in December 1958 found this fact to be a major reason for the uprising of the Aith Waryaghar, which by then was in full swing. There were almost literally no schools, no roads, no work—nothing. The Algerian border was largely closed to migrant Rifian labor now because of the war that raged there, and since Algeria had over the past several decades become a major source of revenue for the region, here was yet another source of discontent; virtually total unemployment was now the result. Ashford has shown that Ministry of Interior posts in the North had 40–48% vacancies.[40] This fact was certainly as much due to the lack of qualified personnel as to any other reason. Very few of the Liberation Army leaders and others who were awarded jobs in the north as political plums had had any administrative training.

Even by 1957, the Istiqlal was not the only political party represented in the northern provinces of al-Husaima, Nador, and Taza, despite its monolithic claims. The P.D.I. (or *Hizb ash-Shura*) of Muhammad Hasan al-Wazzani had received a good many new adherents through a recent merger with the *Hizb al-Maghrib al-Hurri* (Party of Free Morocco), with which many Rifians were identified. This occurred late in 1956, at the same time as the counterbalancing merger of 'Abd al-Khalaq Torres' *Islah al-Watani* Party, in Tetuan, with the Istiqlal. The Popular Movement (*Haraka Sha'biya*), an essentially Berber party, was led by Mahjub Ahardan, a man from the Middle Atlas who had been both a Liberation Army commander and a former governor of Rabat, and by Dr. 'Abd al-Krim al-Khatib, of mixed Moroccan and Algerian parentage; its rise in 1958 was to have additional repercussions, particularly in the Igzinnayen. Pluralism was and is a basic feature of Moroccan political life, and it was even to be written formally into the Constitution promulgated by King Hasan II, the son and successor of Muhammad V, in December 1962. As events were to prove, the Istiqlal monolith was nothing but a facade.

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Igz. nnayen
× Waryagh.

From about mid-1957 onwards, the local Istiqlal and P.D.I. officials fell out with each other, in al-Husaima in particular, and after considerable inter-party squabbling, the Istiqlal emerged damaged but victorious. On the strength of this, Rabat nominated an Istiqlal governor of the province (the same Casablanca Negro mentioned above), and Istiqlal super-*qaids* and *qaids* as well. None of these men were locally popular, and P.D.I. strength grew among the Aith Waryaghar and neighboring Rifian tribes as a result. The tribesmen of the Central Rif in general chafed at being made to join the Istiqlal, and Rabat did not relax its pressure, even after Rifian delegations and committees went there on several occasions during 1958. The tribes of the Central Rif, whose self-appointed spokesmen were certain members of the Aith Waryaghar, wanted their own people to govern them, and these same people happened at the time to be members of the P.D.I.

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[40] Douglas E. Ashford, *Political Change in Morocco*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961, p. 191, Table 6.

Another irritant occurred in mid-1958, in the Igzinnayen. This was the reburial, at the request of the tribesmen, of the bodies of the Liberation Army leaders Si ʿAbbas l-Msaʿidi and Si l-Hasan n-Hammush at the Thursday market of Ajdir. The Istiqlal Party intervened to denounce this "act of grave-robbing" as a "sin," an action that infuriated the Igzinnayen, who had identified heart and soul with the men in question. There seems to be little doubt that the Istiqlal wanted to discredit the memory of Si ʿAbbas in particular, and the Istiqlal attitude was instrumental in making the bulk of the Igzinnayen switch their allegiance to Ahardan's Popular Movement—a party which, unlike the Istiqlal, did not demand that members pay dues. The Popular Movement was not espoused either by the Aith Waryaghar or by the Aith ʿAmmarth, but the dissatisfaction of both with the Istiqlal was just as great.

This same dissatisfaction, by the time of the "grave-robbing" episode, had indeed become total disenchantment. The Istiqlal Party and its officials had done nothing for the Rifians either in terms of providing them with work or giving them what they deemed to be adequate political representation. The P.D.I. and the Popular Movement had both gained strong opposition footholds, although officially, Rabat ignored their existence in the Rif. It was at this point that young Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam n-Muh n-Muh Amzzyan emerged from the Aith Bu ʿAyyash as an unofficial spokesman for the Aith Waryaghar as a whole. Like all the other tribal authorities under the Spaniards, great and small (and he was only a "subfractional" *mqaddim*), he had lost his job after independence. The fact was soon realized, in retrospect, that the Spaniards at least had administered the Aith Waryaghar through their own people (and Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam, who was also a great-nephew of the late Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan, made much of it). This, the new independent administration was most emphatically not doing, and Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam was now a new *primus inter pares* in the ranks of the disgruntled, as well as the local tribal head of the P.D.I.

Of very great interest is the eighteen-point program that was submitted to King Muhammad V in Rabat on November 11, 1958, by Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam, in conjunction with two other young Aith Waryaghar, ʿAbd s-Sadaq Sharrat Khattabi of Ajdir, who had become a modern lawyer in Casablanca, and ʿAbd al-Krim's own son Rashid. Parenthetical comments on the points listed below indicate to what extent the program had been achieved by 1967, nearly a decade later. 1958

> Point 1: Evacuation of all foreign troops from Morocco. (This did not, at the time, affect the U.S. bases, but the objective was nonetheless realized within four years, insofar as French and Spanish troops were concerned.)
>
> Point 2: Formation of a popular government with a wide base. (The popular government was formed, indeed, and several more such have succeeded it in the interim; but how wide or representative the base is has sometimes been open to question.)
>
> Point 3: Abolition of political parties and formation of a government of national union. (The first part was achieved forcibly through the occupation of the al-Husaima Province by the Royal Army for the next few years, but it was not achieved or even desired at the national level; and the second has been achieved on at least one occasion since independence.)
>
> Point 4: Local recruitment of local civil servants. (By 1962, most lower-echelón civil servants were certainly locally recruited, but this was far less true of those on the upper echelons: the outlets for politically ambitious local men were still slim, and prior to this time they had been nil.)
>
> Point 5: Freedom for all political prisoners. (Political prisoners from the Rif were numerous at the time the document was drafted; the last ones were freed only in mid-1965.)
>
> Point 6: Return of ʿAbd al-Krim to Morocco. (This was, at the time, the most important point of all, and the granting even of all the other requests except this would have been deemed unacceptable. But ʿAbd al-Krim himself refused to return, and he died in Cairo in 1963.)
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> Point 7: Guarantees to dissidents against reprisals. (This may have been responsible in part for the general leniency, apart from imprisonment, shown by the Moroccan Government to tribal rebels since independence.[41])

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[41] The Aith Waryaghar uprising of 1958–1959 was the most serious Moroccan tribal revolt in the post-Independence period, but it should be noted in passing that it was preceded and followed by two other revolts elsewhere, both also in Berber-speaking regions. The

Point 8: Choice of capable judges. (By this was meant, obviously, Rifian ones.)

Point 9: Reorganization of the Ministry of Justice. (The South Zone judges and *qadis* then in the Rif were considered locally to be notoriously inept.)

Point 10: Bringing of criminals to justice. (It is assumed that the "criminals" concerned were in fact individuals in government service.)

Point 11: A Rifian to be given an important post in the Moroccan Government. (As of 1967, no Rifian from the Aith Waryaghar, at least, had been awarded such a post. Although there were, even as of 1958, several high-ranking Rifian officers in the Royal Army, none, again, were from the Aith Waryaghar.)

Point 12: "Operation Plow" (Opération Labour) to be extended to the Rif. (The name refers to an agricultural development scheme inaugurated in 1957, with King Muhammad himself driving the first tractor; it was designed, in the course of three years, to bring 375,000 acres of land in the Gharb under cultivation. The program never reached the Rif, where for the most part tractor plowing is unfeasible, but as of 1966-1967 a DERRO (Développement Economique de la Région du Rif Occidentale) project for planting sugar cane in the plain of al-Husaima was underway, as was a pine reforestation scheme in the Jbil Hmam.)

Point 13: Tax reductions for all of Morocco and especially for the Rif. (The *tirtib* tax on agricultural produce and on animals was officially abolished by King Hasan II in April 1961, shortly after his accession to the throne.)

Point 14: Creation of an ambitious program against unemployment. (Virtually nothing has as yet happened in this crucial domain.)

Point 15: Creation of scholarships for Rifian students. (As of 1967, this was only in a very incipient stage.)

Point 16: Rapid Arabization of education all over Morocco. (Rifians deplored, in 1958 as in 1967, the administrative use of French by the South Zoners in the formerly Spanish zone; but it still continued, for French has now become, willy-nilly, Morocco's major foreign language. The ex-Spanish Zone wanted ascendancy over the very much larger ex-French zone, but there is less chance of this now than ever. In addition, the achievement of anything resembling thoroughgoing Arabization is still more a hope than a reality.)

Point 17: Creation of more rural schools. (Here the answer is a most emphatic "yes," since King Hasan's drive toward "Operation School" (Opération Ecóle) all over rural Morocco in 1963.)

Point 18: Reopening of the Lycée in al-Husaima. (It had been closed down earlier in 1958 and many students had been jailed.)

This eighteen-point program clearly presents all the numerous Aith Waryaghar grievances. The uprising, which had already been in progress for nearly three weeks when the petition was submitted, seems thus to have resulted from a combination of three essential factors: (1) dissatisfaction with the representatives of the prevailing political party; (2) dissatisfaction because no Aith Waryaghar held government jobs even at the provincial level; and (3) a much more modern dissatisfaction with the "underdevelopment" of the region, as manifested principally in education.

There were, to be sure, lesser factors. First, the return of 'Abd al-Krim loomed the largest at the time, but his refusal to come back until the departure of all foreign troops from the country, and his subsequent death in 1963, eliminated this issue. Second was the party conflict between the Istiqlal and the P.D.I. just before the revolt; this was another issue that resolved itself, owing to the subsequent abstention by the Aith Waryaghar from all political party activity of any kind. There is, however, no question, nor was there at the time, that the Istiqlal *qua* political party was the main target, for the Monarchy and even the Royal Army were specifically excluded as objects of their attack by the unofficial spokesmen of the Aith Waryaghar, with the squat, blue-eyed and hook-nosed figure of Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam in their forefront.

* * *

The Istiqlal had installed its local party headquarters in every single market in the Rif as soon as the transfer of power had become effective after independence, and this display of its self-assumed supremacy was to prove its downfall. All the Central Rifian tribes responded as though by magic to a traditional technique, aimed in this case at attaining what were in fact surprisingly modern objectives: this technique, of which 'Abd al-Krim had in his day made full use, was the call by the marker crier (*abarrah*) to "defy" the central government (now known as *hukuma* rather than as *makhzan*), or more strictly, that government's prevailing political party. So the cry of defiance went up, the tribesmen took to the hills, the bonfires were lit, and dissidence (in a more modern dress, perhaps) returned. The Aith 'Ammarth, the Igzinnayen, the Axt Tuzin, and the Thimsaman came down again, more or less peaceably, after a few days and a broadcast appeal from Rabat. But the Aith Waryaghar did not, and on Monday, October 27, 1958, the violence erupted. Irate members of the Aith 'Abdallah and Aith Hadhifa clans stormed the Istiqlal Party office

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first was that of 'Addi u-Bihi, the Governor of the Tafilalt Province, in 1956-1957; then came the Rifian revolt; and finally, that of the Ait 'Abdi clan of the Ait Sukhman, on the Kusar Plateau of the Central High Atlas, in mid-1960. For an interesting analysis of these revolts, based as much upon shrewd guesswork as upon personal knowledge of the circumstances under which they occurred, see Ernest Gellner, "Patterns of Rural Rebellion in Morocco," op. cit., 1962, pp. 297-311.

at the Aith Hadhifa market. The *mkhaznis* of the post itself were overpowered, and their rifles, along with others locked up in the guardhouse, were taken. The Istiqlal Party inspector was also beaten up very badly. Two days later the same thing happened at the Wednesday market of Tawrirt, where there was apparently a free-for-all fight at the post or "bureau" itself, in which one *mkhazni* was wounded, as well as fighting in the market. The following Saturday there was a further brawl in the market of Imzuren. The markets of the Aith Waryaghar had now all been effectively "broken," again in traditional style, and the "breakage" continued, in the sense that the tribesmen now boycotted and refused to attend their own markets. They stayed in the foothills of the Jbil Hmam and up in the massif itself, particularly as one or two Aith Waryaghar had been killed in the last fight at Imzuren.

The Aith Waryaghar markets stayed "broken" for a period of two months or more, with attendance down to a fraction of what it normally was. The Aith Waryaghar were now up and acting corporately once again, even though it could hardly be claimed that they were literally up in arms—for the most extraordinary feature of this particular uprising (the most serious one to date in Independent Morocco), is how incredibly poorly armed the Aith Waryaghar were. It will be recalled that the Spanish had taken their guns away in 1926-1929, and at that time the amount of armament they possessed had staggered the authorities. Circumstances in the interim had, of course, been such that they had received virtually no arms at all for thirty-two years. Only the merest handful of the Waryaghar rebels had rifles—the Spanish had taken good care of that. Aside from the very few rifles taken from the *mkhaznis*, there were only a few fowling pieces and shotguns in the hands of certain former tribal authorities to whom the *interventors* had issued permits. As for the rest, the mass of the Aith Waryaghar participants in the uprising, they were armed only with their standard *hadidas* or billhooks, used for cutting brushwood, and with stones. It is highly significant that although Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam had promised them arms in quantity, he failed completely when it came to delivery.[42] However, it should be said that even little girls in Waryagharland are remarkably accurate stone throwers, and that a billhook in the hands of any dhu-Waryaghar can become a formidable weapon at close quarters.

It was at the point when the Aith Waryaghar took to the Jbil Hmam, after the initial fights in the markets, that the insurrection became a real rebellion. The other Rifian tribes had come down from their hills, but the Aith Waryaghar had not; a show of force was clearly necessary. Even though the unofficial Aith Waryaghar spokesmen reiterated that their only quarrel was with the Istiqlal Party, not in any way with the new Army, and still less with the Monarchy (toward which they trenchantly reaffirmed their loyalty, while strongly implying that the Istiqlal was trying to undermine the King), the army was nonetheless sent in. The military aspects of the campaign, which was the largest exercise theretofore attempted by the neophyte Royal Army in establishing internal security, have been adequately described by Zartman[43] and need not be recapitulated here. It should only be noted that the then Crown Prince Mulay al-Hasan proved himself as a field commander after taking personal charge of the Royal Army in its encirclement of al-Husaima from the south. This bottling-up of the area of insurrection was the consequence of the refusal on the part of the Aith Waryaghar to obey the King's warning that a "cruel punishment" would await them if they had not returned to their proper local communities and their own homes by January 7, 1959. The ultimatum had been given 48 hours earlier, and leniency was now not to be forthcoming.

They did not return, and they received the "cruel punishment" in very good measure. But at times they managed to give as good as they got: on one occasion the Crown Prince's personal airplane, on attempting to land at Imzuren, was greeted with bursts of rifle fire from sharpshooters concealed at the edges of the airfield, and General Oufkir (Ufqir)—then a colonel and as of 1965 the Moroccan Minister of Interior—himself took part in the army attack on the airstrip defenders, who were all killed. Royal Army troops subsequently attempting to clamber up the tortuous mountains of the Jbil Hmam massif were greeted with volleys of rocks thrown by the furious Aith Waryaghar. But in the end—and January 1959 was the most difficult month of the campaign—the Aith Waryaghar took a sound drubbing from the Moroccan army that they have not forgotten to this day.

They came down out of their fastness of the Jbil Hmam sullenly, with displeasure and rancor, just as they had done when 'Abd al-Krim surrendered. As a result, of course, both the army and its commander, the Crown Prince, became two more targets for their muttered opprobrium, quite aside from the Istiqlal Party—which in any case had cracked right in half, on January 26, as a result of this and a number of other, internal strains. Its progressive and leftist offshoot, under the leadership of Mehdi Ben Barka, then the president of the National Assembly, now called itself the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP or *al-Muqawama*). The Istiqlal was never again to return to the uncontested dominance it had held in the immediate post-independence period.

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[42] Waterbury, op. cit., 1970, pp. 242-243.

[43] I. William Zartman, *Morocco: Problems of New Power*, New York: Atherton, 1964, pp. 86-91.

However, before the Rifian uprising came to an end in February, Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam, with some sixty other Aith Waryaghar notables (including Mikki n-Sriman r-Khattabi, the last pasha of al-Husaima under the Spanish, who had succeeded his father on the latter's death on August 26, 1950), had slipped through the clutches of the Royal Army and fled through Melilla to Spain. A price was put on his head, and this ex-*mqaddim* of the Upper Aith Bu 'Ayyash was condemned to death *in absentia*, by decree of the rarely severe King Muhammad V, a decree to which his son and successor Hasan II was honor-bound to adhere. Even here the situation was thoroughly traditional: the unpardoned murderer, unable to pay the *haqq* to the *imgharen*, had to flee to another tribe, where his exile was for life. Having been an unofficial but nonetheless the most vociferous spokesman of the revolt, "the son of the Hajj Sillam" (*mmi-s nj-Hajj Sillam*) was now an *adhrib* who was even criticized and sneered at, soon afterwards, by his fellow tribesmen. Not in the least the master of the situation and totally lacking in charisma, he had become (to view the matter once more in traditional terms) just another impecunious tribesman escaping from a bloodfeud.

It is said that some 244 men of the Aith Waryaghar who had stayed home to "face the music" and for whom such escape routes were not possible were jailed as political prisoners, but they were released nearly two years later in a royal amnesty granted at the time of the *'Aid l-'Arsh* or "Feast of the Throne," on November 18, 1960. (One of these released prisoners was 'Allush n-Hammu nj-Hajj 'Aisa of the Imrabdhen, who had been *qaid* of the Uta lowlands in the last years of Spanish rule; another man, one Aqjij of Thamasind, who had received a fifteen-year sentence for his complicity in the uprising, was not pardoned.) When all the escapees to Spain save Muhammad nj-Hajj Sillam were allowed to return to the Rif in a second amnesty, after King Hasan's state visit to al-Husaima on September 11, 1962, on which occasion the province was demilitarized and the ban on political parties was lifted, the atmosphere emanating from Rabat was one of forgiveness. However, the implication was very strong that the Palace "had the number" of the Aith Waryaghar.

After the uprising had been quelled, the Royal Army stayed on, and the whole eastern part of the Province of al-Husaima became subjected to military government, which was to last for the next three and one-half years. The army officer corps was not entirely unjustified in considering the Aith Waryaghar to be "hardheads," and the explicitly apolitical role of the army in establishing internal security in Morocco was undoubtedly a major factor leading to the complete abolition of any and all political parties and activity, especially any activity suggestive of insurrection.

The situation became somewhat eased when on June 10, 1959, King Muhammad V made his first state visit to al-Husaima, a visit that was greatly built up in the Moroccan press. The remaining notables of the Aith Waryaghar (that is, those who had not fled to Spain or were not in jail) wanted to sacrifice a bull to the King as *'ar* (or, as the press put it, "in order to ask *aman*, peace, of him"). The King, however, refused to let the sacrifice take place, and said that an oath (*yamin*) taken on the Qur'an would be sufficient. This oath was taken forthwith by Ahmad bin 'Abd al-Salam al-Bu 'Ayyashi (of ar-Rabda in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a former *qadi* under the Spanish and a *qaid*-to-be in the Independent administration), while the others stood around him.

It will be recalled that the abolition of political parties was indeed one of the major objectives spelled out in the "eighteen-point program"; on this score, at least, the Aith Waryaghar and their new Moroccan Army administrators were in solid agreement. From the end of the uprising until the present day, the Aith Waryaghar have been noted, above all, for their complete and totally voluntary abstention from political activity of any kind whatsoever. This abstention, however, has been carried to extremes, to the point of utter lack of participation in other national issues with political overtones. I refer in particular to the series of elections at both the local and national levels, culminating in the elections for the first Moroccan Parliament, which began on May 29, 1960.

Fully congruent both with this political nonparticipation of the Aith Waryaghar and with their tremendous jealousy about the honor of their women, was the fact that, although women all over rural and tribal Morocco were vigorously encouraged to vote in these elections (the principle of "one man, one vote" now becoming expanded to include women), the participation rate of the Aith Waryaghar women was nil. It appears that the total tribal average for the first election in 1960—that for the "rural commune" representatives—was only 43%, the very lowest figure for any part of rural or tribal Morocco.[44] (Even in the Aith 'Ammarth and in the Ibuqquyen, participation was 80%.) In the Waryaghar view, the reason was quite simple, as well as ultra-conservative: they were not going to have their womenfolk stared at by a lot of strange Arabs—which was precisely what would happen, they thought, if they brought them to the polls.

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[44] This is the most generous estimate we have seen, and was provided by a vote-counting informant. Other estimates were only 35% and 30% respectively.

They also gave what amounted to the same answer when first requested, in the same year, to provide girls for the regional Moroccan *folklorique*-style dances organized by the Ministry of Tourism for the newly inaugurated week-long folklore festivals held in Marrakesh once a year. On these teams, thus far, no Aith Waryaghar of either sex have participated, and indeed, "Rifian" participation was restricted, at least for the first year, to the Targist alone. (It must be admitted, however, that there was far less objection to the making of recordings of *ay-aralla-buya*, plus appropriate *izran* couplets, to be played on the "Rifian Hour" over Radio Rabat—for here the performers were heard and not seen.) It was in ways like these that the Aith Waryaghar were determined to dig their heels in and to refuse to cooperate with the central authorities. If their refusal on such matters was a question of *qa'ida*, of Custom, nobody could contest it. It was yet another way in which they could partially opt out of the wider system: a traditional response to a new situation. It is no exaggeration to say that the only issue about which the Aith Waryaghar have shown marked enthusiasm since independence was the growing opportunity, during the 1960s, to become labor migrants in Western Europe. Here they tend to be blocked, far more in the al-Husaima Province than in that of Nador, by problems of administrative "red tape" over the acquisition of passports, work permits, and the like, for the authorities are well aware that the present wave of Rifian labor migration in Holland and elsewhere is in its way another manifestation of the same opting-out.

AFTER THE REVOLT (1959–1967)

After the Aith Waryaghar uprising had been stamped out, the question of adequate governmental representation still rankled. Although the tribesmen had no patience with political parties and now despaired of ever seeing one of their own men in a responsible post in the central government, the fact of their continued administration by "foreigners" from the Gharb and elsewhere was still a thorn in their sides. They felt that the tribal authorities, with all their exactions and injustices (which had sometimes occasioned their removal, as in the case of the Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan), had provided a far closer approximation to the traditional power structure, and after independence they felt that social mobility had become such that individuals who had previously been mere nobodies could rise undeservedly to high positions. They believed that the King loved all his subjects equally, but that his subordinates did not. In late 1959, the mutual distrust between the Rif and the "Gharb" (by which term Rifians often refer to the rest of Morocco) was stronger than ever, for "a mouse never trusts a cat."

Although it is true that King Hasan II does not have the charismatic qualities of his deeply revered father,[45] his courage, his resolution, his refusal to shirk hard work, and his sense of responsibility to the Moroccan nation have even penetrated the grudging minds of one of that nation's most prominent groups of "problem children," the Aith Waryaghar. Even though certain official circles in Rabat may view the matter a bit differently, the Aith Waryaghar feel that their loyalty to the King and to the monarchy has never been open to question. This was amply demonstrated when, in October 1963, a border conflict broke out on the Saharan frontier between Morocco, now a full-fledged constitutional monarchy, and Algeria, now an equally full-fledged people's democratic republic. Radio Cairo and Radio Algiers began to appeal to the Rifians as "the only worthwhile people in Morocco, who should stand up against the King who led his army against them in 1958–1959." On this score, the feelings of the Aith Waryaghar and of all other Rifians were unequivocal: there was no question where their ultimate loyalties lay. Ideas expressed over Radio Algiers to the effect that the North Zone should be made into a republic separate from the rest of Morocco were met with the unanimous opinion: never.

Leading but still unofficial Aith Waryaghar spokesmen followed up by sending a telegram to the King assuring him of their most wholehearted support in this national crisis. (It seems, however, that there were still a very few Rifians in Algeria, and that some of these did defect.[46]) A *harka* of 500–600 men was assembled as the provincial contingent from al-Husaima, and was organized along 'Abd al-Krim's old lines of *Qaids* of 100, 50, 25, and 12, to go to the front at Barkan and Sa'idiya. At least half the members of this *harka,* the ranks of which were also swelled with ex-Liberation Army contingents, were not just men of the Aith Waryaghar, but outstanding individuals who were well thought of at home. Although, as it turned out, they did not fire a shot, and although rumor had it, in the Rif, that they were merely acting as hostages (sing. *amarhun*) for the good behavior of their kinsmen back in Waryagharland, there is no doubt of their willingness to fight "for God, King, and Country" or of their identification as Moroccans (in spite of their loathing of the *Igharbiyen,* the "people of the Gharb") when it came to the test.

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[45] Even in the sour aftermath of the uprising, Aith Waryaghar could recite the following *izri* about King Muhammad V:

A Muhammad al-Khamis arah ammidh ur tuggwidh,
A dhin 'ashar milyun ax-idurar dhujid!
Oh Muhammad al-Khamis, go without fear,
There are 12 million people in the mountains to protect you!

[46] One man from the Aith Turirth was killed on June 10, 1964, by Royal Army troops as he was in the course of filtering across, armed, from the Algerian lines at the border to the dam at Mishra' Hammadi; and fourteen other men were jailed in Kenitra pending sentence. At least four of these men were Aith Waryaghar (three others from the Aith Turirth and one from the Aith 'Abdallah). On March 28, 1965, *Le Petit Marocain* crisply announced that they had all been executed the previous day for treason.

The above should be sufficient to show the justification of the Rifian and the Aith Waryaghar claim that not only have they never had any quarrel with the monarchy, but that they regard the institution of the monarchy as thoroughly right and proper, and as part of the natural order of things. Their grudging admiration for the King became rather less grudging as a result of his admirable policy of restraint shown over the issue of Morocco's participation, as a member nation of the Arab League, in the famous "Six-Day War" between the more extremist Arab countries and Israel, in June 1967. Informants not only said that King Hasan II had come of age as a diplomat, in his masterful handling of Morocco in the crisis; they added, in undertones, that their respect for the *udhain,* the Jews, whom they had previously thought of as no-account, had vastly increased as a result of the drubbing they had inflicted upon Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir (Nasser)—although they clicked their tongues disapprovingly at reports that the Israeli Army had entered Muslim mosques in Jerusalem.

On national issues, therefore, the Aith Waryaghar of today leave us in no doubt about their Moroccanness, or about their place in the wider national society. But on local issues, they remain solidly Rifian and solidly Waryaghar, and they become dissenters. Their unwillingness to participate in the nation's political life—to the point of not joining political parties when they were once again free to do so after the demilitarization of their province, or of participating in scheduled national elections—has been a primary manifestation of this. In 1962 the "Free Morocco Party" (*Maghrib al-Hurr*) reemerged as a separate entity to gain a few adherents in Waryagharland; these, it seems, brought up once again, *sotto voce,* the issue of North Zone separatism—but it seems to have made very little headway, if any at all. In the same year, the Igzinnayen had a falling out with the Popular Movement, the "Berber Party" of Khatib and Ahardan they had previously espoused, in which their membership as a result became drastically reduced. The new Moroccan Constitution was unanimously voted "in" at the end of the same year; Muhammad V had given the country its Independence, and Hasan II now provided it with its Constitution (as the King himself is said to have remarked, regarding his father's state visit to the U.S.A. on board the S.S. *Independence,* and his own in 1963 aboard her sister ship, the S.S. *Constitution*). But although 1963 was election year in Morocco, on a nationwide basis, for the "rural communes," the National Assembly and the Parliament, the two last-mentioned, in May of that year, produced an Aith Waryaghar abstention of 65%-75%, with a maximum voting participation of only 35% at most. Again, women voters were down almost to nil. The Aith Waryaghar (and the Axt Tuzin as well) represented the most noteworthy single bloc of abstention on the Moroccan political map, either through simply "not voting," or because they were "against."[47] The major reasons for their having been "against" should by now be obvious, but there are two subsidiary ones that also reflect their lack of confidence in the Rabat bureaucracy. I allude to the two concepts, cherished by the administration, of the "separation of powers" and of the "rural communes"; we discuss each of these briefly before moving to the more important and final issue imposed by the integration of the northern zone into the rest of the country.

Sepow

The "separation of powers" is, as Ashford has remarked, an excellent example of French cultural penetration in Morocco.[48] What in sum it meant at the local level was that the two most prominent local officials were each responsible to different ministries in Rabat. The super-*qaid,* at the level of the *cercle* or *da'ira* and his subordinate, the tribal *qaid* at the level of the *bureau,* depend ultimately on the Ministry of Interior, while the *qadi sh-shra'* and the *hakim s-sadad,* the traditional judge of the Shari'a and the modern judge of the law courts, depend upon the Ministry of Justice (as the three Aith Waryaghar *bureaux* of Imzuren, Aith Hadhifa and Arba' Tawrirt, plus the additional *bureau* of the Ibuqquyen at Suq l-Had r-Rwadi depend upon Ajdir, as of 1960). In Independent Morocco, the *qadi* still takes care of all matters falling under Shari'a jurisdiction, such as litigations over land, water, inheritance (and whatever documentation may pertain thereto), as well as matters connected with marriage and divorce. The *hakim s-sadad*, the new judge, takes care of debts, woundings, and indeed anything short of murder; murder is handled by the *wakil d-dula*, the national prosecutor, who in the Rif deals with cases in the province of Nador, where he is based, and in that of al-Husaima as well.

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[47] Octave Marais, oral communication, 1963. In a later personal communication (May 9, 1972), Marais states that on all the official candidacy listings for the 1963 elections, the Aith Waryaghar constituency, in the al-Husaima province, was in fact referred to as "the constituency of the Bni Bu 'Ayyash." The reason for this was that the name "Bni Waryaghal" still retained too explosive a connotation in government circles in Rabat; and hence, by a neat segmentary twist, the name of its largest clan and "fifth" was substituted for it.

[48] Douglas E. Ashford, *National Development and Local Reform: Political Participation in Morocco, Tunisia and Pakistan,* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967, p. 34, note 23.

Despite the fact that both Muhammad V and Hasan II have kept strong holds on the Ministries of Interior, Justice and Defense, each ministry is nonetheless jealous of its own prerogatives; and in this respect, each may try either to outdo the other or to block its moves—as the situation is interpreted at the local level, and with only one line to the provincial capital. The previous French A.I. officer or Spanish *interventor*, when making his rounds through his territorial jurisdiction, was invariably called upon to settle, on the spot and out of court, any cases involving theft, real or alleged, of poultry or livestock. The modern Moroccan *qaid* does exactly the same thing, and today it is at times a matter of pride that he does so before the case comes up at court, when in effect he has to turn it over to the *qadi* and hence to a different ministry.

The Aith Waryaghar, who may indeed be "primitive pragmatists" but whose political acumen is nonetheless highly developed, note such developments with a certain wry amusement, as being the antics of inexperience—for charitableness towards others has never been their strong point. No problems pertaining particularly to them as opposed to other tribes in the country have resulted from any of this; but both the situation and the reaction, each in its own way, are characteristic of modern Morocco, as are the frequent shifts of bureaucratic personnel in the civil service, above all at such times as the central government changes hands, as it has done on at least seven occasions since independence. This brings us back, of course, to the standing issue of the surplus of legitimacy and to the fact that the job is more important than the man who holds it: for any minister and his coterie of subordinates must hedge their bets in other directions if they feel that they will lose in the next round of "musical chairs."

The ineffectiveness of the much-heralded "rural communes" (*jama'at al-qarawiya*), a brainchild to which the Ministry of Interior gave birth in 1959, is a second such example, one which has been competently assessed and discussed, both at the national and at the local level, by Ashford.[49] The basic idea of the rural commune scheme was to do away with the tribe by substituting the smaller commune for it, the commune more or less corresponding administratively to the old "fraction," or clan, or *rba'*, within the context of the new administrative *cercle*.

Given the existence of any single tribal unit as large as that of the Aith Waryaghar, it is certainly true that the creation by Blanco of three separate *qaid*ates during the Spanish period, for example, would inevitably produce a certain amount of decentralization. This is generally the case when, in a colonial situation, a reasonably intelligent colonial administration takes charge of a very large tribe and yet tries to administer it through its own natural organs and superstructure. It will be recalled, too, that for the Aith Waryaghar, the Spanish administration had added the office of *jari* for the headman of the local community, connoting the leader of yet another segment, the lowest one on the scaffolding. Now, with independence, the *jari* was out; and the *mqaddim* of the "subfraction" was, in effect, moved down a notch to take his place at the level of the local community—known administratively as "douar." The *shaikh* of the "fraction" was now the highest local official, and in 1960 the post-Independence administration paid him the sum of 20,000 frs. (DH. 200) per month, and more if he had children, while the *mqaddim* received 5000 frs. (DH. 50) a month only—although it will be remembered that, at one notch up, he was not paid at all by the Spanish.

But the new rural commune council members of the *majlis al-qarawi*, the council for the commune, after being voted in as of the first rural elections in 1960, were also unpaid. Service on the rural commune committee was voluntary, although if elected, any given individual had to serve; possibly one reason the May 29 elections of that year went off so smoothly was because of the lack of participation. The Aith Waryaghar *cercle* (Ar. *da'irat Bni Waryaghal* or "Cercle des Beni Ouriarhel") in the al-Husaima Province had been divided up into eight communes, of which two in fact were comprised by the tribe of the Ibuqquyen, while the other six were Aith Waryaghar: Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Imzuren/l-Khmis Imrabdhen, Aith 'Abdallah, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Hadhifa, and l-Arba' Tawrirt,[50] the last-mentioned comprising the standard three mountain subclans. Each commune council has its chief (*ra'is*) and his assistant (*khalifa*) and has in addition one representative for each local community. A quick look at that of l-Arba' Tawrirt is instructive, for in this instance, on more than one occasion, two communities were combined to form one. In the Aith Turirth subclan there were three representatives: one for Tigzirin and Bulma (who happened to be a member of the Imjjat lineage of l-'Ass), one for Aith 'Amar and Aith 'Aru Musa, and one for l-Wad and Thizimmurin. There were four representatives for the subclan of the Timarzga: one for Aith Yusif, one for Tfsast and Mahrath, one for Bu Ma'dan and one for r-Maqsuridh; and there were, likewise, four for that of the Aith 'Arus: one for Sammar, one for Maru, one for Aith Juhra, and one for Bu Sa'ida.

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[49] Ashford, op. cit., 1967, all chapters dealing with Morocco, *passim*.

[50] Arabized spellings: Ait Yusif w-'Ali, Imzuren/l-Khmis Imrabten, Bni 'Abdallah, Bni Bu 'Ayyash, Bni Hadifa and l-Arba' Tawrirt.

These details are given in order to bear out Ashford's contention that population, and representation in terms of it, was a primary consideration in the planning of the commune, which optimally should not have been below a population level of 5,000, nor above one of 20,000. In this sense, the Aith Waryaghar communes all conformed, although that of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash came in just "under the wire," with a population in 1960 of 19,825. In view, too, of the alarming overall population increase in Waryagharland and elsewhere in the Rif—estimated at about 3.5% per annum—these original estimates are perhaps being revised in Rabat. But the recombination of local communities, as exemplified above, to fit the planners' ideas, based solely on the 1960 census (which was honestly undertaken, but which in many respects is defective),[51] seems a questionable procedure if adequate representation is to be assured. Population was far more a guideline than absolute size, a factor that had drawbacks elsewhere in the country, although not in overpopulated Waryagharland.

The budgets for the communes come from a variety of different sources, depending essentially on the nature of any given commune project. If the question of building a new *suq* should arise, as it did in the Aith 'Abdallah in 1965, the plans are drawn up and submitted to the Ministry of Public Works for approval. However, since the main activity of *suqs* is the exchange of agricultural produce and of animals, the bulk of the funds comes in fact from the Ministry of Agriculture. It is somewhat ironic that owing principally to the disposition of the main arteries of communication, the Ministry of Public Works, as of 1966, was still divided up into the same five large territorial *arrondissements* which existed in the South Zone in French times, and that this division does not correspond to the present provincial structure of the country. It may be added that the slow and often difficult integration of the northern zone with the rest of the country has, for just this reason alone, been a considerable obstacle to the ministry concerned.[52]

The projects undertaken by the rural communes center around such items as building new walls for the market, building small bridges, setting up fountains, wells and ponds, providing cement bases for irrigation ditches, and the like, all at the level of the most local ameliorations possible. However, as aforesaid, given the fact that each ministry wants to retain what special projects and prerogatives it has, the result is often illogical, both in terms of territory and in terms of structure and function. Problems of this sort are invariably "under study"—in what are officially termed *séances de travail*—at the ministerial level; but in view of the frequent shifts and changes of personnel, little or nothing gets accomplished. The structure, therefore, remains one of balance and opposition, with an ever-present threat of overlap thrown in, all of which renders the situation very complex. Finally, neither the communes nor their councils have any real power at all: they must ultimately depend on what is doled out from Rabat. In sum, the rural communes in Waryagharland have quite failed to achieve their objective of eradicating the notion of "tribe," an eradication which as of 1967 was being achieved by other means entirely, to be discussed in the concluding chapter.

A final and still more serious problem has been that of the whole integration of northern Morocco, a very small region which attempts to exert control over the very much larger rest of the country. ("The North Zone tail attempting to wag the South Zone dog.") After independence, Tangier and its hinterland were only brought into the country late in 1958, while earlier in the same year the peseta, as currency, was withdrawn from the northern zone. Officially, the distinction between "North" and "South" Zones also ceased as soon as governors were appointed to the respective provinces of each (and, in the North, Tetuan, l-'Ara'ish and Shawen *territorios* were merged to form a single province early in 1959, but the old *territorios* of al-Husaima and Nador continue as separate provinces to this day), but the feeling of "northerners" versus "southerners" still remained. The terms "North Zone" and "South Zone" today, it should be added, have no official significance. The French-Spanish division of the country produced its own brand of linguistic rancor, if no other (and this is true even among Arabic-speakers in the two zones). But the cleavage between *Igharbiyen* (literally "westerners")—that is, modern Moroccans who speak French (as opposed to those who speak Spanish), who have good jobs, and who, the Rifians and the Aith Waryaghar feel, are far more favored than they themselves are in every possible way, socially, economically and politically—has led to a very solid core of resentment.

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[51] It is of interest not only that the new census scheduled for 1970 has (as of early 1971) yet to be carried out, but also that the 1960 census teams found less cooperation, it seems, among the Aith Waryaghar than in any other tribal group or region in the whole of Morocco.

[52] John Waterbury, oral communication, 1966.

17. CONCLUSION—THE WARYAGHAR INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SOCIETY

INTRA-TRIBAL AND INTER-TRIBAL IMAGES, AND WARYAGHARLAND SEEN FROM THE OUTSIDE

As has been noted earlier, the Aith Waryaghar have definite psychological stereotypes of themselves and of their neighbors, and these are guided by two basic principles: within Waryagharland, the speaker's clan is invariably given the highest rating, and in the Rif in general, of course the Aith Waryaghar as a unit are given this rating. This psychological ranking, if we may call it that, is not necessarily arranged in any sort of progression; it is, rather, informal, and it must be said in all fairness to the Aith Waryaghar that they do not invariably denigrate their neighbors—although much of the time they do. However, inside Waryagharland, the following characterizations are regarded more or less as universals:

In the lowlands, and as a reflection of their longstanding rivalry, the Aith Yusif w-'Ari and the Aith 'Ari clans mutually charge each other of having a virtual monopoly on *dhafantazith*, presumption and arrogance; while the highlanders, who refer to them both as *Aith Bu Tkhsaith*, because their "grandfather" could not distinguish a watermelon from a squash, and as *Iminnushen*, "sons of Minnush" (a woman's name with an implication of effeminacy and cowardice), say that the arrogance of both is the same and also that they are forever talking politics. To a mountaineer, the very name Ajdir is synonymous with political palaver and tale-bearing. The lowlanders collectively view the highlanders as *I'allushen*, "sons of 'Allush," a name synonymous with country bumpkin, as yokels who do nothing but talk, donkey-like, about the harvest and about purely local affairs. The Aith 'Abdallah are universally regarded as "strong," the Aith Hadhifa as rather less so, while the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Aith 'Adhiya are given the optimal rank, virtually, of "strength" plus "intelligence," and are envied the beauty of their women. In the Jbil Hmam, the Aith Turirth and the Aith 'Arus are both rated as "strong"—while the latter are also considered to be "violent"; whereas the Timarzga are "less strong" or even "cowards." At the bottom of the heap are the I'akkiyen, rated as "nothing, only tailors and butchers," and the Imrabdhen, as "only *shurfa*," who exist in the tribal territory at the forbearance of the lay clans. Intelligence and strength, the latter implying *dhargazt* or manliness and virility, are the desiderata, and on the latter point the bulk of the Aith Waryaghar clans come through with a very high rating. On intelligence, their internal rating is less high, owing to frequent inter-clan references, each to the other, as *ighyar*, "donkeys."

The pot continually calls the kettle black: the Aith 'Abdallah allude to the Aith Hadhifa as *ibardajen* (for one of their constituent lineages), "gluttons," while the latter refer to the former as *ikiddaben* (for one of their constituent lineages), "liars." The Aith Turirth and the Timarzga refer pointedly to the "Christian grandmother" of the Aith 'Arus, to their stupidity and to the allegation that they get drunk on the grape harvest; while the Aith Turirth refer to the Timarzga as *Aith Bu Biddjudh*, "acorn eaters" (acorns being food for mules, not for men), while the latter refer to the former as *Aith Bu Firfur*, "eaters of maize kuskus" (rather than of kuskus made from semolina, which is the normal variety). Thus each clan tries to belittle the others, in what is a psychological reflection of a bedrock egalitarianism within Waryagharland, while they all extol the "manifest superiority" of the Aith Waryaghar as a whole to their outside neighbors.

Their immediate neighbors and all other Rifians will be taken first. The Igzinnayen and the Aith 'Ammarth are ranked as next to themselves on the list, as being virtually *am nishnin*, "like us." Both are considered as being manly, brave and good fighters—but there is always a certain back-biting; this is so even if the Igzinnayen are also considered to possess (by some, if not all, of their people) a *khams khmas* system of "five fifths." It will be recalled that the folk etymology of the tribal name is *izinnayen*, "fornicators," and that they are nicknamed, by the Aith 'Ammarth as well as by the Aith Waryaghar, *Dharwa n-Jallut*, "sons of Goliath," and *r-'adhawth n-Sidna Dawud*, "the bloodfeud of Our Lord David."

And they are viewed as "politicians" by the highland Waryaghar, who do not stigmatize the Aith 'Ammarth this way, but merely consider them "savages." (The Aith 'Ammarth, in turn, call the Aith Waryaghar *aithma-s n-Irumiyen,* "agnates of Christians," by the Aith Turirth label for the Aith 'Arus or a reasonable facsimile thereof, and *Aith Bu Tkhsaith,* "eaters of squash," as above. These collective nicknames are highly traditional.) The Thimsaman are looked upon as bright and intelligent, but without the courage of the Igzinnayen, while the Ibuqquyen are looked upon as distinctly poorer stuff, both as "shameless" and as untrustworthy and treacherous, this last in particular by their lowland Waryaghar neighbors. And lowest in the Central Rifian listing as given by the Aith Waryaghar are the Axt Tuzin, who are not only considered very stupid and as "stupid politicians" but who are also stigmatized in any event because of the presence amongst them of the special groups which make up the low-status, endogamous and propertyless social classes, all of which are said to have originated in the Axt Tuzin.

Of the tribes in the Eastern Rif, the Iqar'ayen are considered "strong" (all save one of their sub-segments near Melilla, the Ifar-khanen, who are "worthless, shameless"), as are the Aith Iznasen; and as each of these large tribes may also be possessors of *khams khmas,* this in a sense admits them to membership in the structural élite. But as they are not neighbors, not much is really known about them. The Thafarsith, Aith Wurishik and Aith Sa'id are considered to be "weak," and the transhumants of the Ibdharsen (or l-Mtalsa) and Aith Bu Yihyi as "bad, dishonest."

This takes care of the Rifians, very largely. But stereotyped opinions are even stronger as one moves west and south of the Rif Proper. To the west, the Aith Mazdui, the people of Targist and of the Sinhaja Srir tribes are considered to be totally worthless; and the Branis, Marnisa, and all the Ghmara and Jbala tribes are looked upon as less than worthless, as thieves and homosexuals. This is the traditional view, although today there is a grudgingly common feeling for the last two groups, the Ghmara and Northwestern Jbala tribes, as "fellow North Zoners." The worst insults of all are, of course, reserved for the *Igharbiyen,* the South Zone-based, French-speaking and urban or urban-educated Morroccans who are identified with the administration (which the Aith Waryaghar themselves are not, although a good many of them would like to be).

It may now well be asked what the rest of the Rif, and the members of culturally divergent ethnic groups outside the Rif, think of the Aith Waryaghar. Rifians of neighbor tribes criticize the Aith Waryaghar arrogance, but admit that they represent the quintessence of the *Irifiyen.* The neighboring ethnic groups equally admit that the Aith Waryaghar are the quintessence of "Rifianism," a quintessence which they find objectionable. Its most recent manifestation of real consequence was 'Abd al-Krim's harsh repression in 1924 of the wave of uprising against him from the l-Khmas near Shawen to as far east as Targist, and involving the Mtiwa, Mstasa and Bni Gmil of the extreme Western Rif as well. These tribes have not forgotten, even today, the "Prussians" of the Rifian Regular Army, most of them Aith Waryaghar, whom they regard as conceited, arrogant and brutal. The Aith Waryaghar are not thought of with any fond recollections in the northern cities of the kingdom, though the naked force they sometimes felt compelled to display was respected. As a proverb long current in Tangier has it, *a'mal ar-rifi da'iman quddam-ak, ma shi min ura-k,* "Keep a Rifian always in front of you, and never let him get behind you" implying that you will be stabbed in the back or gunned down from behind, if you do not. In traditional pre-Protectorate Morocco, the nailing of heads of captive tribal rebels on the gates of a city by its governor was commonplace and certainly more than one Rifian pasha of Tangier followed this practice. This is a striking contrast to the leniency shown to rebel tribal leaders by the Palace since Independence.

European Assessments of the Aith Waryaghar Ethos

We now give three early assessments by Protectorate officials of what they considered to be the "ethos" of the Aith Waryaghar, assessments which are in the main, essentially pejorative. The first is an unsigned Spanish *interventor* report, dated June 10, 1928, and delivered from the post of Imnudh in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. We quote *in extenso:*

> The local is hard, intractable, false, vengeful and his heart is quite insensitive to the appeals or to the cries of his womenfolk. He is uncommunicative and his extra-tribal relations are very reduced, for he cannot stand, in any way, the presence of the Arab foreigner, and even less that of the Jew, for whom he feels the greatest scorn.
>
> Before the occupation of this "fraction," its members lived in the most complete anarchy, decimating each other in little "intestinal" (i.e., internal) bloodfeuds, from "*yemaa*" to "*yemaa*" (i.e., from *jma'th* to *jma'th*), from house to house, and from family to family—and it was common in these feuds for one brother to kill another.

This verdict is harsh indeed, but the author of the report clearly underscores two essential factors: the

Aith Waryaghar attitude toward women, and the fragility of even the minimal agnatic lineage in the face of the bloodfeud. He does not, however, comment on the slender ecological base of the region, or on its poverty or over-population, as he might have done.

A French assessment two years earlier than the foregoing is almost a caricature: it correctly describes the Aith Waryaghar as the base around which the other Rifian tribes pivot (and here the author prefers "confederational" to "tribal," and attributes, no doubt equally correctly, an analogous role to the l-Khmas tribe in the Jbala) and also correctly describes them as "the regulator of tribal movements which have periodically shaken the region." But it then descends to the following purple prose (even though the descriptive material brought to bear is not entirely untrue).

> The Bni Waryaghal (sic: most other writers normally use one or another variant of the Arabic rendering of the tribal name); are also, sometimes (like their neighbors), prisoners to that furious frenzy which compels each "fraction" to try to ruin its neighbor. But when the need to resist a common enemy puts an end to their "intestinal quarrels," the Bni Waryaghal form a bloc and call all able-bodied men to the *harka*. It is then that an avalanche descends from the slopes of the Jbil Hmam and from the mountains of the Ait 'Arus. It is a crowd avid for pillage and fighting, in which beardless youths jostle elbows with bent greybeards in whom age has destroyed neither the vigor nor the instinct for destruction. . . . It is an army without leaders, but yet one in which each person knows his place, an army which advances from hill to hill, from ravine to ravine, with an incredible regularity, like a huge wave which submerges everything. . . . The region is never at peace, because when the "fractions" are not fighting each other, the different "quarters" of the same "village" are at each other's throats. . . . And when, through the intervention of holy men; this "quarter to quarter" war ceases, it now becomes a war "from family to family and from man to man. . . ." It is a region in which one may circulate only if one is armed: the father of a family only leaves his house in the midst of his sons and his followers who escort him. . . . A sinister atmosphere, like the country itself, surrounds everything. At each stop one finds burned villages, razed to the ground. Nothing surrounding the traveller has an engaging appearance. Men and things seem to have been created for fighting. . . . No more authority, no more laws, nothing but the regime of force. The Rif would destroy itself if, above the level of this anarchy, there was no power against which nobody could revolt: the power of the *shurfa*. . . .[1]

And so on in the same vein: the role of the "*shurfa*" (perhaps refering to the Waryaghar Imrabdhen, although the context renders it doubtful) as mediator, and that of the *zawiyas* as places of refuge, is exaggerated if intended to apply to Waryagharland, although it was certainly true of the western half of the Rifian chain inhabited by the Jbala ("home of the *shurfa*"), Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir. There is also a confusion between on the one hand, the payment of excess bloodwealth by the feuding group or lineage which lost the lesser number of men, to that which lost the greater number (reckoned by the authors at 100 duros per head), and, on the other hand, the market *haqq* paid to the *imgharen*. This is an error now classic among earlier writers on the Rif.

Although the bleak and bitter hostility of Waryagharland at the time may possibly seem over-accentuated from the vantage point of forty years later, all the contemporary accounts refer to it, and in the strongest terms; although not all make such a rhapsody out of despair as does that given above. The Aith Waryaghar were certainly the prisoners of their economic environment and their socio-political system, and now, due to other, very different factors, the despair is more acute than ever—and particularly as a result of hastened social change. Nonetheless, for a rather more subtle interpretation of the facts, see Dumaine's essay of exactly the same year, 1926.[2]

Here the argument runs as follows: the Rif has always been a region under the authority of the Sultans, but the effective implantation by them of that authority has only been felt at odd intervals; and the example of Bushta l-Baghdadi's punishment of the Ibuqquyen is cited. But in 1921, a modernistic and "xenophobic" movement began, which resulted in the "regression of Berber tradition" and the regime of tribal "self-government" (here the English term is employed). This is true enough, but the author views it with alarm, as inherently evil: "the modernistic character of the movement has local causes which are permanent." These were of two kinds: the relations of individual coast-dwelling Rifian tribesmen with individual Spaniards on the *presidios*, on the one hand; and on the other, the far larger "Christian-hating" current (of which 'Abd al-Krim, who knew the Christians best, became the eventual leader).

The next point in the argument is that the new movement was supported especially by the "anarchical" tribes in the region, and particularly by the Aith

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[1] Condt. Maurice Barnard and M. Jouffray, "Les Tribus de la Zone Nord et Nord-Ouest du Maroc," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Francaise*, 1926, no. 2, pp. 71–78; no. 3, pp. 126–36. My references are to pp. 128–9.

[2] Jacques Dumaine, "Les Eléments du Problème du Rif," *Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par la Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc*, No. 2, bis, 1926, pp. 89–99. I would hazard a guess that "Jacques Dumaine" was probably a pseudonym for the late Robert Montagne.

Waryaghar, as follows: the fact that they provided all the leaders of the "new movement"; the discontinuity and reduplication of their "five fifths" within the tribal territory; the role of the agnatic lineage (or *dharfiqth*, from the Arabic root *r-f-q*, "to accompany"—rather ingeniously assumed by Dumaine to refer here to "men who march and fight together"[3]); its composition and tendency to be named for its apical ancestor (toponyms are not discussed); and the invariable bloodfeud between one lineage and the next—if not within the lineage itself. The example, incorrectly cited by Montagne as to detail, of the bloodfeud between the Aith 'Alar u-Hmid (or Iziddjifen) and the Ibunharen lineage combinations in the Aith 'Abdallah,[4] is also discussed *in extenso*. This occured about 1916, just before Emilio Blanco's Aith 'Abdallah *qanun* of June 26, 1917, which ordained that murderers who committed their murders in the market would henceforth be shot if caught. As this issue has already been dealt with in Chapter 11 there is no need to reintroduce it here.

Nonetheless, this is all part and parcel of the Dumaine (and probably the Montagne) argument. We find, once again, the usual observation that houses in Waryagharland must be at least 300 meters apart from each other; but according to Dumaine, this is in order that they may lie out of rifle range. This may sound plausible; but it is in fact absurd, because in 'Abd al-Krim's time and even earlier, any good sniper (a category which would include most Aith Waryaghar) had a considerably more effective range with a repeating rifle; and equally absurd is the contention that a woman had to leave the house first in order to pave the way for her husband to follow. This last would have been, even under the most strenuous circumstances of feud, a slur on his *dhargazt*, his manliness.

Dumaine, furthermore, never once mentions the existence of the *ishbrawen*, the feuding pillboxes behind the houses; possibly his informants were at fault here. He correctly assesses the very prevalent and indeed overpowering atmosphere of feud throughout the region; but although he does link the feud to certain obvious sociopolitical factors, he fails to provide it with anything resembling an economic base—which is, in all fairness, hardly either the only or the most important cause. The Imrabdhen with their sociopolitical role of internal regulation and adjudication of disputes are then brought to the fore, as is their failure, on the majority, to combat the feud effectively; and indeed, what is rightly highlighted, is their chronic inability to do anything but feud amongst themselves. The *imgharen* are singled out as the usual example of politics in anarchy, and finally, the Rifian *liff* system is given all the usual misinterpretations generally associated with the brilliant wrongheadedness of Robert Montagne. However, 'Abd al-Krim's pitiless crushing of the 1924 revolt in the Jbala-Ghmara-Sinhaja Srir is given a subtle coverage which is again reminiscent of Montagne; and a Waryaghar *amghar*, 'Amar n-Siddiq of the Aith Hadhifa, is even implicated in the affair (a claim which is not entirely borne out by my own data on the subject).

At any rate, Dumaine's message is clear, and, once again, it is one of anarchy, even though this be qualified by the adjective "organized." The reader is referred to the argument presented in a paper co-authored by the writer and José Rodriguez Erola, on Rifian Morals,[5] which takes a rather different tack. We start from two premises: that it is difficult to isolate specifically Rifian morality from Moroccan Muslim morality as a whole, and that, in theory, the expansion of loyalties in this system of chronic and continuous violence, was a function of segmental opposition. (We say here "in theory" because, as shown, this is the way one's informants paint the picture.) Added to this, the poverty of the region and its over population have helped to produce an extremely egalitarian but highly competitive society, one which looks unanimously upon force and strength as "good," and equally unanimously upon weakness as "bad," while it fully endorses trickery and cunning as means to obtain desired cultural goals. The strong man is the local top *amghar*, the weak man is his *akhammas*, and although the latter may be a tyrant in his own home, he must be docile and subservient to the *amghar* in the latter's presence, if he does not want a bullet in his ribs or a billhook wrapped around his neck. Life is cheap and the life of an *akhammas* is particularly so.

Factors such as these, then, are representative of what we might call the basis of Rifian morals.

> As they themselves are conflicting and contrasting, so are the morals which they underly. The same man who bashes in his neighbor's head with a billhook will give his all to a stranger who comes to his door seeking shelter and hospitality. In the same way, bravery is inextricably linked with prudence, arrogance with obsequiousness, and xenophobia with liberalism.[6]

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[3] Dumaine's proposed etymology is tantalizing and suggestive, although the only one which my Arabic dictionaries yield is the narrower one of "traveling companions." Reference here to Dumaine, p. 92. Cf. also Chapter 10.

[4] Montagne, op. cit., 1930, pp. 239-240. Montagne wrongly gives the Aith 'Amar u-Hmid as the Aith r-Qasim.

[5] Hart and Erola, op. cit., 1956, pp. 481-490.

[6] Ibid, pp. 486-487.

THE CHANGING SOCIOPOLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR: A SUMMARY

Throughout the earlier chapters, we have stressed an all-pervading disequilibrium in Waryagharland, a disequilibrium between the meager productivity of the land and the burgeoning over-population, which now more than ever it supports in a fashion nothing short of precarious. This basic and Malthusian imbalance in the economic system has been only partially alleviated by labor migration; and one may surmise that its alleviation by the bloodfeud was very considerably less. Those who met violent deaths in ambush were, by and large, almost always replaced by other, younger agnates.

The second basic structural disequilibrium resided in the *liff* alliance system. Whether, in any given instance, this involved only the lineages within a given subclan (which usually corresponded fairly closely to the limits of exogamy, and any marriages contracted further afield had manifestly political objectives), or whether, at the upper levels, all of Waryagharland became embroiled, the result was always the same: one *liff* was always manifestly numerically superior to the other, and this is why outside help from neighboring clans of bordering tribes quite often had to be invoked, through money or through sacrifice. (It has also been shown that each tribe in the region effectively constituted its own *liff* system and therefore, alliances could not be pushed beyond this point.)

But the major source of disequilibrium in the sociopolitical structure lay in the effective cross-cutting between the *liff* system and the segmentary system. In this particular society, the social and structural facts could hardly be otherwise, as will be conclusively demonstrated in this section.

To reconsider the segmentary system very briefly: we have seen how the Aith Waryaghar proliferated from their point of origin in the Jbil Hmam and how their territorial units and subclans became reduplicated right down to the sea; we have seen how their topmost-level segmentation into "five fifths," again often consisting of territorially discontinuous units, functioned as a shared collective instrument for the distribution of monies paid as fines for murder on the tribal level or in the tribal markets; we have seen how the segmentary system corresponded in some ways to the territorial one, and how it failed to correspond exactly in others; and, finally, we have seen that on at least three occasions in its history the whole tribe acted corporately.

The above, so to speak, represents the foundation of the social structure; while, to return to the question of disequilibrium from another perspective, the *liff* system of two mutually hostile factions (often not of equal size) forms a superstructure which cuts across the segmentary and territorial systems. It has also been shown how, on the tribal level, these *liff* alignments tended to remain constant (or, rather, to assume the same form they had assumed when previously activated), while on the local level they changed continuously. The effectiveness of the intrusive Imrabdhen clansmen as mediators and adjudicators was largely negated by the fact that so many of them, taking on local color, feuded among themselves; but it has been demonstrated that such mediators as there were among them tended to be *imgharen* (although, of course, pacific ones).

The incredible ramifications and convolutions which a single bloodfeud could take have likewise been scrutinized in detail, and alliance through marriage and hostility through inheritance (and other reasons) have been duly considered as well. The bloodfeud was an agent of decentralization and autonomy among localized lineage groups, while payments of fines and the threat of houseburning were geared to have the opposite effect: to make it very clear to any murderer that the collective *imgharen* were far stronger than he was. But generally the *amghar* too had killed his man or men, and had paid his share of *haqq;* otherwise, he would never have become *amghar.*

We now move on to the real crux of the matter of the cross-cutting of the segmentary and territorial systems by the systems of *liff,* or factional alliance (even though it is recognized that in certain other cases, such as that of the Aith ‘Ammarth, the segmentary and *liff* systems corresponded with each other). The undeniable gap which exists between these two sets of systems, as manifested in Waryagharland, is bridged by the useful practice of "bet-hedging." The point is this: e.g., although you and your brother (and your patri-parallel cousins) are, by virtue of your birth, members of the same agnatic lineage, this by no means prevents you from loathing the very ground your brother walks upon, or vice versa. Much of the earlier chapters of this book have been devoted to the effective demonstration that any idea of "brotherly love," as a *sine qua non* amongst agnates in Waryagharland, at least, is nonsense. Favret's data from the Kabyle tribes of the Algerian Jurjura, as they were prior to the French conquest, document another very similar case in point.[7]

Thus, proceeding on this assumption, one may then take into account the old Arab (and Rifian) proverb to the effect that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."[8] This is, of course, if one has the necessary motivation: a piece of land, a girl "given" to the new friend's lineage in marriage (but with payment of bridewealth), or simply money changing hands—any of these may do the trick. And in the event that one's brother is one's enemy, one then begins *ipso facto* to acquire the cross-cutting *liff* ties discussed above; and one has automatically hedged a bet or two in this way, as well as gained an affine or a set of affines.

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[7] J. Favret, op. cit., 1968.

[8] In Rifian: *r-‘adhaw nj-‘adhaw-inu dh-amdukkr-inu.*

The logic inherent in a situation of this kind is very simple, even though these cross-cutting ties may at first seem bewildering, and the actions involved in establishing them, as performed by the Aith Waryaghar or by other Moroccan tribesmen, may seem tortuous and devious in their execution. Furthermore, at the upper levels of both segmentation and of *liff*, such sets of cross-cutting ties easily become solidified and rigidified, because they continue to have a useful function long after the original reason or reasons for their existence have faded from memory. (Examples include (a) those of the subclans of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash and the Aith 'Adhiya both being in the same *khums* or "fifth," but in opposed overall *liffs*, while (b) the same was true of the lowland Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Aith 'Ari, and of their discontinuous mountain subclans of the Aith Turirth and Timarzga, where all were in the same "fifth" but one of each pair was in an opposite *liff* to the other, its neighbor.) In any case, the usefulness remains, although whatever may originally have given rise to it has long gone.

Aside from the proverb about the enemy of my enemy being my friend, it will be recalled that there is another Maghrib proverb to the effect that "nobody hates like brothers." Nowhere is this more true than in Waryagharland, but for some paradoxical reason the proverb itself appears to be unknown there. Instead, proverbs on this subject are full of the usual sanctimonious homilies about agnates sticking together through thick and thin, and about blood being thicker than water; and they quite effectively smokescreen the real issue. Ideal behavior is not actual behavior, and one seldom plays the game according to the rules, which in any case must from time to time be broken. And the cross-cutting of the ties of segmentation and of lineage affiliation with those of alliance, both inside and outside the lineage, is a very direct reflection of this fact. Indeed, in cases such as that of the Aith 'Ammarth, cited above, in which segmentary systems and *liff* systems do coincide, this might well be regarded as a danger signal: they may converge, but all is not what it seems on the surface.

All of the above, too sheds further light on the whole major issue of structural disequilibrium: one wants, always, to obtain for oneself more allies than one's enemies have, by whatever means; and if one's enemy is one's own brother, each brother now goes further and further afield to gain allies, to underwrite his assets and hedge his bets. Thus the much-touted unity of the minimal agnatic lineage becomes a hollow mockery if not an empty shell. The fractionation of the lineage through the bloodfeud may be deplored today by the descendants of the original participants, but these same descendants ruefully admit that such was, indeed, more often the rule than the exception.

As many previous observers have noted, the bloodfeud, in one way or another, was the central feature of sociopolitical life in the Rif, and the dispersion in settlement pattern (one house here, another on top of that mountain over there, a third halfway up another slope) of any local community in Waryagharland is a constant reminder of this, as well as of their jealousy over their womenfolk, of their inward-directed and intense community life—once the standards of privacy, known to all, have been met. All members of the tribe are inordinately proud of being Aith Waryaghar, and for them the rationale behind the notion of "five fifths" amounts to a virtual superiority complex; but a periodic centripetal force exercised on the upper levels of segmentation was almost constantly undermined by a centrifugal one on the lower ones.

Another aspect of the social system which should be stressed is that the clan, the lineage and the local community in Waryagharland (as elsewhere in Morocco), albeit constantly interrupted by internal discontinuity and reduplication, all form what is essentially a single structural and territorial continuum; for Waryagharland, *in toto*, is, after all, a single bloc of territory, despite the internal discontinuity of subclans. Within this territory, the bloodfeud could either 1) be almost instantaneously turned off so that the whole tribe (or, if not, a whole "fifth" or a whole clan) could be galvanized, almost immediately, into corporate action, or 2) more commonly, play itself out *ad infinitum* on the autonomous setting of an inter- or intra-lineage stage set by the local community, until whole subclans or even clans were involved. If the theory that segmentary lineage systems are organizations of predatory expansion is correct[9] (and we have already expressed our reservations about it), it might then be suggested that as the Aith Waryaghar could not expand their territory beyond certain physical limits, they turned in upon themselves and bloodfeuded. Even so, their expansion was a very long and drawn-out process, and seems to have been accomplished just as much by purchase of land from neighboring tribes, and through such processes as lineage scission (as in the case of the Aith Turirth), as by actual conquest.

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[9] Sahlins, op. cit., 1961.

Like an accordion, the Aith Waryaghar could squeeze together to play in harmony; but more often than not, the keys were damp, the stops were pulled out full blast, the instrument was pulled and (finally) wrenched apart, and the music ended in a discordant screech. Wholly aside from external conditions at the time, it was to the great credit of 'Abd al-Krim that he knew how to play upon this accordion and indeed all other local tribal accordions as well—because nobody else could do so. The final result was hardly that ideal construct of social anthropologists, a system in virtually timeless equilibrium; it was rather the paradox of a system of disequilibrium in equilibrium, a system where segmental opposition tipped segmental balance, on virtually all levels of the scale.

THE AITH WARYAGHAR AND THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

The Aith Waryaghar are tribally organized agriculturists living in a region most unfavored by nature, and their long-standing overpopulation, particularly acute today, has forced them to seek other and more drastic solutions to their problem beyond simple subsistence agriculture. Here labor migration and the bloodfeud—each in its own way a response to crowding—have come most abundantly into play. The crowding factor, furthermore, assumes added importance when one considers the special settlement pattern of widely dispersed individual houses owing to the jealousy of the Aith Waryaghar male about the honor of his womenfolk.

In addition, the fierce egalitarianism of the Aith Waryaghar has been greatly supported and underscored by their segmentary lineage structure, their clan and "five fifths" systems, and the high incidence among them of the bloodfeud, while at the same time underwriting a political system of organized acephaly, of a kind of "no-headedness," in which each council-member is at eternal loggerheads with his peers. And yet there is always an element of choice: if one is aligned, by virtue of one's birth, with one's agnates, one is also aligned, through *liff*, with one's affines, depending on just how exogamously one marries. The model presented by segmentation and that presented by *liff* alliance, for instance, are analytically in open conflict with each other; but the choice must be there so that the necessary hedging of one's bets can be made.

A third system, one that in some respects overrides and cuts across both the above, is the "five fifths" of the Aith Waryaghar and the ideology of that system, which provides for the equitable division of *haqq* fines for murder, when relevant, in a five-way split amongst the councillors or *imgharen* of each "fifth." This, the essence of traditional Aith Waryaghar politics, is the egalitarian keystone of the political system of organized acephaly. Every *amghar* gets an equal share after a tip has been given "off the top" to the presiding representative of the mediating Imrabdhen lineage, when the market *haqq* is collected. As with the councils of the Mafia; council business is conducted with grave decorum, and murders in the market beside which the council is deliberating receive savage retaliation. The market is or was an illusion of peace in what was otherwise, albeit on a small scale, a situation of total war, with the embers of burning houses a backdrop to the bitterness of those who, unable to pay the *haqq*, had to flee the tribe. The cultural emphasis placed, in Waryaghar society, on life in the hereafter as opposed to life on earth, in which armed conflict looms paramount, is characteristically Islamic and a reflection of how cheap human life is held to be.

In commenting on a paper that I gave on the Aith Waryaghar at a conference in Rabat,[10] Jean LeCoz remarked that the sociopolitical system of these people seemed to him a kind of caricature of the sociopolitical system of Morocco in general, an example of atomism taken to its logical extreme. I agree with his verdict, for within the context of tribe, "fifth," clan, *liff* or lineage, the principle of self-help is one of crucial importance; and for it to operate effectively, there must always be an element of choice present. In order to move this context a few rungs up the ladder from the local to the national level, we will only say here that in our experience no Moroccan is comfortable unless he feels that he has some range of choice when it comes to making any decision, great or small. This is an integral part of his cultural heritage. His allegiance to Islam may be unswerving, but it is not necessarily so to his own lineage-mates.

We observed earlier that labels such as "democracy" or "republicanism," on the one hand, and "anarchy," on the other, seem to us to be very inappropriate in the Rifian Berber, or indeed in any Berber, context. Even "oligarchy" is inaccurate simply because the notion of "government by the few" can hardly be made to apply to the *aitharbi'in*, no matter how mindful of his own self-interest each individual member of it may have been. To our way of thinking, "oligarchy" would imply that each council member was especially privileged, and much as though he himself might have liked this to be the case, it was not so. The councillor achieved his *amghar* status simply because he was tougher than his constituents. Similarly, on the other side of the ledger, it was not a case of "anarchy," or no government at all as the sanctions explicitly spelled out in the *qanuns* and the mere existence of the *aitharbi'in* itself make clear. No one would ever want to live under conditions of complete anarchy, and this was most certainly recognized by the Aith Waryaghar. Those who gained respect had the right to "govern"—or perhaps more appropriately, "advise"—in their own individual bailiwicks.

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[10] Hart, op. cit., 1965, in *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, No. 8, 1965 (special issue dedicated to *Douars et Centres Ruraux*), pp. 25–33. A recapitulation may also be found in my article "Conflicting Models of a Berber Tribal Structure in the Moroccan Rif: The Segmentary and Alliance Systems of the Aith Waryaghar," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, VII, 1, 1970, pp. 93–99.

There remain, however, the concepts of "republicanism" and "democracy" to be considered; and these are both perhaps more fundamental as well as more misleading. In a European or American connotation, the only "republic" in the Rif (and we here discard the notion of "*Ripublik*" which holds good only for the previous and long-lasting situation of organized acephaly) was the very short-lived one of 'Abd al-Krim; and this was by no means a "republic" as much as a provisional wartime measure to pay a certain lip-service to what its commander-in-chief regarded as the trappings of republicanism—since he admired Mustafa Kemal of Turkey. Such, at least, may have been 'Abd al-Krim's intention in the early days of the Rifian War; later he tightened up his control so as to centralize power in himself. Even though he proclaimed himself as "President of the Rifian Republican State" rather than as "Sultan of the Rif" (and there is a big difference between the two), his government was, quite naturally, a model in miniature of the Moroccan Makhzan, the only political model which he knew aside from that provided by his own *aitharbi'in*. What must not be forgotten about 'Abd al-Krim is that he was a product of the exigencies of a colonial situation, and that his reaction against this situation was very strong. It is precisely in this context that he represents a real break with Aith Waryaghar tradition, against which his reactions are manifestly those of a Salafiya-oriented reformer. This is natural, given his early training as a *qadi*, a judge of Muslim Law. In any event, "republicanism" can be seen to fail to correspond either to the traditional political system of the Aith Waryaghar or to any of 'Abd al-Krim's innovations.

Finally, and still more fundamentally, "democracy" is perhaps the most complete misnomer of all. There is little point here in reviewing the arguments of Robert Montagne and others with respect to the imposition of labels such as this one on Berber political systems in general. The labels themselves are European, and are hence descriptive of certain kind of European political forms in the Greco-Roman tradition. So also is "feudalism," which Montagne himself rightly showed to be also a misnomer. Montagne's analysis is correct in his demonstration of the oscillation in certain Berber groups, between a political system based upon organized acephaly (e.g., the traditional Aith Waryaghar system), on the one hand, and the rise to personal power of certain individual leaders (e.g., for present purposes, 'Abd al-Krim), on the other. These two political forms, plus the gradations between them, have both occurred in the Western Atlas region, as Montagne has made admirably clear. But whereas Montagne rightly rejects "feudalism," he does not reject, at least explicitly, the notion of "democratic Berber republics." European and American labels are, by definition, tailored to European and American contexts; they are not tailored to fit Islamic ones. The resemblances, to be sure, are there, in certain cases such as that of the Aith Waryaghar; but they are superficial. We now document this view.[11]

Egalitarianism and competition for land, women, power and prestige are sociocultural keynotes in Waryagharland—as indeed they are elsewhere. Everybody, or at least the politically participant majority, wants these things; but the egalitarianism of individuals and of segments or groups acts as the effective check on the power aspirations of one and all. In the all-out competition of rival *imgharen*, each one tends to cancel out his neighbor. This may be graphically illustrated by means I once employed while lecturing in Rabat on the subject of the Imjjat bloodfeud: I drew an elaborate genealogical diagram on the blackboard, and as the death of each person in that diagram was mentioned during the account of the feud, I would erase his name. By the end of the lecture hour, the blackboard was almost clean. This is a magnificent example both of egalitarianism and of ruthless competition in action; but could anything be further removed from the spirit of democracy? The shiftings of alliance, the treachery (conceived as "cunning," and sometimes extolled as such) involved, and the gunning-down of members of one's own agnatic lineage are hardly in the spirit of democracy as conceived, for example, by the Founding Fathers of the U.S.A.

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[11] The reference here is to Montagne's *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc*, 1930, and the political labels which he and other French scholars have misapplied to Berber political forms are also enthusiastically espoused by George Peter Murdock in *Africa: Its Peoples and Their Culture History*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959, pp. 111-124. The result is that a great deal of ink has been spilled in attempted explanations of Berber tribal politics in terms which are inappropriate.

But then is not modern American society itself, despite a rigid adherence, both in theory and in fact, to the Constitution, rather far removed from the intentions of these same Founding Fathers? Greater centralization of power, and of controls, social and otherwise, make it seem a far cry from any original "free" society where the oppressed of other nations might find homes and equal opportunities. If "Any American Can Become President," then most certainly any dhu-Waryaghar can become *amghar:* with the caveat that he must be stronger, more sure of his support both from his agnates and his affines, and be possessed of a consummate skill in hedging his bets and an equally consummate ruthlessness in eliminating his rivals. A successful *amghar* in Waryagharland, then, resembles nobody so much, perhaps, as a successful *capo mafiosi* of La Cosa Nostra. However, there is a difference in the relative conceptions of power of the two: for while Sicilians use power in an offensive sense, Aith Waryaghar do so defensively. Admittedly, too, the "scale" and techniques of the Aith Waryaghar *imgharen* were much more rudimentary than those of the Mafia today. And the mafia is far from anarchic, just as the Aith Waryaghar are, although its members may sometimes resort to means judged "anarchic" by the rest of the society in order to attain their ends. The parallel might be pushed a point further: the Aith Waryaghar sociopolitical system involved the whole of their society, in turn a very small subsegment of the wider Moroccan society, just as the Mafia, whether we like it or not, is also a self-contained, but widely discontinuous and reduplicated segment, in both Italian and, today, in our own society. Its relations with the wider national societies in both cases are generally ones of hostility, as those of the Aith Waryaghar with the wider Moroccan society have been; but each has its mediators and adjudicators "on tap," so to speak. One may also, historically, observe a certain ecological resemblance between Sicily, the point of origin of the Mafia, and the Jbil Hmam, the point of origin of the Aith Waryaghar. There seems no need here to dwell further on this analogy, although some interesting work could well be done in comparative studies of the bloodfeud around the Circum-Mediterranean area in general.

THE WINDS OF SOCIAL CHANGE, AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Social change is an inexorable process, and I point out here what I consider to be its most important structural aspect in Waryagharland: the decline of the agnatic lineage and the rise of the individual and of his *nubth*, or nuclear family, as the most meaningful and relevant social unit of the present day, one which sheds a new light on Blanco's astute remark about "*Es, pues, una sociedad turnante.*" The emergence of the nuclear family has not, however, happened overnight: it is safe to assume that it has its roots perhaps even well back into the "*Ripublik*" once the whole pattern of labor migration to Algeria had become formally established—and once it became an unspoken rule for lineage unity, the unity of the *dharfiqth*, to be broken up regularly through feud. The operative factor was, of course, the remittances which migrant laborers sent back to their families: in the early days of labor migration, it was no doubt the young worker's father who took charge of the money in the name of the lineage, particularly if the worker himself happened to be unmarried. But by the late 1940s and early 1950s, remittances were being sent back in the great majority of cases to workers' wives (and perhaps to their widowed mothers), and were delivered to them by their clan courier. If any single event provided the impetus which forced the nuclear family into the center of the stage, it was the drought of 1945, which made it apparent that every man had to fend for himself. There are, of course, proverbs which reflect this: *Mkur ijjen tswin-ines*, "To each his own," and *Mkur ijjen s-r-hsab-ines*, "Each man accounts to himself." The lineage is still held up as a model, and thus the structural parameters are still basically the same; but the emphasis is changing. Just as the Royal Gendarmerie (*jardamiya*), for example, have replaced the old *imgharen* and/or *shurfa* as law-enforcement authorities all over the new national Moroccan state, so too is the nuclear family beginning to take precedence over the agnatic lineage.

For example, during the "*Ripublik*," a representative of a lineage used to give a payment in barley to the *fqih* every year after the harvest, in the name of the lineage; today, each *nubth* or nuclear family sends him its own contribution, although the rotation within the community of nuclear families regarding the provision of the *fqih*'s dinner every night has always been the case.

As of the 1960's, too, there is no longer an informal lineage head (*aziddjif*) who tends to act for the lineage as a whole (although, of course, if the lineage were split through feud, there were always two such heads); each man now acts much more for himself and for his own nuclear family,[12] while his local community

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[12] It may be that in the Igzinnayen, the lineage framework is in some respects stronger today than it is in Waryagharland: it would seem that in their eyes, any agnate of a man who has committed a misdemeanor is liable for punishment, whereas in

has come to function as his "address."[13] There has, however, been no fall-off in such communal institutions as the *dhwiza*, in which all a man's lineage-mates, friends and neighbors help him for one day on a given task, in return for their food, or in the collective repair of irrigation ditches when washed out by rain—for these are things which may affect everybody. But there is equally no doubt that as the population of Waryagharland continues to increase, the nuclear family continues to emerge more and more as the viable socioeconomic unit, while the functions which the lineage once had begin to atrophy and upper-level segments such as clans and "fifths" come to be viewed even by the Aith Waryaghar themselves as essentially administrative units.

The Aith Waryaghar, however, have never once lost sight of their self-appointed position as spokesmen for the whole of the Rif (a position conceded them by their neighbors because of their strength in war, although not without misgivings); and it is they, more than any other tribe in the region, who stress the ideas of Rifian apartness, uniqueness, ethnocentrism, non-participation in national politics, and distrust and suspicion of outsiders. More than any other tribe, it is the Aith Waryaghar who are responsible for the conflicting images of the Rif and the Gharb: they are the Rifians who are most outspoken in their criticism of the Gharb and, conversely, it is the Aith Waryaghar whom the central administration (which to Rifians represents the Gharb *par excellence*) has in mind when its spokesmen refer to Rifians as "hard-headed recalcitrants." This schism between the Rif and the Gharb is merely symptomatic of the continuum of cleavages in a wider Moroccan society which is basically and fundamentally pluralistic. All segments of Moroccan society are highly aware that they form part of this wider society, but all, without exception, adhere to the pluralism which seems to be a central feature of the country's political life.

Finally, I turn briefly to the prospects for the future in Waryagharland, and here the split between the Rif and the Gharb is manifested more strongly than ever. After some seven or eight years' experience with the rural communes, an experience which has proven almost entirely negative, the Aith Waryaghar as of 1966–1967 have been faced with two problems directly related to the whole question of economic development, problems which will have serious and lasting results in terms of the legacy of social change which they are bound to leave in the region. We refer to the pine reforestation project in the Jbil Hmam, already underway in 1967 (after my fieldwork had been completed), and to plans, just nearing completion at the same time, for turning the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima into a gigantic sugar-cane plantation. Both of these projects fall in part under the purview of the United Nations-sponsored D.E.R.R.O. (Dévelopement Economique de la Région du Rif Occidental) and in part under that of the Moroccan Ministry of Agriculture.

The pine reforestation scheme began very quietly in the Jbil Hmam about 1961: the Department of Waters and Forests (a subdivision of the Ministry of Agriculture) was alarmed at how denuded of trees the region was, and evidently forced their parent ministry into allocating funds for the project. In 1966–1967, the whole project was suddenly greatly accelerated. By this time, almost all of the Aith ‘Arus subclan territory had been planted with pines, as had most of that of the Aith Turirth; and replanting was expected to begin very soon in the Timarzga. The Moroccan forest rangers or *gardes forestiers* all carry rifles and are empowered to shoot on sight anyone attempting to cut down the newly planted pines, which are not of the old Aleppo pine (*pinus halepensis*) variety which was once common in the region and which is still found in scattered clumps here and there; these pines are of a type entirely new to the area.

Late in 1966 certain Aith ‘Arus notables went to Rabat in order to protest against the reforestation program, but to no avail. Everyone in the region was unanimously against it, as it was causing them all to lose significant portions of their property; but they could do nothing about it. What had happened was that the program had cut into individually-owned plots of land on the mountains (which may or may not have been lying fallow), in which fig and almond trees, as well as grape vines, had once been planted.

There were over a thousand local workers on the project, and each man, as of 1967, was receiving DH. 2 (200 frs.) and 5 kg. of flour per day, from the "bureau" at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt; the funds evidently emanated directly from the Ministry of Agriculture. Those whose property had been taken over by the project, however, had received no compensation, and such property often included *afras* lands for the dry-farming of grain away from the houses (those in l-‘Ass, for example, were scheduled to be taken over in 1968), although the manured fields under irrigation near the houses themselves were safe. As of late 1967, Qubba Hammam was the only mountain in the Aith Turirth which the program had not yet appropriated. On the Adhrar n-Baghdad, each *jma‘th* had once had its own *afras* lands, and these had even

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present-day Waryagharland, only the actual perpetrator would be so liable.

[13] I am indebted to David Seddon for this simile.

been subdivided along lineage lines; but they were all taken over and no compensation had as yet been forthcoming. (The Axt Tuzin and the Igzinnayen were both scheduled for similar pine reforestation programs, but as of late 1967, these had not yet begun.)

The developmental project for the Middle and Lower Nkur Valleys, and for the whole Plain of al-Husaima, from Imnudh in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash down to the sea, was of quite a different sort: a sugar-cane plantation of some 2600 hectares (Map XII). However, the guidelines behind the project seemed to be very much the same: both the reforested areas in the Jbil Hmam and the new plantation in the Plain were, in the eyes of the Moroccan authorities, to be declared "domanial land." This purely French-inspired concept of land ownership (which had been introduced elsewhere in Morocco, but never before in the Rif) was to be supported by the military and by the arms of the new forest rangers. The scheme even included the hills immediately surrounding the plain. Of course, local Aith Waryaghar resistance to the idea was total, and even some of the administrative *qaids*, after fairly prolonged tours of duty in the Rif, were evidently coming to share the locals' point of view. The lower-level authorities, *shaikhs* and *mqaddims*, both in the Plain and in the Jbil Hmam, were resisting it to a man, and even though there were still no political parties in the al-Husaima Province (barring an insignificant minority of Istiqlal), the gulf between the top provincial authorities and the locals began to widen even more.

In the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, it seems that there was even an attempt to grow *kif*, fiercely combatted by the authorities.[14] The forest rangers always travel armed and in pairs, and the *laissez-faire* attitude of the Spanish about the cutting of *ghaba* or brushwood is a thing of the past. The project organized under the auspices of the D.E.R.R.O.-F.A.P. (U.N.) in the Lower Nkur had now to try to get to the root of the difficulties between the Aith Waryaghar and the provincial government, as well as to solve the engineering and other problems in a region where not only has there never been any notion of a "domanial land" (which has its roots not in the Shari'a, but in Roman Law), but where the water courses and the soil components both change invariably every hundred meters or so. It also was said that a dam was planned for the Nkur River at Imnudh and another one for the Lower Ghis River at some point above the bridge between Ajdir and Imzuren.[15]

In late 1967 it was not yet known what sort of compensation, if any, would be paid to the Aith Waryaghar for the conversion of their private holdings into domanial land, although one informant, at least, thought that their recompense as salaried plantation workers would be considerable. However, this is precisely the point: both in the Plain and in the Jbil Hmam, the very first to respond to the call of daily labor were the poorest, the *ikhammasen*, then the poorer of the ordinary tribesmen, and finally, almost everyone. What was happening, in effect, and with lightning rapidity, now that the process had begun, was that the Aith Waryaghar were being transformed from a tribe, with a concomitant highly self-respecting tribal ideology, into a rural proletariat, one which, when the transformation process is complete, will come to prove, in the author's view, both discontented and, potentially, highly explosive.

As Douglas Ashford has observed,[16] the initial benefits accruing through such a drastic form of social change are seldom distributed fairly; and this is precisely what the political process is all about. There is no doubt, either, that it would have been impossible to preserve the Rif and Waryagharland indefinitely, and even less so as an agricultural area, given its poverty. The current hope resides primarily in the remittances sent home by the small but growing number of Aith Waryaghar (and other Rifian) migrant laborers in Western Europe. The hope is not great because the number of these workers is but a drop in the bucket compared to the total tribal labor force. But it seems, at the moment, one way to stave off the eternally imperative dual problem of increasing poverty and increasing overpopulation (at 3.5% per annum), a problem which, in the last analysis, would seem to admit of no solution other than one engendered by a total cultural turnabout, one which might be less painful if the Aith Waryaghar and their neighbors were to have full access to properly "industrial" education and training.

Thus the future looks bleak indeed. The Rif is recognized at all levels as being, perhaps, Morocco's most underdeveloped region; and yet the prevailing sentiment among the Aith Waryaghar is not to get to work and develop it, but to get out of it and find better and more remunerative work elsewhere. We return again, therefore, to the ambiguous love-hate relationship between the Aith Waryaghar and their eroded, infertile and overcrowded terrain: they them-

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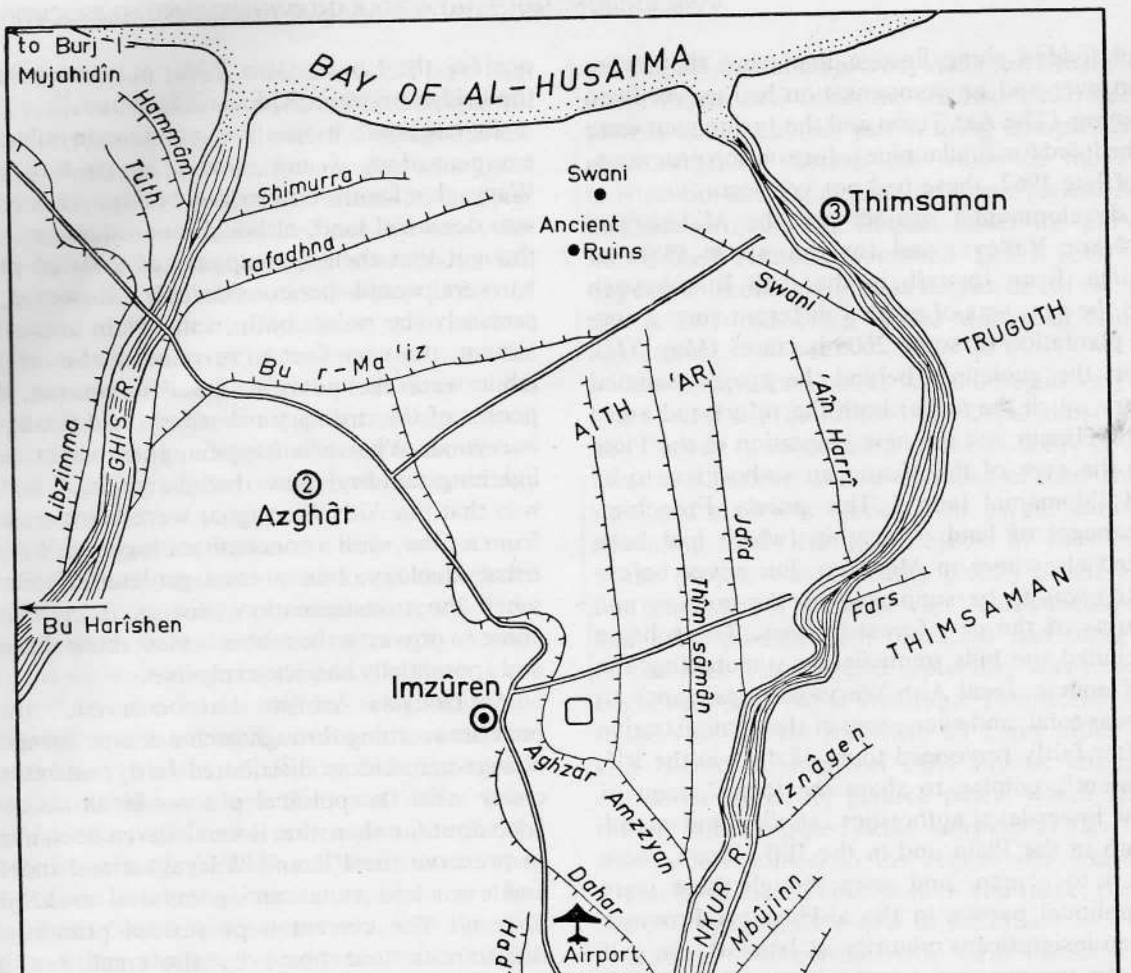
[14] For an excellent discussion of the problems, of all kinds, raised by *kif*-growing in the Sinhaja Srir at the present day, see the dramatic exposé of this subject by Gérard Maurer, "Les Paysans du Haut-Rif Central," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, 14, 1968, pp. 3-70, ref. esp. pp. 54-56. Significantly, the region which falls under Maurer's purview is even poorer than is Waryagharland.

[15] Rémy Leveau, oral information, 1967.

[16] Personal communication, 1969.


to Burj l-Mujahidîn
BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
Hammâm
Tith
Shimurra
Tafadhna
Swani
Ancient Ruins
③ Thimsaman
Swani
TRUGUTH
Bu r-Ma'iz
GHIS R.
Libzimma
AITH 'ARI
'Ain Harit
Thimsâmân
Fars
THIMSAMAN
② Azghâr
Bu Harîshen
Imzûren
Aghzar
Amzzyan
NKUR R.
Iznâgen
Dahar
Airport
Herraiz
Haddâd
'Ardh
Mbûjinn
Aith bu Ayyash
Ihûjûmen
Tûrrashth
u Zlân
Sundûg
Thanda Hâwâ
Sidi Barqi
Azru n-Srith
Sidi Hâjj Yûsif
Tafdbist
Aghbâr u-Yidir
LEGEND
△ Market
○ Women's market
□ Spanish Experimental Farm
2 Monday
3 Tuesday
0 1 2 3km

Map XII: Blanco Map 6 (1939)—Plain of Al-Husaima

See Key with Map VI, Chapter 10

selves are driven to fury by its unproductivity, but they do not want anyone else to usurp it from them. Thus development projects as currently conceived by the administration can only produce discontent, in the long run.

The writer yields to no one in his sympathy and liking, and even admiration and respect, for the Aith Waryaghar, who are certainly not everyone's "cup of tea"; but in order to come to any viable terms with modern Morocco and the modern world, they must restructure their basic attitudes. The long step, indeed the gap, between recalcitrance and cooperation will require a maximum adjustment. Whether the Aith Waryaghar can make this adjustment in response to the pressures they are under is not yet clear. But by the mid 1970's the massive acceleration of Rifian (including Aith Waryaghar) and general Moroccan labor migration in Europe, plus an ever-increasing adaptation to industrial civilization augured well for the future.

GLOSSARY

Those familiar with Semitic or Berber languages should recognize the way the glossary is arranged, but a note on this point may be helpful. In languages belonging to these families, the fundamental lexical unit is the triliteral consonantal root: thus, in Arabic, the root *k-t-b* has the basic meaning ‘‘to write’’; the addition of vowel infixes, as well as other possible prefixes or suffixes, make up the word. From *k-t-b* are formed *katib*, ‘‘scribe, clerk’’; *kitab*, ‘‘book’’; *kutub*, ‘‘books’’; *maktaba*, ‘‘library’’; *yiktib*, ‘‘he writes,’’ etc. There are many such affixes employed in the several classes of noun plurals, a matter much too complex to describe fully here. One very frequent device for pluralizing masculine forms in Rifian is a prefix *i-* with suffix *-n* attached to the base form. Many of the Glossary entries include the plurals, but it did not seem necessary to list all the plurals separately. Related forms in general may be identified or located by looking for the three key consonants or consonant clusters. If there are more than three such units in a word, the middle or last ones are most often the significant ones; initial *m-*, *y-*, *i-*, *ist-*, *t-*, *dh-* are frequent prefixes, and there is a large class of suffixes also.

Some items appear in the glossary which do not occur in the text; they are included here for the interest they may have to the specialist and as an addition to the little that has been published on the Rifian language.

Abbreviations used in the Glossary are: R., ‘‘Rifian’’; M.A., ‘‘Moroccan Arabic’’; L.A., ‘‘Literary Arabic’’; Adj., ‘‘adjective’’; Pl., ‘‘plural’’; Sing., ‘‘Singular’’; Fem., ‘‘Feminine’’; Masc., ‘‘Masculine’’; Fr., ‘‘French’’; Sp., ‘‘Spanish.’’

As mentioned in the *Note on Transliteration* at the beginning of this book, it has not been possible to use any special Arabic letters or diacritics. Therefore, the ‘*ain*, the distinctive voiced pharyngeal fricative, is represented by the ‘‘‘,’’ and words beginning with this consonant are listed in a section at the end of the glossary. Although the pharyngealized or ‘‘emphatic’’ consonants are not identified as such in their occurrences in the text, words with an emphatic consonant in word initial position are listed in a separate section for each such consonant: Arabic letters *Dad*, *Ha*, *Sad*, and *Ta*, the emphatics, as opposed to *dal*, *ha*, *sin*, and *ta*—not pharyngealized.

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It should be noted that Rifian nouns beginning or prefixed with *a-* in what might be called the ‘‘nominative’’ case take *u-* in what might equally be called the ‘‘genitive,’’ as objects of prepositions or in construct.

abarkan (R.): dark-complected (adj.).

abarudi (pl. *ibarudiyen:* M.A. *barudi*, *la‘b l-barud*) = literally ‘‘powder player,’’ two or four men who performed a war dance on foot, waving their rifles, and miming the maneuvers of battle: this was prior to the days of ‘Abd al-Krim. See also *ta‘yan r-barud*, the war dance.

abarrah (pl. *ibarrahen:* M.A. *barrah*): market-crier, a member of a despised, low-status, propertyless and endogamous occupational group (Including the *axiyyar* or market weigher) from the Axt Tuzin.

abarrani (pl. *ibarraniyen:* M.A. *barrani*): foreigner, stranger.

abbish (R.): breast. Occurs in derivative kin terms, as *uma-s zg-ubbish*, foster brother, and *utshma-s zg-ubbish*, foster sister.

abrid (pl. *ibriden:* R.): path, road.

abrur (R.): penis; *abrur awkthim* (R.), literally ‘‘male penis,’’ refers to impotence in a man, the only condition under which his wife may divorce him (*talaq* or *uruf;* see below).

addjun (R.): deep-toned tambourine.

adhfir (R.): snow.

adhrar (pl. *idhurar:* R.): mountain.

adhrib (pl. *idhriben:* M.A. *tlib*, ‘‘enemy’’): anyone fleeing the consequences of his actions in a bloodfeud, and fleeing to another clan or tribe, whether or not permanent residence in the new locality was established.

adhu (R.): wind.

adhuggwar (R.): affinal kinsman (term of reference for wife’s father, and term of both reference and address for wife’s brother); pl. *idhuwran* (r), affines (collectively); *dhadhuggwatsh* (R): wife’s mother, man speaking, term of reference only; see below.

afiddjah (pl. *ifiddjahen:* M.A. *fillah*): farmer, peasant, agriculturalist.

afqir (pl. *ifqiren:* M.A. *fqir*, pl. *fuqra*): member of any religious order (Darqawa, ‘Alawiyin, etc.).

afras (pl. *ifuras:* R.): dry-farmed field usually located at some distance from the owner’s house.

agharbi (pl. *igharbiyen:* R., from M.A. *gharb*, ‘‘west’’): any ‘‘South Zone’’ Moroccan Arab.

agharrabu (pl. *igharruba:* R.): rowboat used for fishing on Mediterranean coast.

aghrum (R.): bread.

aghzar (pl. *ighzran:* R.): major river (such as Ghis or Nkur)

agizzar (pl. *igizzaren:* M.A. *gizzar*): butcher, generally a member of the I'akkiyen subclan, generally also low in status and marrying endogamously.

agmir (pl. *igmiren:* R.): border, limit.

agraw (pl. *igrawn:* R.): meeting of clan or tribal council, and, specifically, the site (generally just off the market) where such a meeting is held.

agzmir (R.): lavender. (From the L.A. form of this term, *al-khuzama*, the name of al-Husaima is said to be derived.)

aharmush (pl. *iharmushen:* R.): boy.

aharraz (M.A. *harraz*): embroidered headband worn by unmarried girls.

ahidhar (R.): lame (nickname of 'Amar Uzzugwagh).

ahiyan (M.A. *hiyan*): a period in spring corresponding to about mid-March.

ahdhanast tmgharth (R., but from M.A. *hdiya*, "gift"): normal "giving" of a woman in marriage by one lineage to a member of another, for some particular reason or for some service rendered; in this case the bridewealth payment (*s-sdhaq*, see below) is only about half what it normally is.

ahimi (M.A. *himi*): a man of honor and shame.

Aith (R.): 1) masculine plural nomenclatural prefix meaning "people of" and followed either by the name of an individual or by that of a locality. It is a characteristic marker of many lineage names, most names of local communities, and almost all subclan (e.g., Aith Turirth), clan (e.g., Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and tribal (e.g., Aith Waryaghar) names. It refers collectively to the total population of the group in question, male and female. 2) *dhu-* (R.): masculine singular form of *aith*, above, and meaning "person (of)," in the same contexts (e.g., dhu-Turirth, dhu-Bu 'Ayyash, dhu-Waryaghar). 3) *Swith* (R.): feminine plural nomenclatural prefix, the counterpart of *aith*, above, meaning "females (of)," in the same contexts (e.g., Swith-Turirth, Swith-Bu 'Ayyash, Swith-Waryaghar). 4) *utsh* (R.): feminine singular form of *swith*, above, and meaning "female (of)" in the same contexts (e.g., utsh-Turirth, utsh-Bu 'Ayyash, utsh-Waryaghar).

aitharbi'in (a contraction of *aith* + *tharbi'in;* sing. *utharbi'in:* R.): the collective denomination for the body politic, the councillors or council members who attend the *agraw* or clan or tribal council, above. The literal meaning of the term is not "people of the forty," but "people of the people" (*dharbi'in*, sing. *dharbi'th*), and hence "representatives of the people."

aithbab n-taddarth (sing. *bab n-taddarth:* R.): literally "owners of the house," and may be used in this sense, but is also a circumlocution for *jnun* (see below).

aithbab w-ukhkham (sing. *bab w-ukhkham:* R.): literally "owners of the room," and may be used in this sense, but is also a circumlocution for *jnun* (see below).

aithma (sing. *uma; aith 'azizi, aith 'amumi, ibin'azizithen, dhabin'ammut* (R.): "brothers," in both the true and in the classificatory senses of the term: agnates, the agnatic members of a given lineage. The first term, *aithma*, stresses the implication that one's agnates are one's brothers, while the others stress the implications inherent in the agnatic lineage system; i.e., that one's agnates are equally the sons of one's father's brothers or paternal uncles (father's brother R. *'azizi*, M.A. *'ammi*)—thus the first are "people of the brother," and the rest are "people of the paternal uncle."

ajillikh (R.): person with chapped lips. (*Bu Jillikh* was the nickname of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh.)

ajibri (M.A. *Jibli*): Jibli, an Arabic speaking tribesman from the Jbala, to the west of the Rif.

ajidwil (M.A. *jidwil*): book in Arabic about the use of charms and amulets.

ajjit (R.): bank of a river.

ajinna (M.A. *jinna*): sky, heaven.

ajris (R.): ice.

akhaddam (pl. *ikhaddamen:* M.A. *khaddam*): worker, day-laborer, in Algeria as elsewhere.

akhammas (pl. *ikhammasen:* M.A. *khammas*); share cropper, the head of a poor household who works for a man who is better off for a full agricultural year in return for a fifth of the harvest.

akhkham (pl. *ikhkhamen:* R.): room of a house; *dhakhkhand* (pl. *dhikhkhamin:* R.) feminine and diminutive form of *akhkham*, above, with additional meaning, in Ajdir in the plain of al-Husaima, of "sublineage."

akhruf (R.): weeds springing up on a plot of land which must be cleared by burning in early autumn before rain starts and plowing begins.

akkuh (R.): lit. "younger, smaller," a descriptive adjective designating the younger of two members of the same lineage who bear the same name (e.g., Muh Akkuh as opposed to Muh).

akshudh (pl. *ikshudhen:* R.): wood.

aman (R.): water.

amarhun (M.A. *marhun*): hostage.

amarwas (pl. *imarwasen:* R.): debt.

amazigh (R.): 1) Berber, Rifian, although in last sense less commonly employed than *arifi* (see below). 2) *Imazighen* (R.): pl. of *amazigh*, above, although in the sense of "Rifian," less commonly employed than *irifiyen* (see below). 3) *dhamazighth* (R.): the Rifian language, referred to in M.A. as *shilha rifiya* or simply as *shilha*.

amdhyaz (pl. *imdhyazen:* R.): musician, hired for festive occasions, a member of a very low-status and largely propertyless and endogamous occupational group originating in the Axt Tuzin. The characteristic musical instrument played by the *amdhyaz* is the *zammar* (see below), and his other occupational specialization is the breeding of horses and donkeys in order to produce mules.

amdzzi (R.): thuya.

amhabus (M.A. *mahbus*): prisoner.

amghar (pl. *imgharen:* R.): literally "full grown, adult man." Refers primarily to councillor or council member of the clan or tribal *aitharbi'in* (see above) at the clan or tribal *agraw* (see above). Secondary meaning: an affinal kinship term of reference by which a married woman designates her husband's father.

amhadar (pl. *imhadaren:* M.A. *mhadri*, pl. *mhadra*): pupil, small boy undergoing Qur'anic instruction from the *fqih* (see below) at the mosque in his local community.

amhajar (pl. *imhajaren:* M.A. *mhajir*): literally "one who has migrated." Refers to a person who has become "naturalized" in any clan or tribe not his own, and who has taken up permanent residence there, for any reason, not simply because he may have been forced into exile as an *adhrib* (see above).

aminghi (pl. *iminghan:* R.): fight, brawl, battle. Also occurs as a verb, for example, in *Aith X minghan jirasen,* "The Aith X (people of X), feuded amongst each other."

aminsi (R.): lunch, dinner, meal.

amixsa (pl. *imixsawen:* R.): herdboy, goatherd.

amjahadh (pl. *imjahadhen:* M.A. *mjahid:* L.A. *mujahid*): fighter in the *jihad* or holy war against the Christians; refers in particular to anyone who has been killed in battle as a martyr for the faith of Islam.

amqqran (pl. *imqqranen:* R.): big, great, top, as in *amghar amqqran,* "top council member." The plural form *imqqranen* is synonymous with *imgharen,* and the singular may also be used to designate the elder of two members of the same lineage who bear the same name (e.g., Muh Amqqran as opposed to Muh Akkuh).

amrabit pl. *imrabdhen* (M.A. *mrabit,* pl. *mrabtin*): technically a holy man whose *baraka* (see below) or holiness is granted by God through performance of miracles or other good works, as opposed to *sharif:* holiness through achievement rather than ascription or descent from the Prophet. This distinction is given *de facto* recognition among the Aith Waryaghar, who nonetheless refer collectively to members of all holy lineages as *imrabdhen* (as they do to their own intrusive clan and "fifth" which bears that name), whether they are considered to possess the *baraka* or not—and in the case of the Waryaghar clan or "fifth" of the Imrabdhen, 90% of them do not, and are thus "lay holy" as opposed to "holy holy" lineages. The term can also refer to the tomb of the saint in question (see also *salih,* below).

amsasar (pl. *imsasaren:* R.): one who creates disturbances in the market (see *dhamsasitsh,* below).

amshart (M.A. *mshart,* "contracted"): the schoolmaster (*fqih:* see below) of the local community mosque.

amttin (R.): a dead person.

amxari (M.A. *mkari*): annually contracted boy or unmarried young man of all work who helps *akhammas* with agricultural tasks and is paid in food, some money and a little clothing.

amzaghar thigharya (R.): a malevolent female *jinn* (*dhajinnixth:* see *jnun* below).

amzir (pl. *imziren:* R.): a blacksmith, member of a very low-status and largely propertyless and endogamous occupational group originating in the Axt Tuzin; *dhamzitsh* (feminine of *amzir:* R.): wife or daughter of an *amzir,* above, considered a prostitute by the Aith Waryaghar.

amziw (R.): ogre.

amzugh (pl. *imzughen:* R.): ear.

amzzyan (pl. *imzzyanen:* R.): lit. "smaller, younger" (see *akkuh,* above, an adjective designating the younger of two members of the same lineage who bear the same name (e.g., Muh Amzzyan as opposed to Muh). Synonymous with *akkuh,* although more common in Igzinnayen usage than in that of Aith Waryaghar. In plural, form refers to "minors."

anibdhu (R.): summer.

anibji (pl. *inibjiwen:* R.): guest.

annar (pl. *inurar:* R.): threshing floor.

anqssar (R.): point where water is channelled off from an irrigation ditch in order to irrigate a field or plot of land.

antahar (or *ansrim*) (M.A. *tahara*): to circumcise.

anu (pl. *anuthen:* R.): well, natural well.

anzar (R.): rain.

aqansur (pl. *iqansuren:* R.): face; *bu dhnain iqansuren* (R.): two-faced person.

aqardash (pl. *iqardashan:* R.): wool-card.

aqarqash (pl. *iqarqashen:* R.): freckled person.

aqudhadh (pl. *iqudhadhen:* R.): short, short person.

aqubbani (M.A. *qubbani*): illiterate person.

aquwwadh (R.): pimp.

aquwwam (pl. *iquwwamen:* M.A. *quwwam* "expert, assessor"): specialist, as of the Spanish Protectorate, in the Customary Law of agriculture and irrigation.

arassaq (M.A. *rassaq*): tinker.

argaz (R.): man, husband; *dhargazt* (R.): manliness, courage, bravery.

arifi (pl. *irifiyen:* M.A. *rifi,* pl. *ru'afa* or *riyafa*): Rifian (man); *dharifith* (pl. *dhirifiyin:* M.A. *rifiya*): Rifian (woman).

arwa (R.): threshing: *isarwath* (R.): he threshes.

araddja (M.A. *lalla*): Primary meaning is "lady"; secondary meaning, a kinship term of address by which the speaker calls his father's wife or wives other than his own mother. In the plain of al-Husaima, it is also a term of address for older sister.

ardssas (M.A. *lsas*): foundations of a house.

arma (R.): grass located near water, especially good for sheep.

arwus (pl. *iruwsan:* R.): affinal kinship term of reference or address for husband's brother, married woman speaking; *dharwust* (pl. *dhiruwsin:* R.): affinal kinship term of reference or address for husband's brother's wife, married woman speaking, as two women who marry brothers are *dhiruwsin* to each other.

asardun (pl. *isardan:* R.): mule.

asibhan (R.): good, beautiful.

asrif (pl. *isrifen:* M.A. *slif*): affinal kinship term, of reference and address, for wife's sister's husband, man speaking, as two men who marry sisters are *isrifen* to each other; *dhasrifth* (M.A. *slif*): affinal kinship term, of reference and address, for wife's sister, man speaking.

asaghar (R.): plow.

asinnan (M.A. *sinn,* "tooth"); thistle, thorn.

asugwas (R.): year; *asugwas n-tfiddjahath* (R.): agricultural year (see *r-'am,* below).

asunduq (pl. *isunduqen:* M.A. *sunduq,* "box"): coffer or trunk containing all the clothing of a bride purchased by her father with the bridewealth (*sdhaq;* see below); it is loaded on a mule behind the one she herself rides to the groom's house on the third day of the marriage ritual (*dhamghra:* see below). Also the box located in Fez in which all Idrisid *shurfa* (see below) genealogies are kept.

ashbar (pl. *ishbrawen:* R.): bloodfeud pillbox of one to one and one half meters in height, formerly located by almost every house in Waryagharland, and equipped with loophole. Knocked down by order of 'Abd al-Krim, 1922.

ashkam (pl. *ishkamen:* M.A. *shkam*): tattle-tale.

ashrix (pl. *ishrixen:* M.A. *shrik*): business partner, or partner in any contractural relationship (*shirxth:* see below) involving either agriculture or animal husbandry.

ashuwwar (pl. *ishuwwaren:* M.A. *shuwwal,* eighth month of Muslim year): harvester.

atharras (pl. *yugdhan* or *midden,* "people": R.): person.

athimmun urum (R.): conical straw-stack put up on threshing floor by *akhammas* (see above) as fodder for animals, once the harvest has been brought in.

awardhi (pl. *iwardhan:* R.): visit paid by bride's parents to bride and groom seven days after consummation of marriage.

awkthim (pl. *yukthman:* R.): male.

awrith (pl. *iwrithen:* M.A. *warit*): heir, anyone eligible to inherit.

awssar (pl. *iwssura:* R.): old man.

awuqqaf (M.A. *wuqqaf*): overseer, foreman of workmen on French farms in Algeria.

awzir (pl. *iwziren:* M.A. *wazir*): literally "minister"; refers to a young man of either the bride's or groom's family who accompanies her or him during the course of the marriage ritual. As there are several such young men in each case, the plural form is that generally employed. *Dhawzirth* (pl. *dhiwzirin:* M.A. *wazira*), literally "female minister," refers to the female counterpart of *awzir,* as both the bride and groom have unmarried girls to accompany them as well.

axarxur (M.A. *karkur*): pile of stones, usually commemorating a place where a saint has stopped to rest or pray. Each passer-by is supposed to add a stone to the pile. *Dhaxarxurth* is the feminine and diminutive form (as in Dhaxarxurth n-Sidi Hand u-Musa, in l-'Ass of the Aith Turirth).

axiyyar (M.A. *kiyyal*): market weigher and measurer, a member of the same low-status, largely propertyless and endogamous occupational group originating from the Axt Tuzin as in the *abarrah* (see above), and may indeed be the same individual.

axniw (pl. *ixniwen:* R.): male twin; *dhixent* (pl. *dhixniwin:* R.): female twin: *dhratha ixniwen:* (R.): triplets, "three twins."

axsum (R.): meat.

ay-aralla-buya (R.): literally, "Oh Mother and Father," the traditional refrain sung and danced to by unmarried girls (and by *imdhyazen,* pl. of *amdhyaz:* see above) all over the Rif. This refrain is one of the most predominant cultural traits in the whole Rifian speech area.

ayarzim (R.): mattock.

ayyaw (pl. *ayyawen:* R.): kinship term of both address and reference designating, essentially, four basic categories of kin: 1) sister's child 2) father's sister's child 3) daughter's child and 4) son's child. The feminine equivalent is *dhayyawxth,* (pl. *dhayyawin:* R.): The existence of this kin term in the particular kinship categories it embraces changes the Rifian kinship system from "Normal Sudanese" to "Modified Omaha." See Chap. 8.

azarqan (M.A. *zraq*): blue-eyed.

azdhadh (R.): thin, skinny person.

azgin (pl. *izignawen:* R.): half. In the plural it refers to a contractual relationship in which two farmers pool all their resources for a year, divide the work equally, and split the harvest in half.

azgrar (R.): tall; tall person.

aziddjab (M.A. *jillab*): *jillaba,* characteristic male garment.

azigza (R.): green.

aziddjif (pl. *iziddjifen:* R.): 1) literally "head"; 2) refers also to the head man of a lineage and, in the plain of al-Husaima, to a member of the council of the local community; 3) In plural form, *iziddjifen,* the reference may also be to contractual relations regarding the herding of goats or cattle: i.e., A has a number of kids or heifers which he gives to B to pasture and care for, and, if they eventually produce young, these are divided in half, although during the period of guardianship B receives the milk and butter.

azimmur (R.): oleaster, wild olive tree.

azirmadh (R.): left, *bu zirmadh,* left-handed person.

azru (pl. *izra:* R.): stone, rock.

azwar (pl. *izuwran:* R.): literally "vein" but also may be used to refer to 1) a sublineage (see *jajgu,* below), and 2) metaphorically, a "penis."

azzugwagh (pl. *izzugwaghen*); red, red-headed.

a'affan (R.): bad.

a'aisawi (M.A. *'aisawi*): member of the 'Aisawa religious order, who is generally a snake charmer, a singer and dancer as well.

a'rab (pl. *i'raben:* R.): Arab.

a'ashshar (M.A. *'ashshar*): market ticket collector, considered to be extremely low on the social scale.

a'asib (pl. *i'asiben:* M.A. *'asib*): agnate.

a'zib (M.A. *'azib*): a second house belonging to an individual, usually in another local community; *a'azzab* (M.A. *'azzab*), a person who owns two houses and commutes between them.

a'azri (M.A. *'azri*): unmarried youth; *dha'azrith* (M.A. *'azriya*), unmarried girl.

B

baba (M.A. *baba*): father.

bandu (Sp. *bandera?*) flag.

(r-) baraka (M.A. *baraka*): literally "blessing," "benediction" (and by extension, as an exclamation, "enough!"), the ability to work miracles which is thought to be conferred by God upon whomever He chooses, but in practice is associated with only a selected handful of saints, whether of the *sharif* category (see below) or of that of the *imrabdhen* (sing. *amrabit;* see above). It is also the hallmark of that very special group of saints known as *awliya'* (sing. *wali;* see below), or *awliya'llah,* "saints of God."

barra (M.A. *barra*): outside.

battu (R.): division (e.g., of land or property); segmentation (è.g., of a tribe clan or lineage). *Bddan,* "they have divided (their property)," with reference to the members of a given lineage group; and conversely, *ur bddan shi* (or *ishrixen,* "companions," (R., or *munan,* "they come together") "they have not divided" (i.e., they have remained in a state of indivision).

(r-) baxur (M.A. *bakur*): June fig.

(r-) bhar (M.A. *bhar*): sea, ocean.

bit d-diyaf (M.A. *bit d-diyaf*): guestroom in a house.

bu (M.A. *bu*): nominal prefix denoting "possessor (of)," generally employed with reference to persons and their physical peculiarities or attributes (E.g., Bu Zit, "possessor, eater of olive oil," Bu Hmara, "one who rides a she-donkey"). Also, *bu dhnain iqansuren* (R.) two-faced person; *bu hbir* (M.A. *hbil,* "rope"), spirit; *bu ishtihan* (R.), liar; *bu mwarith* (M.A. *bu mwarith*) official who, as of Protectorate times, takes over property of anyone dying without heirs; *bu raqab* (pl. *aith bu raqab:* M.A. *raqba,* "responsibility, obligation"), killer; *bu shfar* (literally "possessor of flint"), flintlock gun; *bu siba' iziddjifen* (literally "possessor of seven heads"), a fabled seven-headed monster. The feminine equivalent is *mu* (M.A. *mu*).

(r-) bur (M.A. *bur*): dry-farming, as opposed to irrigation.

(r-) bushta (M.A. *busta,* "post"): the clan or tribal courier who took home to the Rif the pay packets of migrant laborers in Algeria, and who does so today for the newer migrant laborers in Western Europe, despite Moroccan customs restrictions.

D

(Arabic letter *dal*)

daqqaf (M.A.): type of love charm written by *fqih* (see below).

Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya (L.A.): the "Rifian Republican State" of 'Abd al-Krim (1921–1926)

da'ira (M.A. *da'ira*): Modern Moroccan administrative term for a "circle," e.g., *da'irat Ajdir* or *da'irat Bni Waryaghal* "administrative circle of the Bni Waryaghal."

ddjirth tamzzyand (R. "little night") 26 Ramadan; *ddjirth tamqqrand* (R. "big night"), 27 Ramadan, the "night of power" (when God sent the Qur'an down from Heaven to the Prophet Muhammad).

ddjwaru (also *sriwriw:* R.): ululation, voiced as *yuyuyuyuyuyu!,* by women, behind the scenes, at any festive occasion, in order to denote approval and applause.

ddjuh (M.A. *l-luh*): wooden slate on which a small boy studying in the local mosque (as an *amhadar:* see above) learns to write the Qur'an.

ddjyari (M.A. *l-lyali*): a period of forty days of extreme cold during the winter (*dhajjarsth:* see below), and polar opposite of the forty-day period of extreme heat (*smayim*) in the summer (*anibdhu:* see above), in the agricultural year (*asugwas n-tifiddjahath,* above, or *r-'Am,* below).

(d-) dfu' (M.A. *d-dfu'*); in Waryagharland, the first day of the three-day marriage ritual (also called *r-hanni amzzyan:* see below).

(d-) diyith (M.A. *diya*): bloodwealth, paid by a murderer to the agnates of his victim if they accepted it, and paid only after the proper overtures were made. (Acceptance of bloodwealth was rare in any case). Bloodwealth is said to have amounted to as much as 1200 duros Hasani in the Jbil Hmam, whereas in the plain of al-Husaima, it was said to have been very much less. The factors in assessment depended both upon the circumstances and upon local custom (*r- qa'ida:* see below), and the amount was therefore flexible. Bloodwealth was in any case greatly overshadowed in structural importance by the notion of *(r-) haqq,* the fine levied by the council-members for murder in the market (see below). For a woman, the bloodwealth was half that paid for a man.

(d-) dshar (pl. *r-udhshur:* M.A. *dshar*): literally "village," but in the Rifian and Aith Waryaghar context, generally a series of very scattered and dispersed homesteads constituting not a compact "village" but a "local community" (or "settlement").

duri (R.): generic term for any kind of contractual relationship between two individuals (*ishrixen:* see *ashrix* above) involving the working of land; but it also refers to the *imtharthen* (see below) or "thirds" variety.

dukkwar (M.A. *dukkar*): male fig tree and fruit of same.

d-dwa (M.A. *d-dwa*): medicine, of any sort.

Ḍ

(Arabic letter *Dad*—emphatic)

(d-) dahar (M.A. *dahar*): literally "back," a mountain with a considerable slope.

(d-) damin (M.A. *damin*): sponsor, guarantor of the behavior of a given individual, generally in the context of a bloodfeud in which the latter may be involved. He must be a member of a neutral lineage.

(d-) dimnith (pl. *dmani:* M.A. *dimna*): grainfield, usually dry-farmed, close to house, in the Aith 'Arus subclan of the Jbil Hmam, and in the plain of al-Husaima (in the Aith Turirth, *igar:* see below).

(d-) dra (M.A. *dra*): maize.

DH (*or TH*)

Note: Words beginning with *dh-* have initial *th-* when in construct.

dhabhiuth (R.): snare for partridges, placed on threshing floor (*annar:* see above).

dhaddarth (pl. *dhudhrin:* R.): house.

dhadhuggwatsh (pl. *dhidhuggwarin;* R.): affinal term of reference, man speaking, for wife's mother.

dhafantazith (Sp. *fantasia*): bravado, braggadocio.

dhafiddjahth (M.A. *filaha*): agriculture.

dhafrukhth (pl. *dhibrighin* or *dhivrighin;* R.): girl.

dhafruth (R.) snare for small birds.

dhaghrafth (R.): old-style woollen turban worn by men during the *Ripublik* and during the period of 'Abd al-Krim; sometimes also used as a rifle-case.

dhaghrasth (R.): beehive.

dhaghrith (R.): walking-stick (in the Plain of al-Husaima; *dhqabut* in the Jbil Hmam).

dhaghzwith (pl. *dhighza:* R.): vegetable-garden, always under irrigation.

dhaghimmarth (R.): hunting; *dhagimmarth nj-bhar* (lit. "hunting of the sea"), fishing; *agimmar* (pl. *igimmaren*), hunter.

dhagzirth (pl. *dhigzirin:* M.A. *jzira*): island.

dhahhatsh (R.): bier on which corpse is carried by mourners to cemetery (*imdhran:* see below).

dhahwit (R., or *r-hawdh,* pl. *r-hwadh:* M.A. *hawd*): 1) subdivision of a subplot of land (*dhathutsh:* see below) on an irrigation terrace (*dhaqqirat:* see below): also, any hole in that same plot in which vegetables are planted; 2) partridge nest.

dhahindixth (M.A. *hindiya*): cactus.

dhaidha (R.): pinetree.

dhaidhwarth (R.): women's outer garment.

dhainnurth (L.A. *tannura*): bread oven.

dhajjar (M.A. *hajjal*): widower.

dhajjatsh (M.A. *hajjala*): widow.

dhajjarsth (R.): winter.

dhajuttaith (M.A. *gittaya*): scalplock formerly worn by all Rifian men (and known as *dhamzurth* in the plain) and shaved off by order of 'Abd al-Krim.

dhakhammasth (pl. *dhikhammasin:* M.A. *khums*): literally "one-fifth" and refers equally to any one of the "five 'fifths' " or five maximal political units of the Aith Waryaghar (*khams khmas n-Aith Waryaghar;* or *khamsa n-dkhammasin n-Aith Waryaghar:* R.), although each of these last is more usually referred to as *(r-)-khums* (M.A. *khums*, as above).

dhakhkhand (pl. *dhikhkhamin:* R., employed only in Ajdir); 1) small room in a house (see *akhkham*, above); 2) sublineage.

dhamazighth (R.): the Rifian language; *amazigh* (pl. *imazighen:* see above): a Rifian, a Berber.

dhamgharth (pl. *dhimgharin*): woman, wife; kinship term of reference, woman speaking, for husband's mother.

dhamghra (R.): the ritual of marriage (refers to the whole three-day ceremonial and to the last day, when the bride is brought to the groom's house, in particular.)

dhamgra (R.): reaping, harvesting.

dhamjja (R.): reed flute.

dhamristh (R. M.A. *rhin*): see *(r-) rhin* (below).

dhamsasitsh (R.): the act of creating a disturbance in a market by attempting to fight, to draw a knife, or to fire a gun; in such a case the full market *haqq* or fine (see below) was generally paid. *Amsasar* (pl. *imsasaren:* R.): anyone who causes trouble in the market.

dhamsraith (pl. *dhimsrayin:* R.): thing.

dhamurth (pl. *dhimura:* R.): land, earth; *dhamurth nj-bur* (M.A. *bur*) dry-farmed land; *dhamurth w-aman*, land under irrigation; *dhamurth dhamssuxixth*, uncultivated land; *dhamurth nj-murk*, individually-owned land; *dhamurth nj-habus*, *habus* land; *dhamurth nj-jma'th* (or *r-mishra':* see below), common land.

dhamza (R.): ogress.

dhamzurth (Jbil Hmam: *dhajuttaith:* M.A. *gittaya:* see above): scalplock, formerly worn by all Rifian men, and shaved off by order of 'Abd al-Krim.

dhamzyidha (pl. *dhimzyidhawin:* L.A. *masjid;* M.A. *msid*): mosque; *dhamzyidha n-d-dshar*, local community mosque (for Qur'anic instruction); *dhamzyidha nj-khutbath* (M.A. *khutba*): congregational mosque where the Friday noonday sermon is delivered.

dhandint (M.A. *mdina*): city.

dhanutt (pl. *dhinudhin:* A.): affinal kinship term, both of reference and address, for husband's brother's wife, woman speaking. Wives of two brothers call each other *dhinudin*.

dhaqbitsh (pl. *dhiqbair;* Lowland *dhaqbitt:* M.A. *qbila*): tribe, the largest traditional political unit in the Rif, as in *dhaqbitsh n-Aith Waryaghar, dhaqbitsh n-Igzinnayen, dhaqbitsh n-Aith 'Ammarth, dhaqbitsh n-Ibuqquyen, dhaqbitsh n-Imsaman* or *dhaqbitsh n-Axt Tuzin.* (Even so, with Waryagharland as large and as heavily populated as it is, and also as a result of the Spanish administrative division of the tribal territory into three *qaidates*, highlanders may sometimes speak of lowlanders as *dhaqbitsh n-waddai*, "the lower tribe," and lowlanders of highlanders as *dhaqbitsh n-dara* or *n-innij*, "the upper tribe.")

dhaqqarsth (R.): sacrifice; *ighars khass* (R.): literally, "he has sacrificed to him," phrase employed when individual or lineage A sacrifices an animal (a goat, a cow or even a bull) to individual or lineage B as *'ar* (see below) in order to compel or shame someone into rendering assistance.

dhaqqirat (pl. *dhiqqiradhin:* R.): a plot of land forming a terrace, always under irrigation.

dhara (pl. *dhariwin:* R.): spring, where water seeps up from the ground.

dharfiqth (pl. *dharfiqin:* probably derived fr. L.A. root *r-f-q*, "to accompany," in the sense of "companions" "those who march and fight together," and hence "agnates," but also a possible metathesis of M.A. *farqa*, "division," e.g., of a tribe or clan): patrilineal or agnatic lineage, in which descent from a common ancestor in the patriline, (who may be anywhere from four to eight or even more generations removed from living members) can actually be traced genealogically (see also *jajgu*, below).

dharga (pl. *dhargiwin:* R.): irrigation ditch.

dhargazt (R. *argaz*, "man"): manliness, courage.

dharwa (pl. of *mimmi*, "son": R.): literally, "sons," "children"; *dharwa n-* "sons of," is always followed by the name of the ancestor of the speaker's patrilineage (or sublineage if he wishes to differentiate between the two). Examples: Dharwa n-Si 'Amar; Dharwa n-'Aisa Haddu; Dharwa n-Muh n-Misa'ud; Dharwa n-'Allush n-Bu Tahar.

dharwusth (pl. *dhiruwsin:* R.): affinal kinship term, of reference and address, for husband's sister (fem. of *arwus*, husband's brother (see above), woman speaking.

dharzifth (R.): visit of newly married couple to bride's father's house forty days after the consummation of the marriage.

dhasardunth imdhran (R): literally "the she-mule of the cemetery," a mythical animal who will appear to eat the grass growing on human graves when the world comes to an end.

dhasbutsh (M.A. *sbula*): long straight dagger, worn by all men until 1926 and the end of the Rifian War.

dhasgharth (pl. *dhisqqar:* R.): 1) part, share; 2) lot, when lots are drawn.

dhashrixth (M.A. *sharika, shrika*): 1) agricultural contract; 2) kinship term of reference for co-wife (see *dhaxna*, below).

dhasirth (R.): mill; *dhasirth ufus*, grain mill (located inside women's quarters of house); *dhasirth w-aman*, turbine water mill, individually owned; *dhasirth n-zitun*, olive grinder and oil press.

dhasrafth (pl. *dhisarfin:* R.): storage-pit for grain in courtyard of house.

dhasrighwa (R.): carob tree, sometimes of political significance as in *dhasrighwa n-Sidi Hmid*, the carob tree under which the council members sat every week during their meetings, (*igrawn*) just off the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt.

dhasrifth (M.A. *slifa*): affinal kinship term for wife's sister, husband speaking (see *asrif* above).

dhasrith (pl. *dhasriwin* or *dhisrath:* R.): 1) bride, 2) affinal kinship term for son's wife, man speaking; *dhasrith w-unzar* (R. literally "bride of the rain"; or *dhasrith w-ushshan* "bride of the Jackal"), rainbow.

dhathutsh (pl. *dhithura:* R.): subplot or irrigated land on a terrace; a subsegment of a *dhaqqirat* (see above).

dhatsa'ith (M.A. *tsa'iya*, from *ts'a*, *ts'awd*, "nine"): French Lebel Model 1886 repeating rifle, so called because it had a magazine clip of eight cartridges with a ninth carried in the chamber.

dhawarth (pl. *dhiwura:* R.): door, gate; *dhiwura ujinna* (literally "gates of the sky"), seasons of the year.

dhawarr (R.): right of ill-treated wife to flee to her father's house.

dhawkthind (pl. *yukthmin:* R.): female.

dhawmat (R.): agnation, patrilineal descent, brotherhood (see *uma*, below).

dhawssarth (pl. *dhiwssura*): old woman.

dhaxna (pl. *dhaxniwin:* R.): co-wife (see *dhixent*, below).

dhaxshifth (R.): iron trap generally set for jackals.

dhayarza (R.): plowing; *dhayarza dhaminzuith* (or *iminza*), early plowing period from beginning of rains in autumn to end of year, when grain and legumes are planted; *imuzaz* (M.A. *mazuzi*): late plowing period, from January through April, when vegetables, (and later, maize), are planted.

dhayra (R.): writing.

dhazarth (R.): figs (generic).

dhaza'butsh (M.A. *za'bula*): leatherscrip worn by men over their jillabas during the *Ripublik*, replaced during the Protectorate by a smaller one worn underneath the jillaba at belt level.

dhaziri (R.): or *yur* (R.): moon.

dhazttat (R.): protection money paid by a traveller going through land not belonging to his own tribe, to an *amghar* (see above) of the local tribe, who thus guaranteed to protect him. The only exception to payment of *dhazttat* was when a man from one tribe went to the market (*suq:* see below) of another.

dhazubaith (R.): manure pile, outside house.

dhazuhrith (M.A. *zahriya*): sorceress.

dhazzudh (R.): sowing (as opposed to plowing, *dhayarza;* see above)

dha'arurth (pl. *dhi'urar:* R.): hill.

dha'azrith (M.A. *'azriya*): unmarried girl (unmarried youth, *a'azri:* see above).

dhafarra (R.): bread shovel, with which to put a loaf of bread into an oven, or remove it.

dhfuith (R.): sun.

dhidjiff (R.): divorced woman.

dhifarsi (R.): intermittent cultivation of collectively owned land (*r-mishra'*; see below).

dhifsa (R.) spring (one of four major seasons of the year: *dhiwura ujinna*, above).

dhiggaz (R.): tattooing.

dhikhr (M.A. *dakhil*): inside.

dhikr (L.A. *dhikr*): litany recited by any member (*afqir:* see above) of a religious order (*tariqa;* see above).

dhimgga (R.): sorcery (M.A. *suhur:* see below).

dhimssi (R.): fire, bonfire, Hell.

dhin'ashin (R., possibly from M.A. *tn'ash*, "twelve"?): money.

dhiri (R.): shade.

dhishintith (M.A. *shinti*): rye.

dhisignifth (R.): needle.

dhiwxsi (R): gifts provided by guests (*anibji:* see above) at weddings, and destined for groom's father in order to help defray wedding expenses; also refers to the people who bring such gifts.

dhixent (pl. *dhixniwin:* R.): female twin (see *axniw:* above, and *dhaxna:* above).

dhiyuga (pl. *dhiyugawin:* Latin *yugum*, "yoke") the unit of plowing, i.e., a pair of animals and the plow (*asghar;* see above) considered as a unit; *dhiyuga n-tfunasin*, plow with a pair of cows; *dhiyuga n-ifunasen*, plow with a pair of bulls; *dhiyuga n-isardhan*, plow with a pair of mules.

dhizi (pl. *dhizwin:* R.): mountain pass.

dhizith (R.): mosquito.

dhi'arfiwin (R.): the two days before the great Feast (*r-'Aid Amqqran* or *'Aid l-Kbir:* see below). Known as *'Arafa Tamzzyand* and *'Arafa Tamqqrand*, Little and Big 'Arafa, when women visit saints' tombs, and when men, on the *'Arafa Tamqqrand*, visit the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar (see *l-'amara*, below).

dhqabut (R.): walking stick (*dhaghrith* in plain of al-Husaima, see above).

dhkhaddjis (M.A. *lkhallis*); literally "he pays," refers to the small fine levied for theft of livestock (which was infrequent).

dhrarsha (R.): fishing net.

dhsarsth (pl. *dhisuras:* R.): hollowed-out log or tree-trunk acting as a conductor of irrigation water over points where water would otherwise be lost.

dhsunda (pl. *dhisundawin:* R.): bank of wall of earth between plots and subplots of land on an irrigation terrace (*dhaqqirat:* see above).

dhu- (sing. of *aith:* R.: see above): "man of," followed by clan or tribal name; *dhu-Bu'Ayyash, dhu-Turirth, dhu-Waryaghar, dhu-'Ammarth, dhu-Thimsaman, dhu-Tuzin.*

dhudharth (R.): life.

dhukkwardha (R.): theft.

dhuru (R. or *r-khruq:* M.A. *khluq*): birth, childbirth.

dhwara (pl. *dhiwariwin:* R.): time, event; (as in "one time, two times, once upon a time").

dhwiza (pl. *dhiwizawin:* R.): working party organized by anyone who needs help with a particular job to be done (house building, harvesting, etc.). A system of mutual aid; workers are not paid but are fed by the man who has organized the *dhwiza*, which generally does not last longer than one day.

dhzaddjith (R., or *r-imin:* M.A. *l-yamin*): oath, generally taken on a Friday in the congregational mosque, on the Qur'an and in front of the *fqih*. Refers in particular to the collective oath, decollectivized and individualized by 'Abd al-Krim in 1922, in which the innocence of the accused was attested by a variable number of his agnates, acting as co-jurors. The number was determined by the gravity of the offense (six for lesser offenses such as theft, twelve for murder, and fifty for any issues involving men of different tribes). Perjury was considered punishable by God alone, usually in the form of death or blindness to the perjuror.

F

fadhis (R.): lentiscus.

familya (Sp. *familia*): "family," in the wide sense of agnatic and even uterine and affinal kin. Also used to mean "good family": *mmi-s n-familya*, "son of a good family."

farqa or *fariqa* (M.A. *farqa* or *fariqa*): administrative term employed by Spanish Protectorate to denote a "fraction" (e.g., clan or *r-rba':* see below), the largest political unit within a tribe, headed by a *shaikh* (see below).

fida'i (pl. *fida'iyin:* M.A.): urban Moroccan resistance fighter against the French (1953–55).

(r-)-fidhdharth (M.A. *fitra*): 2 Kg. of barley given by each household to the poor at the time of the 'Aid Amzzyan or 'Aid l-Kbir.

(r-)-fiddjahth (M.A. *filaha*): agriculture (*dhafiddjahth:* see above).

(r-)-fqih (pl. *t-turba:* M.A. *fqih*): Qur'an schoolmaster;

r-fqih imhadaren, schoolmaster who teaches the Qur'an to small boys in the mosque of the local community; *r-fqih nj-khutbath,* the preceptor at the larger Friday congregational mosque, who delivers the Friday noonday sermon.

fqir (R. *afqir:* see above)

fran (L.A. *fulan,* M.A. *flan*): "someone," "anyone," "x."

fus (R.): hand, handle (of plow or quern etc.): *fus usugwas* (R.): literally "hand of the year," is M.A. *haguz* (see below), New Year's Day by the agricultural calendar (*r-'am:* see below).

GH

(r-) ghabth (M.A. *ghaba*): brushwood, thickets, *maquis, matorral.*

(r-) ghars (pl. *r-ghrus:* M. A. *gharsa,* "garden, orchard"): fig trees (collective).

(r-) ghramth (M.A. *gharama*): personal gift of money made at weddings, by female guests to bride and by male guests to groom; refers particularly to money tossed into groom's lap as he sits motionless in courtyard, with hood of his jillaba pulled up, on third night of marriage ceremony.

(r-) ghwarfth (M.A. *ghurfa*): second story of a house.

H

(Arabic letter *ha*)

(r-) hdiyith (M.A. *hdiya*): gift; refers particularly to gifts made in kind (rather than in money) by wedding guests.

(r-) himath (M.A. *hima*): honor.

H

(Arabic letter *Ha*—emphatic)

(r-) habus (M.A. *habus*): religious or pious foundation; *dhamurth nj-habus,* the inalienable property belonging to such a foundation.

(r-) hadhida (M.A. *hadida*): billhook, pruning-hook, often employed as a weapon.

(r-) haguz (M.A. *haguz*): New Year's Day as reckoned according to the agricultural calendar (see above, *fus usugwas*).

(r-) Hajj (M.A. *hajj*): the title or honorific of a man who has made the pilgrimage (*r-hajj:* see below) to Mecca.

(r-) hanni (M.A. *hinna*): henna, manure; *r-hanni amzzyan* (R., or *dfu':* see above), the first of the three nights of the marriage ritual, the "little henna"; *r-hanni amqqran* (R.), the second of the three nights of the marriage ritual, the "big henna."

(r-) hantit (M.A. *hantit*): colocynth, used to arrest pregnancies and produce "sleeping children" (*itsudhas* or *ittas dhags:* see below).

r-harha (*n-dmurth:* R.): landslide.

(r-) haqq (M.A. *haqq,* "right, truth, reason"): the fine paid by a murderer to the assembled councilmembers (*imgharen:* see above) if he had committed murder in the market (*suq:* see below) or on any path leading to or from it, thus breaking the peace of the market. The *haqq* was assessed at 1000 duros Hasani for any killing perpetrated on a market path, and was doubled to 2000 duros Hasani if the killing took place in the market itself. Inability to pay resulted in the killer's exile as an *adhrib* (see above) and in the burning of his house and property by the council members. The *haqq* is in no way to be confused with the *diyith* (see above) which was (if paid at all) destined for the agnates of the victim; to the contrary, it was always divided up proportionately among the *imgharen* of the constituent subclans and clans who regularly attended the market in question; and thus most *haqq* payments were of the type known as *r-haqq nj-suq* or "market fine." A full-scale tribal *haqq,* however, *r-haqq n-tqbitsh,* was levied at the centrally located Sunday Market of Thisar in case of any event grave enough to warrant it (such as a killing involving a man of another tribe); and in this case payment or reception of the fine was shared equally by the "five 'fifths'" of the Aith Waryaghar (*khams khmas n-Aith Waryaghar,* or *khamsa n-dkhammasin n-Aith Waryaghar:* see below and above).

(r-) harxth (pl. *r-harxath:* M.A. *harka,* "expedition, operation"): war-party, generally organized to pillage and burn the lands of another tribe. The term achieved particular vogue during the Rifian War of 1921–1926, when *harkas* were all organized on a tribal basis against the Spanish and French. A general mobilization was referred to as *harka l-hadsayim* (M.A.) a *harka* consisting of all those old enough to fast during Ramadan (*ar-Rindan:* see below).

(r-) harz (M.A. *hirz*): charm, amulet, and in particular a charm consisting of a Qur'anic verse written by a *fqih* and worn by its possessor in a small leather pouch.

(r-) hashuma (M.A. *hashuma*): shame, the possession of which is considered almost a "national" Moroccan virtue (a most common M.A. expression is *hashuma 'alaik,* "shame on you!," serving a a sharp reminder of this; and see *r-hya,* below).

(r-) hawdh (pl. *r-hwadh:* M.A. *hawd*): subdivision of a subplot of land (*dhatutsh:* see above) on an irrigation terrace (*dhaqqirat:* see above) as well as any hole in the plot in which vegetables are planted: synonymous with *dhahwit* (see above) except that it does not have the secondary meaning of "partridge nest."

(r-) hawmth (M.A. *hawma:* "ward, quarter of a town or city"): that territory within a local community (*dshar,* see above) which is occupied by the houses and fields (almost always dispersed) of the members of a single lineage-group (*dharfiqth:* see above) and which, during the Spanish Protectorate, was headed by a *m'awin* (see below).

(r-) hdud (M.A. *hdud,* sing. *hadd*); boundaries between plots of land or fields.

(r-) hila (M.A. *hila*): craftiness, cunning, trickery.

(r-) hijj (M.A. *hijj*): the pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the "five pillars" of Islam (*qawa'id l-Islam:* see below): *(r-) Hajj* (M.A. *l-Hajj*), the title given any man who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

(r-) hisb (pl. *r-haisib:* M.A. *hizb,* pl. *ahzab*): a sixtieth part of the Qur'an. In the modern M.A. context, the word also means "political party."

(r-) hkam (*n-'Abd r-Krim:* R.): the standard Rifian designation for the "government of 'Abd al-Krim," for that period in Rifian history, 1921–1926, when 'Abd al-Krim occupied the center of the Rifian stage. (One could equally

refer to *r-hkam n-Mulay l-Hasan, r-hkam n-Bu Hmara,* etc.)

hram (L.A. *haram*): that which in Islam, is forbidden and proscribed.

(r-) hraq (M.A. *halq*, "throat"): uvula.

hrar (L.A. *halal*): that which, in Islam, is lawful and prescribed.

(r-) huffad (M.A. *huffad*): the personal bodyguard (50 members, all Aith Waryaghar, of the Regular Rifian Army) of 'Abd al-Krim.

(r-) hukm (M.A. *hukm*): judgement, sentence.

(r-) hurm (M.A. *hurm*): sacred place, sanctury, place of asylum; refers in particular to the land surrounding or within a certain radius of a mosque (*dhamzyidha:* see above) or a saint's tomb (*amrabit:* see above, or *salih:* see below), and within this radius, for example, no trees may be cut down.

(r-) hurma (M.A. *hurma*): respect, particularly as exemplified in *r-hurma n-tmgharin*, the respect (amounting to avoidance) due to all women save one's own.

(r-) huzn (M.A. *huzn*): mourning.

(r-) hya (M.A. *hya*): shame, decency, an epitome of what constitutes "good behavior" in the Rif and in Morocco generally; virtually synonymous with *r-hashuma* (see above).

I

I—n (R.): the usual masculine nominal and adjectival plural prefix plus suffix, often used to denote the names of agnatic lineages by encompassing the name of the lineage ancestor: *I'allushen,* "the descendants of 'Allush" (a term by which lowlanders refer to "unsophisticated" highlanders); *Isi'arithen,* "the descendants of Si 'Ari"; *Ihadduthen,* "the descendants of Haddu"; while *Imhanddawuden,* "the descendants of Mhand u-Dawud" (an example for the Aith 'Ammarth) is perhaps an extreme case in which two names are incorporated. Equally, this form may apply to lineages showing complementary filiation: *Iminnushen,* "the descendants of Minnush" (a term by which highlanders contemptuously refer to lowlanders, implying that they are "cowards" descended from a woman); or *Ifattumathen,* "the descendants of Fattuma."

idhuwran (R.): affinal kinsmen, kinsmen by marriage (collectively); see *adhuggwar* and *dhadhuggwatsh,* above.

idhwiren (sing. *adhwir:* R.): a very common agricultural association between two men (not a contractual relationship) for purposes of work only: *idhwiren nj-khudhmath.* It is purely a matter of mutual aid through pooling of animal resources for plowing and threshing, as each man reaps his own harvest.

idjiff (R.): man who has divorced his wife.

ifuras (sing. *afras:* R.): Dry-farmed fields located away from the house.

igar (pl. *igran:* R.): grainfield located near house.

ighars khass (R.): literally, "he has sacrificed to him," phrase employed when individual or lineage A sacrifices an animal (such as a goat, a cow or even a bull) to Individual or Lineage B as *'ar* (see below). (See *dhaqqarsth,* "sacrifice," above).

ighs (pl. *ikhsan:* R.): bone; the term does not refer to "agnatic lineage" as in other Berber languages.

iharkusen (R.): babouches or Arab slippers; shoes of any kind.

ihazzith babas (R.): literally "his father has disowned him": disinheritance by a father of a son.

ihdha khass tmgharth (R.): the actual giving of a woman by one lineage as wife to someone in another with no bridewealth (*s-sdhaq:* see below) paid, and as *sadaqa* (see below); this is extremely rare.

ijj, ijj n- (R.): an, one (masculine indefinite article; feminine indefinite article *isht, isht n-*). Usage of each depends on whether noun modified begins with consonant (*ijj n-* or *isht n-*) or vowel (*ijj, isht*).

ikharwidhen (R.): imbroglio, trouble, difficulty (c.f., Spanish *follon*).

imdhran (sing. *andar,* "grave": R.): cemetery.

(r-) imin (M.A. *l-yamin* or R. *dhzaddjith:* see above); oath; in particular the former collective oath taken by the accused with his agnates as co-jurors, on a Friday in the mosque and on the Qur'an, as described under *dhzaddjith* (see above); *yuxshin r-imin* (literally "those who give oath"), co-juring agnates.

imindhi (R.): barley.

iminza (R., or *dhayarza dhaminzwith:* see above): early plowing period for beginning of autumn rains to the end of the year, when grains and legumes are planted.

imrix (R.): married (fem. *dhimrix*) as opposed to single (*a'azri;* fem. *dha'azrith,* see above).

imsa'i (pl. *imsa'an:* R.): poor, poverty-stricken.

imshuyar (R.): final period of plowing and sowing, overlapping and end of winter (*dhajjarsth:* see above) and spring (*dhifsa:* see above).

imsuqen (sing. *amsuq:* R.): the regular constituents of a given market (*suq:* see below); those who normally attend it.

imtharthen (M.A. *tulut,* "one-third"): contractual agricultural relationship in which one participant supplies two-thirds of the necessary elements (as, for example, land and seed) and the other supplies the work. This modality of contractual relationship is not common.

imuzaz (M.A. *mazuzi:* see above): late plowing period, from January through April, when vegetables (and, later, maize) are planted.

imwardhas (R.) carrion; ritually inedible.

(r-) insaf (L.A. *insaf,* "justice, equity"): fine for murder in the market, in the Thimsaman and the Axt Tuzin, and paid by the murderer to the council members (*imgharen,* sing. *amghar;* see above). Synonymous with *(r-) haqq* (see above) in Waryagharland, and in the Ibuqquyen, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen.

iqta' (L.A.): fief, fee, feudal estate.

irmawen nj-'Aid (R.): the skins of rams or billygoats sacrificed during the 'Aid Amqqran or 'Aid l-Kbir (see below, collected and donated to the poor (*imsa'an:* see above).

ishtihan (R.): lie; *bu ishtihan,* liar.

isigni (pl. *isignai:* R.): large wooden needle employed solely to sew up shroud, (*r-ixfin;* see below) of dead person.

ismagh (pl. *isimghan*): black, and formerly, slave (feminine *dhismakhth,* pl. *dhisimghin*). The only blacks in Waryagharland are the clients and former slaves of two lineages in Ajdir, in the Plain of Al-Husaima, and they are entirely endogamous.

istihurm (R. but derived from L.A.): an exiled murderer (*adhrib;* see above) who has sought and obtained the protection of the wife of an important *amghar* (see above), in the clan or tribe to which he has fled, through the act of placing his hand upon the handmill or quern (*dhasirth ufus:* see above) which is her exclusive property.

Istiqlal (L.A.; M.A.): independence, which came to Morocco in 1956; also the name of the then prevailing political party in the country.

isti'mar (L.A.: M.A.): colonialism, the term generally employed by all Moroccans in retrospect to refer to the French and Spanish protectorates.

iswas g-ufus-ines (R.): literally: "he drank from his hand": a token of trust between two individuals who were not previously on good terms; passing a spring, one would offer water to the other from his cupped hands. This was a form of *(r-) 'ahd* (see below).

isahh (M.A. *sahha*): fat, healthy person.

ithran (R.): stars.

itish (pl. *itishen:* R.) homosexual.

itsudhas (R. or *ittas dhags:* R.): literally "he is sleeping" or "he has sleep": the notion of the "sleeping child," the long-term arrested pregnancy which, although conceded a five-year (or seven-year) limit by the *Shari'a* (see below), is often claimed by barren women or women of ill-repute, locally, as a means of being "one up" on those who have children.

iwrithen (M.A. *warata*): heirs (collective: see sing. *awrith*, above).

(r-) ixfin (M.A. *kfin*): shroud.

ixniwen (sing. *axniw:* see above: R.): male twins or twins, one boy and one girl; *dhratha ixniwen* (R.): triplets. *dhixniwin* (sing. *dhixent:* R.): female twins; *dhaxniwin dhaxna;* R.); co-wives (see above, and see also *dhishrixin*, sing. *dhashrixth*, above).

(r-) iyyam n-dyarza (R.): literally "days of plowing (and sowing)," the standard unit of measurement of a man's property in grain fields, expressed as a unit of time: 3 days, 10 days, 15 days, 50 days.

(r-) iyyam n-d'arrasth (R.): literally "days of gardening," the standard unit of measurement of a man's property in vegetable gardens and orchards, expressed as a unit of time: one day; two days; five days; and always very much less in time and quantity than the grainfields, above.

izan (sing. *izi:* R.): flies.

izignawen (sing. *azgin:* R.): literally "halves," contractual relationship in agriculture in which one participant provides half the necessary elements (i.e., one animal for plowing, half the seed, half the manure and half the work), and the other supplies the other half. In such a case, the harvest of each is then divided in half. Or, a variation on the same theme: one participant supplies the land and half the seed, and the other provides the plow and animals (a unit: *dhiyuga;* see above), the other half of the seed, and does the work. Again, the harvest is split in half. Furthermore, if two men owning more or less equal amounts of land pool their resources and work together, the same obtains. But it is far less common than the system of *idhwiren* (see above) or the *akhammas* system (see above), in which the plowman receives a fifth of the harvest.

izri (pl. *izran:* R.): rhymed couplets sung by unmarried girls (and by *imdhyazen*, sing. *amdhyaz:* see above) in conjunction with their dancing at marriage and circumcision rituals, and in alternation with the refrain of *ayaralla-buya* (see above).

J

jajgu (pl. *ijujga:* R.): sublineage, branch of an agnatic lineage (*dharfiqth:* see above). In this context, Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh is a *dharfiqth*, but Dharwa n-'Amar Uzzugwagh is a *jajgu*. A *jajgu* is thus that branch of any patrilineage descended from any one of the sons of the founder-ancestor (or apex of the lineage in question), to whom ascent can always be genealogically traced. In the example given above, the whole agnatic lineage or *dharfiqth* (one which in this case had "scissioned-off" from a parent lineage) is "sons of the Fqir Azzugwagh," and, one of its agnatic sublineages or *ijujga*, descended from the Fqir's eldest son 'Amar, is "sons of 'Amar Uzzugwagh." Others, of course, are Dharwa n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh and Dharwa n-Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh, "sons of Mzzyan Uzzugwagh" and "sons of Muh Akkuh Uzzugwagh," respectively.

jama'at al-qarawiya (L.A.; M.A.: *jma'a l-qarawiya*): "rural commune," as conceived in 1958–59 by the Independent Moroccan Administration to replace the tribal "fraction" (*farqa:* see above).

jari (pl. *jwari:* M.A. *jari*): headman of local community (*dshar:* see above), a term in Arabic created by the Spanish Protectorate administration only in Waryagharland. The term did not survive after independence, when the jari became a *mqaddim* (see below).

(-r-) jdud (sing. *jiddi:* M.A. *jdud*): grandfathers, ancestors (either in the patriline or in the matriline, though the former is almost always meant); the term can also refer to genealogy (of a lay lineage as opposed to a holy one).

jij (pl. *ijajjen:* R.): 1) wall-peg on which to hang clothes; 2) penis (figuratively); 3) sublineage or lineage branch (in the Aith 'Ammarth and the Igzinnayen, and thus in this sense synonymous with Aith Waryaghar *jajgu:* see above).

jish (gish) r-rifi (M.A. *gish r-rifi*): the Rifian Army of Occupation installed as garrison in Tangier by Mulay Isma'il after the British evacuation of the city in 1684.

jish t-tahrir (M.A. *jish t-tahrir*): the Moroccan Army of Liberation, 1955–1956.

jma'th (pl. *jma'ath:* M.A. *jma'a*): literally "collectivity": refers collectively to all the adult male inhabitants of a given local community (*dshar:* see above): it is not employed in the accepted M.A. sense of "council," being given a far more inclusive application in Waryagharland.

jnun (sing. *jinn*, M.A. *jnun*): jinns, invisible beings or "spirits" created by God prior to His creation of mankind. Servants of Shaitan, the Devil (see below), they are thus inherently malevolent to man, and must therefore be placated in certain ways. They come in all sizes and shapes, and theoretically all men and animals have their "opposite numbers" in the world of *jnun*. The *jnun* love blood and water, and hate metal and salt.

jubb (M.A. *jubb*): cistern, or well covered over with cement.

K

katib (R. *aktatbi*): as of Spanish Protectorate, secretary (local and Rifian, but literate in Arabic) at any post of tribal control (Sp. *oficina*, Fr. *bureau.*)

kbir mhalla (R. *amqqran nu-mhaddjith*): a top commander of 'Abd al-Krim's "irregular soldiery"; a commander of the combined *harka* (see above) levies of several tribes, and always a dhu-Waryaghar in 'Abd al-Krim's confidence.

kif (M.A. *kif*): *Cannabis sativa*, a narcotic seldom used in the Rif, but current in the Jbala.

kif-kif (M.A.): literally "same-same" (as many English-speaking Moroccans translate it), a standard term with many nuances: "Same thing, all the same to me." (The proper R. equivalent is *anisht*, and another M.A. one is *fhal-fhal*).

(r-) kighadh (pl. *r-kwaghadh:* M.A. *kaghit*): paper, document of any kind.

(r-)klata (pl. *r-klayit:* M.A. *klata*): gun (generic).

(r-)ktayin (probably M.A.): a circumlocution employed for the number "nine" (normally R. *ts'a*, M.A. *tsa'ud*) when grain is measured at harvest time. It is also employed in the same way for any number utilizing nine: 19,29,39, etc.

(r-)kwarfi (Fr. *corvée*): a forced-labor or work party, without pay; in Protectorate times a tribal *qaid* (see below) could command such a group.

KH

(r-)khiyar (M.A. *khiyar*): 1) malevolent supernatural being, akin to a jinn (see above); 2) cucumber.

(r-)khdhubith (probably M.A.): betrothal, the period from when the father of the prospective groom approaches the father of the prospective bride with presents, and formally puts the question to him (always granted acceptance), until the marriage ceremony actually takes place.

(r-)khraq (M.A. *khluq;* or *dhuru;* R.): birth, childbirth.

(r-)khrif (M.A. *khrif*): autumn.

(r-)khudhmath (M.A. *khudma*): work; *r-khudhmath n-jwani* (*jwani*=Fr. *journée*), day labor, as performed in gardens, orchards etc., Rifian workers in Algeria; *r-khudmath n-latash* (*latash*=Fr. *la tâche*), work done by the job (construction, railroad, etc. work), as performed by Rifian laborers in Algeria.

(r-)khums (M.A. *khums*; or *dhakhammasth*, pl. *dhikhammasin:* R.): fifth, one-fifth (see *dhakhammasth*, above). The term refers equally to any one of the "five 'fifths'" or five maximal political units of the Aith Waryaghar, e.g., *khams khmas n-Aith Waryaghar:* R.) See *dhakhammasth*, above, for further comment.

(r-)khutbath (M.A. *khutba*): sermon, almost entirely of a Qur'anic character and based upon Qur'anic principles, preached by the *fqih* (see above) at the noon prayer in the Friday or congregational mosque.

khwari (R.: M.A. *khwali*): matrilineal and matrilateral kin (collective); sing. *khari* (M.A. *khali*), kinship term of reference and address for mother's brother.

L

Lalla (M.A. *lalla*): title, honorific and mode of address for a *sharifa*, a female descendant of the Prophet, with R. cognate *araddja* (see above).

langri (Fr. *l'engrais*): fertilizer.

lata (pl. *latath*, Sp. *lata*): unit of measure, especially for barley, equalling 14 Kg. in Spanish Protectorate times and 13 Kg. after independence. (Four *latath* equal one *mudd* (pl. *mdud:* M.A.) or 52 Kg. (formerly 56 Kg.).

liff (pl. *lfuf:* M.A. *liff*, L.A. *laff*, literally "wrapping, involvement"): alliance between social or political units at any level, from that of the individual or nuclear family, virtually, to that of the tribe, an alliance which is more than capable of breaking the bonds created by the segmentary system. Terminologically, Aith Waryaghar distinguish only between *liff n-dhikhr* (M.A. *liff d-dakhil*), "inside alliance," and *liff n-barra* (M.A. *liff dyal-barra*), "outside alliance." The former is of the internal, highly changeable variety which generally occurred either within or amongst the lineages (*dharfiqin* or *ijujga:* see above) of a single clan (*r-rba';* see below), or within a single "fifth (*khums* or *dhakhammasth;* see above); while the latter is of the more external and permanent variety which ranged all the clans or "fifths" of a tribe (*dhaqbitsh:* see above) against each other, and also generally involved bordering clans of neighboring tribes.

M

mahkama (M.A. *mahkama*): in Protectorate times, tribunal held either by a *qaid* (see below) or by a *qadi* (see below) every week in the market, in order to judge and assess legal or extralegal cases which have come up during the week.

makhzan (M.A. *makhzan*): government, referring both to that of Morocco in pre-Protectorate times, and under the Protectorate.

mala'ika (M.A. *mala'ika*): angels

mali-mali-mali (M.A. *mal-i*, "my property"): refrain chanted by *imdhayazen* (see *amdhaaz*, above) at marriages and circumcisions: it refers, ironically, to 'their property,' of which as virtually the poorest of the poor, they have none.

(r-) mar (M.A. *l-mal*): property, in the sense of livestock.

(r-)ma'ruf (M.A. *ma'ruf*): alms requested in an organized manner by *tulba* (see below) or Qur'anic students at an *'amara* (see below) or annual pilgrimage to the tomb of a locally famous saint.

mhalla (R. *r-mhaddjith*): military expedition (see *kbir mhalla:* above, and also *harka:* above) which in an M.A. context referred exclusively to a unit of the Sultan's Army engaged on such an expedition (usually of a punitive or tax-collecting character, against Tribe X or Y); adopted by 'Abd al-Krim to refer to large supra-tribal units of levies in combat on either the French or Spanish fronts (1921-1926). Also, local militia under Spanish command.

mihrab (L.A.): recess in a mosque indicating the direction of prayer.

Mimmi (pl. *dharwa*): R.: son; in a state of construct, *mmi-s n-x* "son of X" (as in *mmi-s n-Si 'Abd al-Krim*"). The plural form *dharwa* (see above) refers to "children" as well as "sons" and is most typically employed as a marker for lineage names, in which *dharwa* is followed by the possessive *n:* Dharwa n-'Aisa w-'Amar, Dharwa n-Haddu n-Mhand, Dharwa n-Sa'id Ufqir, Dharwa n-Muh n-Sha'ib.

(r-)mijma' (M.A. *mijma'*): a gathering of all the local members of a religious order (*tariqa:* see below), generally held every week in the house of a member.

(r-)mishra' (M.A. *mishra'*, "ford"): the pasturage or common land which is owned collectively by any local

community (*dshar:* see above), as opposed to individual holdings of private property (*r-murk:* see below).

(r-)mitrag (M.A. *mitrag*): throwing stick bound with wire at intervals, used in hunting to bring down partridges and rabbits.

(r-)mizab (pl. *r-mzuyab:* M.A. *mizab*): spring in which water gushes forth from a crevice in a rock (see *r-‘unsar,* below).

(r-)mizan (M.A. *mizan*): scales.

(r-)mkhazni (M.A. *mkhazni*): a member of the native auxiliary.

(r-)mqaddim (pl. *r-mquddum:* M.A. *mqaddim*): as of the Spanish Protectorate, the headman of the administratively created tribal "subfraction": (*r‘ayyith:* see below). In a general sense, caretaker.

(r-)mraqib (M.A. *mraqib*): tribal administrator or *interventor* in Spanish Protectorate, generally an Army Captain. In the French Zone his opposite number, the officer *des Affaires Indigenes,* was known as *(r-)hakim* (M.A. *hakim*).

(r-)msalla (R.): An open area designated as a prayer site near the tomb of a saint.

mul s-sa‘a (M.A.): "master of the hour," the Moroccan version of "the right man at the right time."

muray (M.A. *mulay*): literally "my lord," and a title only accorded to the high-ranking *shurfa* (pl. of *sharif:* see below): in Waryagharland it also refers to a bridegroom, who is as a Sultan on the day of his wedding.

(r-)mujrim (M.A. *mujrim*): shameless person, man without honor.

(r-)murk (M.A. *mulk, milk*): private and individual property holdings in land, constituting far and away the commonest type of property holding in the region.

(r-)Murud (M.A. *Mulud, Milud*): Muslim religious festival, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, celebrated on the 12th day of the third month of the Muslim year; also that month itself (Rahi‘al-Awwal).

(r-)Mushaf (M.A. *Mushaf*): copy of the Qur'an, alluding generally to that of the Friday or congregational mosque where oaths are sworn.

(r-)m‘addjim (pl. *im‘addjimen:* M.A. *m‘allim*): master, local expert at any trade or occupation, from masonry to gunsmithing and sharpshooting, during the *Ripubik* (see below).

(r-)m‘awin (M.A. *m‘awin,* "helper"): under the Spanish administration the leader or the spokesman for a *hawmth* (see above) or territory occupied by a given lineage (as a rule) within the context of the local community (*dshar:* see above), to whose *jari* (see above) or headman he was also subordinate. The office of *m‘awin* did not survive after independence in 1956.

N

n- (R.): marker indicating filiation, both "son of" and "daughter of": Muh *n*-Haddu, Fattush *n*-‘Amar. The *n*-filiative marker coexists with that of *u-* or *w-* (see below), with essentially the same meaning; although in the latter case the stress is more on filiation for men than for women, and also on that embodied in names of lineages (Aith ‘Aru Musa= Ait ‘Ali u-Musa; Aith Mhand u-Sa‘id) rather more than on names of individuals. Probably the *u-* or *w-* form (the latter as in Aith ‘Amar w-‘Aisa) is the older one in the region. The usage of one or the other form may also be determined in part by facility of pronunciation in the context of the names so joined, but the grammatical rules regulating the employment of each are not clear to me.

(n-)na'ib (pl. *n-nuwwab,* M.A. *na'ib*): delegate, replacement; refers also to the eldest of a number of brothers who acts as property administrator for all of them if they elect not to divide up (*battu, bddan:* see above) their inheritance on their father's death, but to remain in indivision (*ur bddan shi:* see *battu,* above), much less common.

(n-)na'iba (M.A. *na'iba*) A category of tribes obligated only to pay the government a tax, as opposed to those with full Makhzan status who also furnished the government with military contingents. This distinction was not nearly as important in the Rif as it was in the Atlantic Plain.

nghith s-tn‘ashin (R.): literally "he kills for money," e.g., hired assassin or paid killer.

(n-)nifaqi (M.A. *nafqa,* "expenses, gift"): gift of jewelry or babouches (Arab slippers) made at the time of the marriage ceremony by the groom to the bride's sisters (in the subclan of the Timarzga).

(n-)Nisan (or *Mayyu:* M.A. *Nisan* or *Mayyu*): synonym for "May" in the agricultural calendar (*r-‘am n-tfiddjahth:* see below, *asugwas n-tfiddjahth:* see above. *N.B.* I have not given the names of any of the other months in the agricultural year in this glossary because they are all so close to their Western and European counterparts).

nish (R.): I; *nishnin* (R.): we; *nithnin* (R.): they (masc.)

nishan (M.A. *nishan*): straight, straight ahead, direct, target.

(n-)nubth (pl. *n-nubath:* M.A. *nuba*): literally "turn," as in "turn of irrigation water," *n-nubth w-aman,* or "turn to feed the *fqih* (see above)," *n-nubth nj-fqih,* the word also refers to a nuclear family unit of father, mother and unmarried children, for it is precisely the nuclear or elementary family which has the "turn" in question. Each nuclear family head takes his irrigation water in turn from the communal ditch (*dharga:* see above) of the lineage or the local community, and each must share in the burden of ditch repair after rain washes it away; also, each nuclear family in the community in rotation, must provide the *fqih* of the local mosque with his dinner every evening.

(n-)nuqqarth (M.A. *nuqra*): silver.

(n-)nuqqatsh (M.A. *nuqla,* "plant"): transplantation of crops; *(n-)nuqqatsh w-aman,* literally "transplantation of water, " also refers figuratively to sexual intercourse.

n‘arth (or *sakhdh* or *mskhut:* M.A.): curse.

Q

(r-) qadi (pl. *r-qudat:* M.A. *qadi*): judge or magistrate in Muslim Law (*Shari‘a:* see below); *r-qadi nj-qudat* ("qadi of qadis") chief *qadi.*

(r-) qaid (pl *r-quyad:* M.A. *qaid*): chief, leader; *qaid n-tqbitsh* (M.A. *qaid l-qbila*), chief, leader of a tribe who was (up until 1956, independence) always a man of consequence in the tribe, and who more recently has tended to be a non-local official appointed from the capital

through the provincial government); *qaid nj-khums,* chief or leader of a clan, again a position which emerged only under ʿAbd al-Krim, and virtually synonymous with that of *qaid nj-khums,* above; *qaid t-tabur,* chief or leader of a *tabur* (see below, a unit of 300–500 men in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army, with a rank equivalent to colonel; *qaid miyatain,* chief or leader of 200 men, either in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army or in his tribal levies, with a rank corresponding to major; *qaid l-miya,* chief or leader of 100 men, both in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army and in his tribal levies, with a rank corresponding to captain; *qaid khamsin,* chief or leader of 50 men, both in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army and in his tribal levies, with a rank equivalent to lieutenant; *qaid khamsa w-ʿashrin,* chief or leader of 25 men, both in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army and in his tribal levies, with a rank equivalent to sergeant; and *qaid tnaʿsh,* chief or leader of 12 men, both in ʿAbd al-Krim's Regular Rifian Army and in his tribal levies, with a rank equivalent to corporal. The title of *qaid* only came into vogue in the Rif with the appearance of ʿAbd al-Krim. In the early days of the Protectorate there was one top *qaid* or *qaid quyad* ("qaid of qaids") for all of Waryagharland (Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir), but in 1934 three qaidates of equal status were created (those of Uta, Ghis and Nkur), and each *qaid* had two "fractional" *shaikhs* (see below) under him.

(r-) qamth (M.A. *taqwim*): small fine levied by local community or clan council (*aitharbiʿin n-d-dshar* or *aitharbiʿin n-ar-rbaʿ*: see above) for theft in gardens or orchards, or today, by *aquwwam* (see above), if animals enter property and damage it.

(r-) qanun (pl. *r-qawanin:* M.A. *qanun*): document drawn up in Arabic by the local *fqih* (see above), in the presence of the councilmembers (*imgharen,* sing. *amghar:* see above) of the clan or clans concerned, which is generally couched as a series of fines for sanctionable offenses, from murder in the market down to theft of figs. These listings of "do-nots," of variable length and of varying degrees of inclusiveness, are always dated, and provide the basic frame of reference for the study of Rifian Customary Law (*r-ʿurf* or *r-qaʿida:* see below) as it existed during the *Ripublik* (see below) and prior to the rise of ʿAbd al-Krim.

(r-) qaʿida (pl. *r-qawaʿid:* M.A. *qaʿida*): Custom, Customary Law; *qawaʿid l-Islam,* literally "the Customs of Islam," a Moroccan synonym for the "five pillars of Islam," the *arkan ad-din.*

qbila (M.A.): tribe. (See *dhaqbitsh,* above).

(r-) qisas (M.A. *qisas*): fine for woundings paid by perpetrator to his victim, the amount varying according to the gravity of the wound. It seldom ever exceeded 600 duros Hasani (half the maximum amount of bloodwealth), and like bloodwealth, it was always halved for a woman.

(r-) qshuʿ (R.: M.A. *qashsh*): pottery.

(r-)qubb (M.A. *qubb*): hood of jillaba (see *aziddjab,* above).

(r-) qubba (M.A. *qubba*): dome or cupola erected by members of *jmaʿth* (see above) concerned over tomb of local saint.

(r-) qubbth (M.A. *qubba,* "cupola": see above): arc of two intertwined grapevines, possessing special ritual significance, worn by a bride underneath a red silk cloth on her head, on the third and final day of the marriage ceremony (*dhamghra:* see above), when she is mounted on a mule and led by her brother to the groom's house.

R

(r-) rawdhat (M.A. *rawda*): a place where a saint stopped to pray, usually commemorated by a walled and unroofed enclosure of stone (as in the *r-rawdhat n-Lalla Mimuna,* commemorating the one-time prayer site of a female saint in l-ʿAss of the Aith Turirth).

(r-) Rbbi, Sidi Rbbi (M.A. *r-Rbbi, Sidi r-Rbbi,* literally "My Lord," but more commonly *Allah*): God.

(r-) rbaʿ (pl. *r-urbuʿ:* M.A. *rbaʿ*): literally "fourth, one-fourth, one quarter"; in the context of sociopolitical structure, either clan or subclan, whether of a heterogeneous composition as indicated by a name, indicating locality (*Aith Turirth,* "people of the hill"; *Timarzga*), or of an equally heterogeneous composition disguised by a name indicating a fictive and spurious common ancestorship (*Aith Yusif w-ʿAri, Aith ʿAri, Aith ʿAbdallah, Aith BuʿAyyash, Aith ʿAdhiya, Aith ʿArus, Aith Hadhifa*) with no attempt made at tracing ascent to the "ancestor" in question. The "intrusive" holy clan (and "fifth"; see *dhakhammasth* or *r-khums,* above) of the Imrabdhen is by definition of a different category, for demonstrable genealogical connections with the Prophet Muhammad through the apex of the holy lineage in question (and through Mulay Idris I, the first Sultan of Morocco) are a stock-in-trade of any holy lineage. The correspondence between the clan and the "fifth" (*dhakhammasth or r-khums:* above), too, is only partial: the "fifth" is here considered as a wider unit because in two out of the five *khmas,* more than one clan is subsumed: *Khums* I: *Aith Yusif w-ʿAri* (with *Aith Turirth,* a discontinuous subclan territorially) plus *AithʿAri* (with *Timarzga,* a subclan equally discontinuous in territory); and *Khums IV: Aith Hadhifa* (with two territorially discontinuous subclans, AithʿArus and Iʿakkiyen). Where, in the other "fifths," clan and "fifth" do coincide (as in *Khums II: AithʿAbdallah; Khums III: Aith BuʿAyyash;* and *Khums V: Imrabdhen*), such coincidence may be regarded as fortuitous. The *liff* system (see above) of alliances may, furthermore, be regarded as essentially cutting across not only the system of "fifths" (as within *Khums I: Aith Yusif w-ʿAri* plus *Aith Turirth* versus *Aith ʿAri* and *Timarzga*), but indeed as cutting across that of clans (as within *Khums* III in which *Aith BuʿAyyash* proper were aligned with *Aith Yusif w-ʿAri* as against *AithʿAdhiya* aligned with *Aith ʿAri*).

(r-) rhin (R. *dhamristh*): mortgage, deposit, pawning, or any mortgageable or pawnable object or piece of property, which falls under the rubric of Customary Law and not under that of the *Shariʿa* (see above), and is almost always to be repaid within a stipulated period of time. This institution went on until independence, escaping ʿAbd al-Krim's notice.

(r-) Rindan (M.A. *Ramadan*): the ninth month of the Muslim lunar year; fasting during this month is one of the "five pillars" of Islam.

(r-) Ripublik (Fr. *République;* probably so labelled in retrospect): *Ripublik* refers to the whole history of the Rif before the appearance of ʿAbd al-Krim in 1921, and more particularly to the period of "organized acephaly"

(1898–1921), when in living memory—between the time of Bushta l-Baghdadi and that of ‘Abd al-Krim—the Rifian tribal councils reigned supreme.

(r-) rishwath (M.A. *rashwa*): "eating" of bridewealth (*s-sdhaq:* see below) by bride's father after groom has paid it, an act considered very shameful.

(r-) rizzith (M.A. *rizza*): white cotton or muslim turban.

(r-) ruh (pl. *r-rwah:* M.A. *ruh*): life, soul, spirit.

(r-) r‘ayith or (r-) r‘ayyith (M.A. *r-‘iya*, "people"): an approximation of "subclan" (as for *r-r‘ayyith* the Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith ‘Arus, for example), but not really a "true" Aith Waryaghar social unit as used by the people themselves, as it is considered to be a translation of the Spanish administrative unit, during the Protectorate, of "subfraction," which existed from 1934 to independence in 1956.

S

(Arabic letter *sin*)

Sabhain r-raziq (M.A. *subhan r-raziq*): literally "exalted be the Provider!" the opening line of the standard refrain chanted by the "ministers" (*iwziren*, sing. *awzir:* see above) of the bride-groom, who sits motionless with jillaba hood pulled over his face, as they surround him on the third night of the marriage ritual (*dhamghra:* see above).

(s-) saba‘ (M.A. *saba‘*): the ritual of name bestowal on a newborn child, so called because it takes place seven days after birth.

(s-) sarsatsh (M.A. *silsla*): the spiritual, as opposed to physical, genealogy of a saint, in which ascent is reckoned as from disciple to teacher rather than as from son to father.

sarwair (M.A. *sirwal*): Arab cotton trousers, baggy in the seat and tucked in at the knee.

saru (pl. *isura:* R.): tributary of a major river (*aghzar:* see above).

Si (M.A. *Si*): title or honorific for a literate man, a *fqih* (see above).

siba (M.A. *siba*, "anarchy"): see *Ripublik* above. The term siba was not in use in the Rif.

Sidi (M.A. *Sidi*): title, honorific and mode of address for a *sharif* (see above).

(s-) silham (R. *asilham*): a sleeveless but hooded cloak worn by men, usually over a jillaba, and in Morocco, usually black in color. The *silham* is what is known in Algeria as a "burnous."

(s-) siyasa (M.A. *siyasa*): politics, political palaver, generally construed in an unfavorable manner.

(s-) siyyid (M.A. *siyyid*): literally "lord"; but in overall Moroccan context, saint's tomb, or saint, by extension, of any kind.

(s-) smayim (M.A. *smayim*): the hottest period in summer (*anibdhu:* see above).

(s-) suhur (M.A. *suhur*): sorcery of any sort (see *dhimgga:* above), whether as practiced by a woman (*dhazuhrith:* above), without the use of writing, or by the *fqih* (see above), with writing of Qur'anic verses.

(s-) sunan (M.A. *sinn*, "tooth"): the amount of money a husband must pay his divorced wife, if she is pregnant or if she is nursing his child, until such time as the child is two years old, when it reverts to him.

(s-) suq (pl. *r-swaq:* M.A. *suq*): market, held once a week in a given locality, and bearing, first, the name of the day on which it is held, and second, the name of the locality, whether tribe or clan, in question; *suq n-tqbitsh* (R.): full-scale tribal market (as formerly the Sunday Market at Thisar); *suq n-ar-rba‘* (R.), clan market only (Monday at Aith Hadhifa or Aith Bu‘Ayyash), or market serving a number of sublcans (Saturdays at Imzuren in the Plain of al-Husaima, Wednesdays at Tawrirt-Arba‘ n-Turirth); *suq n-tmgharin* (R.), women's market (of which there are six in Waryagharland), to which no men are admitted.

S

(Arabic letter *Sad*—emphatic)

(s-) sabth (M.A. *s-saba*): harvest.

(s-) sadaqa (R. *s-sidqath*): charity offering made in money, rather than a sacrifice, at a saint's tomb.

(s-) salih (pl. *s-salhin:* M.A. *salih*): saint, or saint's tomb: a designation generally given a saint (whether *amrabit* or *sharif*: see above, or *wali:* see below), who is considered to be "powerful."

(s-) sdhaq (M.A. *sdaq*): bridewealth, which in Waryagharland seldom amounted to more than DH.1000 (100,000 Moroccan francs) as of 1967; in the neighboring tribe of the Igzinnayen it is often twice this amount, or more.

(s-) sulh (M.A. *sulh*): peace or truce, as made between two parties (*liff:* see above) to a bloodfeud (*r-‘adhawth:* see below) through the medium, generally, of any member of a holy lineage (*amrabit* or *sharif:* see above) who is present.

SH

(sh-)shaikh (pl. *sh-shiyukh:* M.A. *shaikh, shikh*): during the Spanish Protectorate and since independence, the headman of a clan (*r-rba‘*; see above) within a tribe, or, as administratively conceived, of a tribal "fraction" (*farqa:* see above). The term *shaikh*, like those of *qadi*, *qaid* and *mqaddim* (see above), only came into general usage in Waryagharland with the rise of ‘Abd al-Krim, and as of 1934 the *qaid* of each of the three qaidates (of Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur) had two clan or "fractional" *shaikhs* working under him.

(sh-)Shaitan (pl. *sh-shayatin:* M.A. *shitan*): the Devil, who is the commander of the *jnun* or jinns (see above); also, a cunning, devilish person.

(sh-)shaja‘a (M.A. *shaja‘a*): courage, manliness, lack of fear in battle, etc., (see *dhargazt*, above).

(sh-)shajara (M.A. *shajara*, from *shjar*, "tree"): actual, physical and usually written genealogy of a saint (*sharif:* see below) or of his lineage, validating their descent from first, the apical ancestor of their lineage, then from Mulay Idris I, the first Sultan of Morocco, and finally, from Lalla Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad.

(sh-)sharif (pl. *sh-shurfa:* M.A. *sharif, shrif*): saint, descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Lalla Fatima, i.e., saint through descent rather than saint through acquisition of ability to work miracles, as an *amrabit* (see above) must be. Nonetheless, in Waryagharland, although these distinctions are clear, all saints are lumped together, living or dead, pedigreed or not, under

the generic category of *imrabdhen* (sing. *amrabit:* see above), a category which subsumes that of *shurfa*. Furthermore, within the "fifth" or clan of the Imrabdhen, 90% of the so-called "saints" are to all intents and purposes no different from ordinary lay tribesmen. Only some 10% are *baraka*-holders (see above), and the category of *wali* or "great saint" (see below) is even removed from some of these, all of whom have lineage members who adjudicate the conflicts of lay tribesmen. The "effective holy men" are thus the members of some 10% of the total Imrabdhen lineages, invariably those located in lay clan territory discontinuous to the main body of the Imrabdhen clan or "fifth": the rest are all purely "latent." Their genealogical claim to *shurfa*-hood is excellent, but is questionable particularly since they are not genealogically or otherwise acknowledged in the *asunduq* or box (see above) of the Idrisid *shurfa* in Fez. (*Shurfa* in the Rif are all of the Idrisid branch, i.e., descended from Mulay Idris I, the first Sultan of Morocco, in Fez, rather than of the 'Alawite branch from the Tafilalt, whence the present ruling house is descended).

Shari'a (M.A. *sh-shra'*): the total corpus of Islamic Law, as revealed in the Qur'an.

(sh-)shdhih (M.A. *shtih*): dance performed by unmarried girls at marriage, name-giving and circumcision feasts, in which they do no singing, and twirl handkerchiefs to the rhythm of tambourines (*addjun:* see above). The dance alternates both with their chanting of *ay-arallabuya* (see above), and with the entertainment given by the *imdhyazen* (sing. *amdhyaz*, above).

(sh-)shikwath (M.A. *shikaya*): reclamation on any question whatsoever.

(sh-)shirxth (M.A. *shirka*): contractual relationship of any sort in agriculture or herding.

(sh-)shamaith (M.A. *shmat*): coward.

(sh-)shuf'ath (M.A. *shfa'a*): priority rights of agnates over land, although in Waryagharland, and in the Rif, this was not exercised over women, as it was in other Berber regions.

T
(Arabic letter *ta*)

tafsir al-manam (M.A.): book in Arabic on interpretation of dreams.

tahjij (M.A.): type of love charm written by *fqih* (see above).

tajir (M.A. *tajir* "merchant"): rich, wealthy.

tamrabit (M.A. *mrabta*): female saint.

(t-)tarika (M.A. *tarika,*) household furniture.

(t-)ta'arqiba (M.A. *t'argiba*): The sacrifice of a bull by cutting its hocks, or by hamstringing.

ta'yan r-barud (M.A. *la'b l-barud* "powder play"): war dance, formerly enacted by two or four *ibarudiyen* (sing. *abarudi:* see above) carrying rifles; a mime of battle maneuvers.

(t-)ta'ziya (M.A. *ta'ziya*): condolences offered to the bereaved when someone has died.

tbrid arassas (R.): the notion that any saint or *amjahadh* (see above) bears a charmed life, particularly against Christian bullets.

T
(Arabic letter *Ta*—emphatic)

(t-)tabi'a (M.A. *tabi'a*): Custom, in the sense of customary behavior; and in the sense of Customary Law (*'urf:* see below), as well.

(t-)tabur (M.A. *tabur*): under 'Abd al-Krim, a Rifian Regular Army unit, and the major one, of 300–500 men, under a *qaid t-tabur* (1921–1926).

(t-)taharth (M.A. *tahara*): circumcision and the accompanying ritual.

(t-)talaq (R. *uruf*): divorce, repudiation; *talaq thalath* (M.A. *talaq t-talit*); three-time, and final, divorce, which can only be initiated, in Muslim Law, by the husband (barring impotence on his part.)

(t-)talb (pl. *t-tulba:* R. *r-fqih*, pl. *t-turba*): Qur'anic student at the congregational or Friday mosque (*dhamzyidha nj-khutbath:* see *dhamzyidha*, above); synonymous with *fqih* (see above).

(t-)tariqa (pl. *t-tariqath:* M.A. *tariqa*): Muslim religious order of any kind (Darqawa 'Alawiyin or I'alawiyen, 'Aisawa or I'aisawiyen, etc.).

U

(r-)udha (M.A. *uta*): plain, flatland (as in the plain of al-Husaima, referred to as *r-udha*).

udhai (or *udhay:* M.A. *yihudi*): Jew.

(r-)udhu (M.A. *udu'*): ablutions prior to prayer; *r-udhu amqqran*, major ablutions and washing of whole body after copulation or defecation; *r-udhu amzzyan*, minor ablutions, involving only exposed parts of body if neither of the above acts have been committed between one prayer and the next.

uggug (pl. *uggugen:* R.): the dam or point or origin of an irrigation ditch (*dharga:* see above), where water enters the ditch after branching off from a river.

(r-)ukir (M.A. *ukil*): legal representative of any person, according to Muslim Law; *ukir nj-ghuyab* (M.A. *ukil l-ghuyab*), the representative of absentees, particularly long-term ones, regarding questions of property inheritance.

uma (R.): brother, agnate, where possession is implied, with pl. *aithma*, "my brothers, my agnates" *aithma-x*, "your brothers, your agnates"; *aithma-s*, "his brothers, his agnates." Also, *aithma* or *aith azizi* (see *aith*, above) is the term for "brothers" or "agnates" in general. There is a second plural form, *umathen*, as in *Nithnin dh-umathen*, "they are brothers, agnates" or *Nishnin dh-umathen*, "We are brothers, agnates," where the reference in question is not one of possession.

ur bddan shi (R.): literally "they do not divide," phrase used in reference to *r-murk* land (see above) or individual property which is not divided among the heirs on the father's death, but remains in indivision, *pro indiviso*, with one son acting as *na'ib* (see above).

urthu (pl. *urthan:* R.): garden, orchard; synonymous with *r-ghrus* (sing. *r-ghars*), above, and *l-'ass*, below.

uruf (R.): divorce (see *t-talaq*, above).

(r-)uzind (R.): early days of winter, in the agricultural year, the opposite of *n-nisan* (see above) which introduces summer.

(r-)uzi'ath (M.A. *uzi'a*): the act of dividing up an animal

which is about to die, especially cows; ideally, in this way, everyone in the *jma'th* (see above) may eat the meat of the dying animal, and its owner will not be as much out of pocket as he might be otherwise.

W

(l-)wakala (M.A. *wakala*): representation.

(r-)wali (pl. *awliya'* or *awliya'llah:* M.A. *wali*): a "super-saint": a "Saint of God," a saint whose *shajara* (see above) or genealogy is generally beyond reproach, as locally viewed, and whose *baraka* (see above) and miracle-working ability fall into the same category. *Awliya'* are saints, for example, who have the ability to fly unperceived by human eyes, or to be in two places at once.

(r-)waratha (M.A. *warata*): inheritance; *iwrithen* (sing. *awrith:* R.) heir.

(l-)wasiya (M.A. *wasiya*): according to Qur'anic Law, last will and testament; in Waryagharland, a document which enables a grandfather to bequeath property to his grandchildren in the event that his own sons have predeceased him.

X

(r-)xarsanna (M.A. *karsanna*): vetch, tares, used as fodder for animals.

Y

yarrit w-uma-s (R.): literally "she marries his brother": the institution of widow inheritance.

yimma (M.A. *yimma*): kinship term for "mother."

yinnu (R. *yinin*): a standard prefix to the name of a lineage: literally "those of" followed by the name of the apical ancestor of the lineage in question: Yinn 'Amar Umrabit, Yinn Muhand Ufqir, Yinn 'Amar u-Sa'id, Yinn 'Abdallah nj-Mqaddim (here *mqaddim* can be construed as the ancestor's father's title, possibly because he functioned as the *mqaddim* of the local chapter of a religious order, etc).

yirdhen (R.): wheat.

yiri tsrifth-ines (R.): literally "he marries his wife's sister"; the institution of the sororate; less common in Waryagharland than widow inheritance (*yarrit u-uma-s:* see above).

Z

zagrut (R.): yoke of a plow (*asaghar:* see above).

zakka (L.A. *zakah*): obligatory tax on money and on animals imposed by Islamic Law: 2-1/2% on the former, and on the latter the amount depends on the kind of animal in question (e.g., one heifer out of every 30 cows, and one goat or sheep out of every 40). Payment is made to the poor (*imsa'an:* see above) on the tenth day of the Muharram (the *Dha'ashurth*).

zamir (R.): woman chaser. (The M.A. cognate *zamil* means homosexual.)

zammar (R.): musical instrument ending in two pipes decorated with cow's horns, and played only by *imdhyazen* (sing. *amdhyaz:* see above) at weddings and circumcision feasts.

(z-) zari'ath (M.A. *zri'a*): seed.

(z-) zawith (pl. *z-zawiyath:* M.A. *zawiya*): a house of meditation and prayer, where a saint is buried, not necessarily a lodge of a religious order (*tariqa:* see above). In Waryagharland there are at least four *zawiyath*, all of members of the Imrabdhen clan, which fit the above description: z-zawith n-sidi Yusif and z-zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (the "Upper" and "Lower" *zawiyas*, respectively, of the Imrabdhen, both in Imrabdhen clan territory proper); and two discontinuous ones—Z-Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, in the Aith Hadhifa, and Z-Zawith n-Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud in the Aith Turirth.

(z-)za'im (M.A. *za'im*): leader; one who is fearless and intrepid.

(z-)zidan (M.A. *bu shfar*): flintlock rifle.

(z-)zina (M.A. *zina*): adultery.

(z-)ziyarth (M.A. *ziyara*): donations made annually, in money or in kind, by any lay lineage to the senior member of the *baraka*-possessing (see above) and dispute-adjudicating holy lineage resident in the clan territory.

(z-)zhir (M.A. *zhir*): luck, chance.

zui (R.): marjoram, growing on slopes of the Jbil Hmam, which attracts bees that produce excellent honey.

(z-)zujiya (M.A. *zujiya*): marriage document which must be signed by the *qadi* (see above) and two *'adul* (see below).

(Arabic letter *'ain*)

(r-)'adhawth (M.A. *'adawa,* "hatred"): bloodfeud; *a'adhaw* (pl. *i'adhawen:* R.) blood enemies.

'adhrin usirhan (R.): the act of reconciliation between two brothers or agnates who have quarrelled and are not on speaking terms. One may then eventually go around to see the other and sacrifice a goat in order to keep the peace.

'adl (pl. *'adul: R. r-'adr;* pl. *r-'adur*): notary public in traditional Muslim and Shari'a Court of Law, and assistant to the *qadi* (see above), who always has two *'adul* in order to witness his signature on marriage, land and divorce documents.

(r-)'afu (M.A. *'afu*): help, pardon.

(r-)'ahd (pl. *r-'uhud:* M.A. *'ahd*): pact, vow or covenant, made between two individuals or groups of equal size and strength, to the effect that, come what may, neither will ever harm the other. The covenant of *r-'ahd* is highly binding, and is made in a mosque, on the Qur'an, and in the presence of the *fqih.*

(r-)'Aid (pl. *r-a'yad:* M.A. *'aid*): either of the two Muslim religious feasts or holidays which occur toward the end of the lunar year; *r-'Aid Amqqran* (M.A. *'Aid l-Kbir*), the Great Feast on the 8th through 10th days of Dhu l-Hijja (also known as 'Aid l-Kbir), coincident with the *hijj* (see above) or Pilgrimage to Mecca, when every Muslim householder must sacrifice a ram; and *r-'Aid Amzzyan* (M.A. *'Aid s-Sghir,* the Little Feast, also three days in length, to celebrate the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting (see *r-Rindan:* above).

(r-)'aiwad nj-urbu' (R., with *'aiwad* derived either from

L.A. *‘iwad,* "compensation, recompense, consideration" or from L.A. *‘awad,* "shelter, protection," thus literally "the compensation of the clans" or "the protection of the clans"—the etymology in this case is not clear): the annual visit, at harvest time, by a powerful and important saint to all the lay clans and subclans in his bailiwick, both in order to put a stop to the feuding and arrange a truce (*s-sulh:* see above) in order that the harvest be brought in, and in order to collect the donations (*z-ziyarth:* see above), regularly given him by the lay tribesmen. The example given in the text is that of Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa‘ud in the Aith Turirth, who collected donations from the Aith‘Arus and Aith Bu Khrif as well, (see also *r-rba‘*, clan, above).

(r-)‘am (or *r-‘am n-tfiddjahth:* M.A. *‘am l-filaha*): the agricultural year.

(l-)‘amara (R. *r-‘amarth*): annual pilgrimage, held at a fixed time of year, to the tomb of an important saint, and known elsewhere in Morocco as *musim.* The only one in Waryagharland is that to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar at the peak of the Jbil Hmam, on the day just preceding the Great Feast (*r-‘Aid Amqqran* or *‘Aid l-Kbir:* see above).

(l-)‘amil (pl. *‘ummal:* M.A.): in modern Morrocco, governor of a province; during the *Ripublik* (see above), prior to ‘Abd al-Krim's time, also employed in *qanun* (see above) documents an synonymous with *amghar* (see above).

(l-)‘Ansra (M.A. *‘Ansra*): Midsummer Solstice, July 24, as reckoned by the agricultural calendar (*asugwas:* see above, or *r-‘am n-tfiddjahth:* see above). Until about 1940, everyone jumped over bonfires on this day.

(r-)‘ar (M.A. *‘ar*): literally "shame, ignominy, protection"; see also *hashuma;* above), but in fact an act of sacrifice (usually of a bull) made by a weak individual or lineage to a stronger one in order to shame the latter into providing physical assistance or aid. The normal technique of *‘ar* during the *Ripublik* (see above) was for a lineage hard-pressed in feud to go as a group to the mosque of the group whose aid was desired and to put the latter under obligation to them by effecting the sacrifice of a bull (a costly animal) there. (see *dhaqqarsth*, sacrifice above). Georges Marcy (in *Le Droit Coutumier Zemmour*, op. cit., p. 390) defines *‘ar* with great aptness as "mystical responsibility," and states that it refers both to anything involving honor, or mystical responsibility, on the one hand, and to indemnity on the other.

(r-)‘ashur (M.A. *‘ashur*): obligatory tax on grain imposed by Islamic Law, one-tenth of the harvest, paid to the poor when the harvest is in. (see also *zakka* and *dha‘ashurth*, above).

(l-)‘ass (M.A. *l-arsa*): garden, orchard, irrigated land, synonymous with *urthu* and *r-ghars*, above).

(r-)‘ayarth (R.) game of any sort, usually played by children.

(r-)‘idda (M.A. *‘idda*): as prescribed by Muslim Law (*Shari‘a;* see above), the necessary legal period between divorce or widowhood on the one hand and remarriage on the other; three months for a divorcee and four months and ten days for a widow. The purpose of this institution is the determination of possible paternity by the earlier husband.

(r-)‘imra (M.A. *‘imra*): the rhythmic breathing practiced by members of any religious order (*t-tariqa:* see above) during the seances (*r-mijma‘:* see above) in which they chant their litany (*dhikr:* see above), in order to produce hyperventilation and attain a state of religious ecstasy.

(r-)‘unsar (pl. *r-‘anasar*), spring which issues directly from a mountain crevice (see *r-mizab:* above).

(r-)‘Urf (M.A. *‘urf*): the total corpus of Rifian (and Aith Waryaghar) Customary Law (see also *r-qa‘ida*, *r-qanun*, *t-tabi‘a:* above, although *r-‘urf* is a more inclusive term than any of them), as opposed to and in conjunction with the *Shari‘a* (see above), the total corpus of Muslim Religious or Canonical Law.

APPENDIX I

(CHAPTER 4)

PRINCIPAL IRRIGATION DITCHES EMANATING FROM THE GHIS AND NKUR RIVERS

N.B.: Irrigation ditch listings for the Ghis River include only those ditches from the Sunday Market of Thisar, in central Waryagharland, downstream to the Bay of al-Husaima. Information was unfortunately not collected on the remaining ditches (few in number, in any case) along the Upper Ghis from Thisar upstream to the river's source in the Sinhaja Srir. The listing of Nkur River ditches, however, is as complete and accurate as I could make it, from the point at which the river enters Waryagharland from Igzinnayenland, and at which it assumes the name Nkur (as distinct from its Igzinnayen designation of Bayyu), down to its mouth at the Bay of al-Husaima.

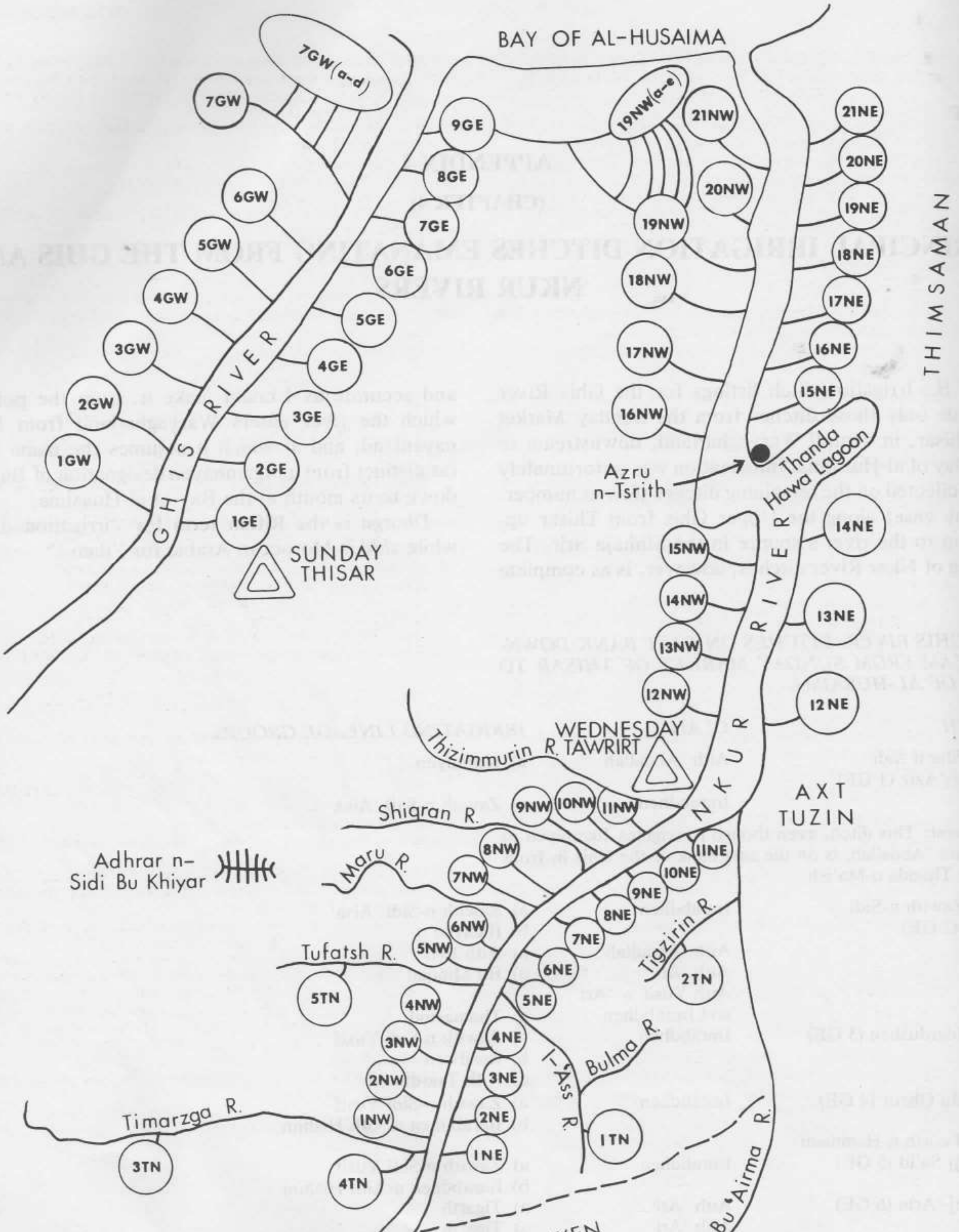
Dharga is the Rifian term for "irrigation ditch" while *sidd* is Moroccan Arabic for "dam."

A) GHIS RIVER: DITCHES ON EAST BANK DOWNSTREAM FROM SUNDAY MARKET OF THISAR TO BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Sidd Sharif Sidi 'Abd r-'Aziz (1 GE)	Aith 'Abdallah	a) Iqanniyen
	Imrabdhen	a) Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa

Comment: This ditch, even though it irrigates Iqanniyen in the Aith 'Abdallah, is on the east bank of the Ghis in front of the Thanda u-Ma'ish.

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Sidd Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (2 GE)	Imrabdhen	a) Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa b) Ifasiyen
	Aith 'Abdallah	a) Aith Dris
	Aith 'Ari	a) Bu Minqad
	Aith Yusif w-'Ari and Imrabdhen	a) Thamasind
Sidd Idardushen (3 GE)	Imrabdhen	a) Zawith n-Sidi Yusif b) Itarjiwen c) Aith Tsardhund
Sidd Bu Ghzur (4 GE)	Imrabdhen	a) Zawith n-Sidi Yusif b) Imrabdhen n-Aith Hishim
Sidd Tasirth n-Hammadi nj-Hajj Sa'id (5 GE)	Imrabdhen	a) Zawith n-Sidi Yusif b) Imrabdhen n-Aith Hishim
Sidd nj-'Arbi (6 GE)	Aith 'Ari	a) Tigarth
	Aith 'Ari	a) Tigarth b) Imhawren
	Imrabdhen	a) Imrabdhen n-Aith Hishim
Sidd Bu Harishen (7 GE): 4-Day Turn:	*First Day* Aith 'Ari	a) Imhawren: 1) Lineage of Aith 'Aru Hmid 2) Lineage of Aith 'Abdallah u-Hmid 3) Lineage of Aith Muhand u-Hmid


BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA
7GW(a-d)
7GW
9GE
8GE
6GW
7GE
5GW
6GE
4GW
5GE
3GW
4GE
GHIS RIVER
2GW
3GE
1GW
2GE
1GE
SUNDAY THISAR
19NW(a-e)
21NW
21NE
20NE
20NW
19NE
19NW
18NE
18NW
17NE
THIMSAMAN
17NW
16NE
15NE
16NW
Azru n-Tsrith
Hawa Thanda
Lagoon
14NE
15NW
NKUR RIVER
14NW
13NE
13NW
12NW
12 NE
WEDNESDAY TAWRIRT
Thizimmurin R.
AXT TUZIN
9NW
10NW
11NW
Shiqran R.
11NE
8NW
Adhrar n-Sidi Bu Khiyar
Maru R.
7NW
10NE
9NE
8NE
6NW
7NE
Tigzirin R.
Tufatsh R.
5NW
6NE
2TN
5TN
4NW
5NE
4NE
3NW
Bulma R.
I-Ass R.
2NW
3NE
Timarzga R.
2NE
1NW
1TN
1NE
3TN
4TN
Bu Airma R.
IGZINNAYEN
BAYYU R.
AITH AMMARTH
Azru Aqshas

Map A1: Principal Irrigation Ditches along Ghis and Nkur Rivers (Highly Schematized and Not to Scale)

LEGEND FOR SCHEMATIZED AND NON-SCALE MAP OF PRINCIPAL IRRIGATION DITCHES ALONG THE GHIS AND NKUR RIVER VALLEYS

A) Ditches on East Bank of Ghis River, Downstream from Sunday Market of Thisar to Bay of al-Husaima (= GE)
1 GE—Sidd Sharif Sidi 'Abd r-'Aziz—Iqanniyen (Aith 'Abdallah) and Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Imrabdhen)
2 GE—Sidd Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa—Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa, Ifasiyen (Imrabdhen), Aith Dris (Aith 'Abdallah), Bu Minqad (Aith 'Ari), Thamasind (Aith Yusif w-'Ari)
3 GE—Sidd Idardushen—Idardushen, Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, Aith Brahim (Imrabdhen)
4 GE—Sidd Bu Ghzur—Zawith N-Sidi Yusif, Aith Hishim (Imrabdhen)
5 GE—Sidd Tasirth n-Hammadi nj-Hajj Sa'id—Zawith n-Sidi Yusif, Aith Hishim (Imrabdhen)
6 GE—Sidd nj-'Arbi—Tigarth, Imhawren (Aith 'Ari), Aith Hishim (Imrabdhen)
7 GE—Sidd Bu Harishen—Imhawren (Aith 'Ari), Yinn Si 'Amar (Imrabdhen), Aith Bu Dhimmus (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Ihaddushen—r-Hujjaj (Aith 'Ari)
8 GE—Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma'iz—Aith Mhand u-Yihya of Plain (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Imhawren (Aith 'Ari), Yinn Si 'Amar (Imrabdhen), Aith Bu Dhimmus (Aith Yusif w-'Ari)
9 GE—Dharga n-Tafadhana—Imhawren (Aith 'Ari), Aith Bu Dhimmus (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Yinn Si 'Amar (Imrabdhen)

B) Ditches on West Bank of Ghis River, Downstream from Sunday Market of Thisar to Bay of al-Husaima (= GW)
1 GW—Sidd Thanda u-Ma'ish—Bu Khalifa, Ibunharen (Aith 'Abdallah)
2 GW—Sidd Izarruqen—Sidd Aith Qamra—Sidd Aith Buham (name changes as ditch progresses)—Izarruquen, Aith Qamra (Imrabdhen), Aith Buham (Aith Yusif w-'Ari)
3 GW—Sidd Idardushen—Idardushen, Aith Misa'ud (Imrabdhen)
4 GW—Sidd Dharwa Umrabit 'Ari—Aith Hishim (Imrabdhen)
5 GW—Sidd Ijaddain—Aith Bu Zimbu (Imrabdhen), Izifzafen (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Iqubi'an (Aith 'Ari)
6 GW—Sidd Franguth—Aith Hishim, Aith r-Qadi (Imrabdhen), Iqubi'an, Bu Sramath (Aith 'Ari)
7 GW—Sidd Dharga nj-Bzimma—4 secondary ditches: Ajdir, Ughir Izan, Bu Mqathir and Sidd Tuth nj-Hammam

C) Ditches from Tributaries of Upper Nkur (= TN)
1 TN—Dharga nj-'Ass—l-'Ass (Aith Turirth)
2 TN—Dharga n-Tigzirin—Tigzirin (Aith Turirth)
3 TN—Dharga n-Timarzga—Asrafil (Timarzga)
4 TN—Rudhazzugwagh (Dharga nj-Udha Azzugwagh)—Aith Uswir (Aith Turirth)
5 TN—Dharga n-Tufatsh—Aith Ufaran (Aith Turirth)

D) Ditches on East Bank of Nkur River, Downstream from Igzinnayen Border to Bay of al-Husaima (= NE)
1. Upper Nkur Ditches
1 NE—Dharga n-Siharr—Asrafil (Timarzga)
2 NE—Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Tasirth—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
3 NE—Dharga nj-'Attaf—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
4 NE—Dharga n-Tanirutsh—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
5 NE—Dharga n-Tufdhist Usaru—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
6 NE—Dharga n-Tarkthawth—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
7 NE—Dharga w-Urkuz—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
8 NE—Dharga n-Tufdhist Ufquir—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
9 NE—Dharga n-Taghzwith Ujimmad—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
10 NE—Dharga Idharragen—Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
11 NE—Dharga w-Urma—Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
2. Middle Nkur Ditches
12 Ne—Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Dasa—Imnudh (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Axt Tuzin
13 NE—Sidd r-B'ur—Axt Tuzin only
14 NE—Dharga n-Mabar—Axt Tuzin only
3. Lower Nkur Ditches
15 NE—Sidd Azru n-Tasrith—Ighmiren, Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Axt Tuzin
16 NE—Sidd Asiyar—Ighmiren, Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Lower Ikattshumen (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman
17 NE—Dharga n-Sunduq—Ighmiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
18 NE—Sidd 'Arridh—Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Thimsaman
19 NE—Sidd Ihajjamen—Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Thimsaman
20 NE—Sidd Mbujinn—Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Thimsaman
21 NE—Sidd Iznagen—Thimsaman only

E) Ditches on West Bank of Nkur River, Downstream from Igzinnayen Border to Bay of al-Husaima (= NW)
1. Upper Nkur Ditches
1 NW—Dharga n-Tufdhisth nj-Hajj Sha'ib—Aith Yusif (Timarzga)
2 NW—Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Sidi Muhand—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
3 NW—Dharga n-Tignit Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
4 NW—Dharga n-Bu Yasin—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
5 NW—Dharga Ishimjan—Aith 'Aru Musa (Aith Turirth)
6 NW—Dharga Unfindush—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
7 NW—Dharga n-Tgisith—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
8 NW—Dharga Inurar—Maru (Aith 'Arus)
9 NW—Dharga n-Tigrar—l-Wad (Aith Turirth)
10 NW—Dharga Izathimen—Aith Juhra (Aith 'Arus)
11 NW—Dharga n-Taghzwith nj-Arba'—Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
2. Middle Nkur Ditches
12 NW—Sid n-Tzurakhth—Tazurakhth, Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
13 NW—Sidd Tasirth—Tazurakhth, and land of Qaid Haddu and Qadi Bu 'ayyashi (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
14 NW—Sidd Imnudh—Imnudh (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
15 NW—Sidd nj-Hammam—Ighmiren, Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen, ar-Rabda (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
3. Lower Nkur Ditches
16 NW—Dharga n-Tufrashth—Ighmiren, Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash)
17 NW—Dharga nj-Hadhidha—Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Lower Ikatt-shumen (Aith Yusif w-'Ari), r-'Aramth, Aith 'Alla, Bu Minqad (Aith 'Ari), Imzuren (Imrabdhen)
18 NW—Dharga n-Dahar—Izakiren (Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Aith Musa w-'Amar (Aith 'Ari), Imzuren (Imrabdhen)
19 NW—Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan—4 subunits: a) Imhawren; b) Aith Dara (mostly Aith 'Ari), wih 5 subditches; c) Aith Waddai (mixed: Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Imrabdhen), with 4 subditches; d) Ishtari (mixed: Aith Yusif w-'Ari, Aith 'Ari, Imrabdhen), with 6 subditches. Below these, e) Dharga n-Timsaman—Ifthisen, Ihankuren (Aith 'Ari), r-Ma'iza (Imrabdhen), Thimsaman
20 NW—Sidd Jdid—4 subunits: same as Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan (19 NW), above.
21 NW—Sidd Dharwa nj-Hajj Sha'ib—Upper Swani (Aith 'Ari), Lower Swani (Imrabdhen)

DITCH	CLAN	IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS
	Second Day	
	Imrabdhen	a) Yinn Si ‘Amar: 1) Lineage of Iqsha‘iwen 2) Lineage of Dharwa ‘Abdallah
	Third Day	
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Aith Bu Dhimmus
	but Aith ‘Ari	a) Ihaddushen b) r-Hujjaj
	Imrabdhen	a) Andrusen
	Fourth Day	
	Imrabdhen	a) r-Bzimma: 1) Lineage of Aith z-Zawith
Sidd Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma‘iz (8 GE)		

Comment: This ditch was cemented by the Spanish administration about 1950 and is the principal ditch emanating from the Ghis River. It irrigates down to Swani and the Bay of al-Husaima; the lineages of ar-Rfidh, Imhawren and Aith Mhand u-Yihya are among the irrigators. One informant's account lists Dharga n-Tafadhna as its principal secondary ditch, but other accounts and visual evidence do not bear this out, even though the latter ditch, too, was cemented at approximately the same time. (According to the same account, it irrigated, in 1953, the land of the then Pasha of al-Husaima, Mikki n-Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, and that of the lineages of Ihanjiqen of the Aith Mhand u-Yihya, Iburjilathen of the Imrabdhen n-Aith Hishim, Ihaddallahan of the Aith Misa‘ud u-Yusif of Ajdir, some land belonging to ‘Abd al-Krim, and, in the Aith ‘Ari, Bu Srimath, Shimurra and Upper Swani. In this ditch, irrigation water is divided on an hourly rather than on a daily basis.)

Another version, and in my opinion a more correct one, lists Dharga n-Tafadhna as a primary ditch, on a par with Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma‘iz. It also lists three secondary ditches as emanating from the latter, as follows:

DITCH	CLAN	IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS
Dharga nj-Bu r-Ma‘iz (3-Day Turn)	*First Day (24 hrs.)* Tifirasin Secondary Ditch— Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain: 1) Lineage of Ibukriwen 2) Lineage of Ihanjiqen b) Thafrasth: 1) Lineage of Im‘arwen
	Second Day (24 hrs.) Ghis Bu r-Ma‘iz Secondary Ditch— Aith ‘Ari	a) Imhawren: 1) Lineage of Aith ‘Aru Hmid 2) Lineage of Aith ‘Abdallah u-Hmid 3) Lineage of Aith Muhand u-Hmid
	Third Day (24 hrs.) Tafadhna n-Dara Secondary Ditch— Imrabdhen	a) Yinn Si ‘Amar: 1) Lineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj ‘Amar 2) Lineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj Muhand
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Aith Bu Dhimmus and lineage of Dharwa n-Muhammadi ‘Allush
Dharga n-Tafadhna (9 GE) (3-Day Turn)	*First Day (24 hrs.)* Imhawren Secondary Ditch— Aith ‘Ari	a) Imhawren: 1) Lineage of Aith ‘Aru Hmid 2) Lineage of Aith ‘Abdallah u-Hmid 3) Lineage of Aith Muhand u-Hmid

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
	Second Day (24 hrs.)	
Aith Bu Dhimmus Secondary Ditch—		
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Aith Bu Dhimmus and lineage of Dharwa n-Muhammadi ‘Allush
	Third Day (24 hrs.)	
Yinn Si ‘Amar Secondary Ditch—		
	Imrabdhen	a) Yinn Si ‘Amar: 1) Lineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj ‘Amar 2) Lineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj Muhand

B) GHIS RIVER: DITCHES ON WEST BANK DOWNSTREAM FROM SUNDAY MARKET OF THISAR TO BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Sidd Thanda u-Ma‘ish (1 GW)	Aith ‘Abdallah	a) Bu Khalifa b) Ibunharen
Sidd Izarruqen-Sidd Aith Qamra-Sidd Aith Buham (name changes are successive as this ditch flows north) (2GW)	Imrabdhen	a) Izarruqen b) Aith Qamra
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Aith Buham
Sidd Idardushen (flows from Thursday Market of Imrabdhen to Aith Misa‘ud) (3 GW)	Imrabdhen	a) Idardushen b) Aith Misa‘ud
Sidd Dharwa Umrabit ‘Ari (4 GW)	Imrabdhen	a) Aith Hishim
Sidd Ijddain (5 GW)	Imrabdhen →	a) Aith Bu Zimbu ×
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Izifzafen
	Aith ‘Ari →	a) Iqubi‘an ×
Sidd Franguth (6 GW)	Imrabdhen	a) Aith Hishim b) Aith r-Qadi
	Aith ‘Ari	a) Iqubi‘an b) Bu Srimath

Comment: This ditch irrigates to Ifaran n-Sidi Hmid (Aith Hishim, Iqubi‘an), and to Dharwa n-Muhand Akkuh (Bu Srimath, Aith r-Qadi).

Sidd Dharga nj-Bzimma (7 GW)
(4-Day Turn)

Comment: This is a fully cemented ditch, and with Bu r-Ma‘iz and Tafadhna, it is one of the three major ditches of the Lower Ghis. It irrigates Ajdir, Azghar and Andrusen, and empties into the Bay of al-Husaima at a point just facing al-Husaima Island. It has four secondary ditches, as follows:

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Sidd Dharga nj-Bzimma: 4-Day Turn (7 GW)		
	First Day (24 hrs.)	
Ajdir Secondary Ditch—		
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Ajdir: 1) Lineage of Aith ‘Aru ‘Aisa, turn of u-Haddu. 2) Lineage of Aith Misa‘ud u-Yusif, turn of u-Misa‘ud u-Yusif. (Both of these groups irrigate for 24 hrs.)
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Ajdir: 3) Lineage of Aith ‘Aru ‘Aisa, turn of w-‘Alla. 4) Lineage of Aith Zara‘, turn of u-Hammu. (Both of these groups irrigate for 24 hrs.)

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Second Day (24 hrs.) Ughir Izan Secondary Ditch—	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Ajdir: 1) Turn of w-‘Alla Ughir Izan. 2) Turn of u-Dris. (Both of these units irrigate for 24 hrs.)

Second Comment: All the above “*u-*” names (u-Haddu, u-Misa‘ud u-Yusif, w-‘Alla, u-Hammu, u-Yikhrif, u-Yihya, u-Musa, w-‘Alla Ughir Izan and u-Dris) denote members of lineages or even the ancestors of these lineages who long ago owned land in Ajdir. One of the three major lineages of Ajdir is still the Aith Misa‘ud u-Yusif, while the subclan name of Aith Ughir Izan is still also integrally retained. In the other cases, the lineages which succeeded the ancient ones above still irrigate in their names, the only instance in Waryagharland where this is the case.

Third Day (24 hrs.) Bu Mqathir Secondary Ditch—	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Azghar: 1) Lineage of Aith Bu Mqathir 2) Lineage of Tishtin r-B‘ai
	Imrabdhen	a) Aith z-Zawith (in area of Monday Women's Market at Azghar)

Third Comment: All the above secondary ditches are collectively known as r-Bzimma n-Dara or “Upper r-Bzimma.”

Fourth Day (24 hrs.), *Possibly Fifth Day* *Also* Sidd Tuth r-Hammam Secondary Ditch (known also as r-Bzimma n-Waddai or “Lower r-Bzimma”)—	Imrabdhen	a) Aith Kammun, turn of u-Kammuni. b) Aith r-Qadi, turn of u-r-Qadi. c) Aith ‘Amar u-Bukar, turn ofu-Muhand. d) z-Zawith (n-Sidi Yusif).

Fourth Comment: Once again, there are “*u-*” names here, names meaning, in essence, “son of,” and once again denoting the names of ancient lineages or of the ancestors thereof, names which have survived in local irrigation turns to the present day (e.g., u-Kammuni=Aith Kammun, u-r-Qadi=Aith r-Qadi).

C) UPPER NKUR RIVER: DITCHES ISSUING FROM TRIBUTARIES THEREOF

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Dharga nj-‘Ass (1 TN)	Aith Turirth	Aith l-‘Ass: a) Imjjat b) Aith ‘Aru Musa: sublineage of Dharwa n-‘Amar w-‘Aisa

Comment: As noted in Chapter 4, there are eight turns of twenty-four hours each emanating from the Saru nj-‘Ass, the l-‘Ass Stream: four for the Dharwa n-‘Amar w-‘Aisa sublineage of the Aith ‘Aru Musa, and four for the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, or Imjjat. The Saru nj-‘Ass rises as a mountain spring, and water from springs, unlike river water, is always divided up on a turn basis.

(Saru Bulma—***Comment:*** As Bulma itself is largely a waterless plain—and hence its name—the Saru Bulma has no ditches. The stream is usually a dry bed.)

Dharga n-Tigzirin (2 TN)	Aith Turirth	a) Tigzirin: all lineages

Comment: Like the Saru nj-‘Ass, this stream also emanates from a spring, Dhandrust, but in this case there are eleven turns of 12 hours each. Tigzirin is an exceptional community in the Jbil Hmam by virtue of having its houses and fields all relatively close together, as well as a relatively higher concentration and density of population than the rest.

Dharga n-Timarzga (3 TN)	Timarzga	a) Asrafil: 1) Lineage of Yinn ‘Amar w-‘Aisa b) Aith Yusif: 1) Lineage of Yinn ‘Ari Mqaddim

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Second Day (24 hrs.) Ughir Izan Secondary Ditch—	Aith Yusif w-'Ari	a) Ajdir: 1) Turn of w-'Alla Ughir Izan. 2) Turn of u-Dris. (Both of these units irrigate for 24 hrs.)

Second Comment: All the above "*u-*" names (u-Haddu, u-Misa'ud u-Yusif, w-'Alla, u-Hammu, u-Yikhrif, u-Yihya, u-Musa, w-'Alla Ughir Izan and u-Dris) denote members of lineages or even the ancestors of these lineages who long ago owned land in Ajdir. One of the three major lineages of Ajdir is still the Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, while the subclan name of Aith Ughir Izan is still also integrally retained. In the other cases, the lineages which succeeded the ancient ones above still irrigate in their names, the only instance in Waryagharland where this is the case.

Third Day (24 hrs.) Bu Mqathir Secondary Ditch—	Aith Yusif w-'Ari	a) Azghar: 1) Lineage of Aith Bu Mqathir 2) Lineage of Tishtin r-B'ai
	Imrabdhen	a) Aith z-Zawith (in area of Monday Women's Market at Azghar)

Third Comment: All the above secondary ditches are collectively known as r-Bzimma n-Dara or "Upper r-Bzimma."

Fourth Day (24 hrs.), Possibly Fifth Day Also Sidd Tuth r-Hammam Secondary Ditch (known also as r-Bzimma n-Waddai or "Lower r-Bzimma")—	Imrabdhen	a) Aith Kammun, turn of u-Kammuni. b) Aith r-Qadi, turn of u-r-Qadi. c) Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, turn ofu-Muhand. d) z-Zawith (n-Sidi Yusif).

Fourth Comment: Once again, there are "*u-*" names here, names meaning, in essence, "son of," and once again denoting the names of ancient lineages or of the ancestors thereof, names which have survived in local irrigation turns to the present day (e.g., u-Kammuni=Aith Kammun, u-r-Qadi=Aith r-Qadi).

C) UPPER NKUR RIVER: DITCHES ISSUING FROM TRIBUTARIES THEREOF

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Dharga nj-'Ass (1 TN)	Aith Turirth	Aith l-'Ass: a) Imjjat b) Aith 'Aru Musa: sublineage of Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa

Comment: As noted in Chapter 4, there are eight turns of twenty-four hours each emanating from the Saru nj-'Ass, the l-'Ass Stream: four for the Dharwa n-'Amar w-'Aisa sublineage of the Aith 'Aru Musa, and four for the Dharwa Ufqir Azzugwagh, or Imjjat. The Saru nj-'Ass rises as a mountain spring, and water from springs, unlike river water, is always divided up on a turn basis.

(Saru Bulma—***Comment:*** As Bulma itself is largely a waterless plain—and hence its name—the Saru Bulma has no ditches. The stream is usually a dry bed.)

Dharga n-Tigzirin (2 TN)	Aith Turirth	a) Tigzirin: all lineages

Comment: Like the Saru nj-'Ass, this stream also emanates from a spring, Dhandrust, but in this case there are eleven turns of 12 hours each. Tigzirin is an exceptional community in the Jbil Hmam by virtue of having its houses and fields all relatively close together, as well as a relatively higher concentration and density of population than the rest.

Dharga n-Timarzga (3 TN)	Timarzga	a) Asrafil: 1) Lineage of Yinn 'Amar w-'Aisa b) Aith Yusif: 1) Lineage of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim

Comment: This ditch has four turns of 24 hours each: 1) Muhammad n-‘Abdssram n-‘Ari of I‘abdr‘azizen, Yinn ‘Amar w-‘Aisa, in Asrafil; 2) Hajj Sha‘ib n-Misa‘ud n-Bu Tahat, of the Dharwa n-Bu Tahar Muhand, of Yinn ‘Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif; 3) Dharwa n-‘Abdallah n-Bu Dhshkurth; and 4) half for Muhammad n-‘Abdssram n-‘Ari and half for Yidir n-‘Allush.

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Rudhazzugwagh (Dharga nj-Udha Azzugwagh (4 TN)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith Uswir

Comment: This ditch emanates from a spring.

Dharga n-Tufatsh (5 TN)	Aith Turirth	a) Tufatsh: 1) Lineage of Aith Ufaran

Comment: This ditch emanates from a spring.

Further Comment: The streams called Saru n-Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu ‘Ayyash), Saru n-Tizimmurin (Aith Turirth), Saru n-Aith u-Maru (Aith ‘Arus) and Saru n-Tufatsh (Aith Turirth) have no *dhighza* or irrigated orchards beside them, and hence there is no irrigation by turns. These streams are all erratic. They do, however, always have water, although during the rainy season the Maru River is always one of the first to flood. Only the Nkur itself has *dhighza*.

D) NKUR RIVER: DITCHES ON EAST BANK DOWNSTREAM FROM IGZINNAYEN BORDER TO BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
1. *Upper Nkur Ditches*		
Dharga n-Siharr (1 NE)	Timarzga	a) Asrafil: 1) Yinn ‘Amar w-‘Aisa, sublineage of I‘abdr‘azizen
Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Tasirth (2 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma and Aith l-‘Ass 2) "True" Aith ‘Aru Musa
Dharga nj-‘Attaf (3 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma and Aith l-‘Ass 2) Ignan 3) "True" Aith ‘Aru Musa
Dharga n-Tanirutsh (4 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma and Aith l-‘Ass 2) Ignan 3) "True" Aith ‘Aru Musa
Dharga n-Tufdhist u-Saru (5 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma
Dharga n-Tarkthawth (6 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand
Dharga w-Urkuz (7 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Sublineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj Muhand b) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand and Ihammuthen: 1) Sublineage of Ika‘ushen
Dharga n-Tufdhist Ufqir (8 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Uswir 2) Dharwa n-Si Muhand Shihi of Ihawtshen (who purchased land there).
Dharga n-Taghzwith Ujimmad (9 NE)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Ya‘qub of Habbu and Ahridz Ughyur
Dharga Idharragen (10 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Aith Bu Khrif
Dharga w-Urma (11 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Aith Bu Khrif
2. *Middle Nkur Ditches*		
Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Dasa (12 NE)	Axt Tuzin: a) Clan of Axt Tsaft Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	Lineages of Dhaghzwith n-Dasa Imnudh: a) Aith Ishshu lineage group b) Aith Umnudh lineage group

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Sidd r-B‘ur (13 NE)	Axt Tuzin only	Local *shurfa* whose land is opposite Imnudh (Aith Bu ‘Ayyash)
Dharga n-Mabar (14 NE)	Axt Tuzin only	Land on east bank of Nkur River Bridge
3. *Lower Nkur Ditches*		
Sidd Azru n-Tasrith (15 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Ighmiren b) Izakiren
	Axt Tuzin	a) Axt ‘Akki

Comment: The present lagoon of Thanda Hawa ("Eve's Lagoon") is beside the site of the Madinat an-Nakur, and an ancient ditch connected it with the Burj al-Mujahidin at Ajdir. The lagoon itself belongs half to the Aith Waryaghar and half to the Axt Tuzin, and hence the above division of water from the Azru n-Tasrith irrigation ditch. The rock of Azru n-Tasrith (lit., "the rock of the bride," and locally pronounced *Azru n-Srith*) is so called because it is said to have the shape of a bride mounted on a mule (although I myself have never been able to see the resemblance).

Sidd Asiyar (16 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Ighmiren b) Izakiren: lineage of Aith Bu Srama
	Aith Yusif w-‘Ari	a) Lower Ikattshumen
	Axt Tuzin	a) Axt ‘Akki
	Thimsaman: a) Clan of Truguth	Lineages: 1) Imrabdhen n-Bu Zwiqa 2) Aith Habbuqush 3) Thabarkhashth
Dharga n-Sunduq (17 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Ighmiren: 1) "True" Ighmiren lineages 2) Lineage of Aith Fars
Sidd ‘Arridh (18 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Izakiren: all lineages
	Thimsaman: a) Clan of Truguth	a) Imrabdhen n-Bu Zwiqa

Comment: One documented interpretation lists this ditch as belonging to the community of Izakiren, in its entirety.

Sidd Ihajjamen (19 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Izakiren: all lineages
	Thimsaman: Clan of Truguth	a) Exact lineages not known
Sidd Mbujinn (20 NE)	Aith Bu ‘Ayyash	a) Izakiren: all lineages
	Thimsaman: a) Clan of Truguth	Lineages of: 1) I‘abbuthen 2) Imsa‘udhen 3) Aith Habbuqush 4) Dharwa nj-Qaid ‘Allal
Sidd Iznagen (21 NE)	Thimsaman only: a) Clan of Truguth	Lineages of: 1) I‘abbuthen 2) Thabarkhashth 3) Imsa‘udhen 4) Land of ‘Abd al-Krim in the Thimsaman, which was taken over by the Spanish Experimental Farm of Imzuren upon its establishment.

Comment: This ditch, Sidd Iznagen, goes out to empty into the salt flats on the Thimsaman side of the Bay of al-Husaima.

E) NKUR RIVER: DITCHES ON WEST BANK DOWNSTREAM FROM IGZINNAYEN BORDER TO BAY OF AL-HUSAIMA

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
1. *Upper Nkur Ditches*		
Dharga n-Tufdhisth nj-Hajj Sha‘ib (1 NW)	Timarzga	a) Aith Yusif: 1) Lineage of Yinn ‘Ari Mqaddim, and sublineage of Dharwa nj-Hajj Sha‘ib n-Bu Tahar Muhand;
Dharga n-Taghzwith n-Sidi Muhand (2 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith ‘Aru Musa: 1) Lineage of Dharwa n-Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa‘ud (Imrabdhen resident in the Aith Turirth).

DITCH	*CLAN*	*IRRIGATING LINEAGE GROUPS*
Dharga n-Tignit (3 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith 'Aru Musa: 1) Lineage of Aith Uswir 2) Lineage of Dharwa Umrabit 'Amar (*shurfa* from Dwaiyar, Igzinnayen)
Dharga n-Bu Yasin (4 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith 'Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma 2) Aith Ignan 3) "True" Aith 'Aru Musa: sublineage of Yinn 'Ari Muhand Uqshar (of Thasriwin)
Dharga Ishimjan (5 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) Aith 'Aru Musa: 1) Aith Bulma
Dharga Ufindush (6 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand
Dharga n-Tgisith (7 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand
Dharga Inurar (8 NW)	Aith 'Arus	a) Maru: 1) Aith u-Maru
Dharga n-Tigrar (9 NW)	Aith Turirth	a) l-Wad: 1) Aith Yikhrif u-Hand
Dharga Izathimen (10 NW)	Aith 'Arus	a) Aith Juhra
Dharga n-Taghzwith nj-Arba' (11 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Aith Bu Khrif
	Aith Turirth: Imrabdhen	a) Dharwa n-Sidi Hmid n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud

2. *Middle Nkur Ditches*

Sidd n-Tazurakhth (12 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Tazurakhth: all lineages except part of Aith Tizi Marda b) Aith Bu Khrif
Sidd Tasirth (so-called because a mill is there) (13 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Tazurakhth: rest of lineage of Aith Tizi Marda b) land of Qaid Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan c) land of Qadi Hmid n-'Abdssram l-Bu 'Ayyashi
Sidd Imnudh (14 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Imnudh or Aith Umnudh

Comment: This ditch has two secondary ditches, Dharga n-Udhar and Dharga n-w-Udhmar. Both are used exclusively by the Aith Umnudh of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

Sidd nj-Hammam	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Ighmiren: 1) Lineage of Aith Tizi b) Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen c) ar-Rabda

3. *Lower Nkur Ditches*

Dharga n-Tufrashth (16 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Ighmiren: all lineages b) Izakiren: all lineages

Comment: This ditch irrigates the fields of four lineage groups in Ighmiren and another four in Izakiren, with a total of about 100–150 adult and married men who own property. Each of these lineage groups or *dharfiqin* divides up its share of the water among its 15–20 constituent *nubath* or elementary families, and their plowmen and plots of land; and each elementary family receives 24 hours of irrigation water at a time. (Blanco, however, states that the Izakiren lineages receive five days of water from this ditch, and that the Ighmiren lineages only receive two days. Cf. Blanco, op. cit., 1939, p. 129.) It is very seldom, however, that all eight lineages irrigate at the same time, except in summer, when there is little water. At this time, about half the *nubath* concerned take their water during the day, and the rest at night. There is not enough water in summer to irrigate the vegetable gardens of the Plain (onions, potatoes, water-melons, etc.) properly. But in winter, when there is much water, only three or four lineages need to irrigate at once. These basic patterns apply to all the ditches in the Lower Nkur Valley.

Dharga nj-Hadhidha (17 NW)	Aith Bu 'Ayyash	a) Izakiren: 1) Lineage of Aith Bu Srama 2) Lineage of Ihaddjiyen
	Aith Yusif w-'Ari	a) Lower Ikattshumen b) Aith 'Aru 'Aisa
	Aith 'Ari	a) r-'Aramth b) Aith 'Alla c) Aith Bu Minqad d) Imzuren

Comment: This ditch always has water, and irrigates, as noted above, for six lineage groups each having a right to 24 hours of water at a time. The complexities of land tenure in the Plain become apparent when it is realized that these six lineages belong to no less than three distinct clans: two to the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, one to the Aith Yusif w-‘Ari and one to the Aith ‘Ari.

Dharga n-Dahar (18 NW)—Eight turns (see *Comment*)

Comment: This is a very high-walled ditch, with a total of eight turns corresponding to eight lineage groups. The Dharga n-Dahar ditch crosses the territory of the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, who have four out of the eight turns in question: Abyadh, Dhasrand Imziren (1/2 Aith Bu ‘Ayyash, and 1/2 Aith Musa w-‘Amar of the Aith ‘Ari), Ihaddushen and Imzuren. The Aith Bu ‘Ayyash irrigate from Dhasrand Imziren to the Nkur and the Aith ‘Ari do so from Ihaddushen to Imzuren. Another interpretation, however, divides up the water of this ditch as half for the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash (Izakiren) and half for the Aith ‘Ari; and it is this second interpretation which is endorsed by Blanco.

Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan (19 NW)—Four turns (see *Comment*)

Comment:

1. Imhawren (Aith ‘Ari)
2. Aith Dara (“Upper People”):
    a) Sidd Hajib: mostly Aith Musa w-‘Amar and lower Iswiqen (Aith ‘Ari).
    b) Sidd Inufan: again, mostly Aith Musa w-‘Amar and Lower Iswiqen (Aith ‘Ari). There are also two families of resident *shurfa* from Snada in the Aith Yittuft who use this secondary ditch.
    c) Sidd Bu Kra‘: irrigates r-‘Azib Imzuren (Imrabdhen) and the Aith Musa w-‘Amar (Aith ‘Ari) lineages of Ihankuren, Ibujriren and Ifthisen up through Imjjudhen (Aith ‘Ari, again) as well as r-Mruj (the name of the land on which the Spanish Experimental Farm was located) and Ahamri. The Experimental Farm received two days of water per week from this ditch, from Tuesday afternoons to Thursday afternoons.
    d) Sidd Ahammar: irrigates land of Qadi Hmid n-‘Abdssram l-Bu ‘Ayyashi, and that of the lineage of Ihankuren (Aith ‘Ari).
    e) Sidd Maskur: irrigates the lineages of Ifthisen and Ifaqiren, in Aith Musa w-‘Amar (Aith ‘Ari).
3. Aith Waddai (“Lower People”)—Four ditches, including Sidd ‘Ain Harri and Sidd Bu r-Ma‘iz.
4. Ishtari (irrigates principally for the Imrabdhen of Aith ‘Aziz).
    a) Sidd Tagharbund: irrigates the lineages of Ihankuren and Imjjudhen (Aith ‘Ari), the land of Mikki n-Sriman r-Khattabi (in Spanish times the pasha of Villa Sanjurjo and of the Aith Yusif w-‘Ari), and some of Bu Minqad (Aith ‘Ari).
    b) Sidd ‘Abdallah: irrigates the Ifaqiren lineage of r-‘Azib Imzuren (Imrabdhen).
    c) Sidd Arbib: irrigates Ifaqiren and r-Ma‘iza (Imrabdhen).
    d) Sidd Ishtari (which gave its name to the larger ditch): has a turn of 24 hours and irrigates the lineages of Imrabdhen nj-‘Azib Imzuren (Imrabdhen), Imhawren, Aith Musa w-‘Amar (specifically the lineages of Ihankuren, Ibujriren and Ifthisen), Imjjudhen and Bu Minqad (Aith ‘Ari).
    e) Sidd Uqubi‘: irrigates Imhawren (Aith ‘Ari) and Izifzafen (Aith Yusif w-‘Ari).
    f) Sidd ar-Riyaga: irrigates Imhawren, Bu Minqad and Aith Musa w-‘Amar (Aith ‘Ari).

And downstream from these:

5. Dharga n-Timsaman—Four turns (see *Comment*)

Comment: This ditch is located in fact on the east rather than on the west bank of the Nkur, but it flows out of the Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan. The Dharga n-Timsaman always has a right to one-third of all the water from the Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan, no matter how many or how few of the constituent irrigators come to get it. The land which is irrigated by Waryaghar lineages was bought by them from the Thimsaman and hence the name. *Nubath* or elementary families of the following lineages are involved: Ifthisen (Aith ‘Ari—24 hours), Ihankuren (Aith ‘Ari—24 hours), r-Ma‘iza (Imrabdhen—24 hours), and Thimsaman (24 hours). Those Thimsaman who live nearby thus retain a share in the water from the ditch bearing their name.

Sidd Jdid (20 NW)—Four turns (see *Comment*)

Comment: This ditch is used in summer by exactly the same lineages which irrigate from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan, above.

Sidd Dharwa nj-Hajj Sha‘ib (21 NW)—Two turns (see *Comment*)

Comment: This ditch irrigates for the following lineages: Dharwa nj-Hajj Sha‘ib (Upper Swani, Aith ‘Ari), and Shurfa n-Dharwa n-Sidi Haddu (Lower Swani, Imrabdhen).

APPENDIX II

(CHAPTER 6)

IZRAN

28.

The following are representative *izran* or rhymed couplets sung by unmarried girls in the Jbil Hmam (especially in the Aith Turirth), as of 1954–55:

1. *Allif-inu yuwi, dhashabyuxth w-anu*
   Ur iwi dhimlih minzi thaghaitu.
   My sweetheart (masc.) is with a crude girl at the well
   Let him not marry a nice girl so that he will forget me.
2. *Swiyai apaiyasa gi r-wust nj-mrah*
   Aj-jari n-Tigzirin idhai innan arah.
   Put this mattress (Fr. *paillasse*) down for me in the middle of the courtyard
   The *jari* of Tigzirin has let me dance.
3. *Dhibrighin n-Bulma agwant stta-stta*
   Atshakuri-insend dh-'Amar n-Bahida.
   The girls of Bulma came down six by six
   Their representative ("pimp") is 'Amar n-Bahida. (The latter was the local *amzir* or blacksmith in the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and his social standing was very low indeed.)
4. *A Rbbi, maghar ur iddjigh, dhi-trifu gi r-Mirwith*
   Huma dhisawara ghar allif inith.
   Oh Lord (God), I want to telephone to the Mulwiya
   So that I can speak personally to my sweetheart (who is working in Algeria).
5. *Akhadhmin r-kurfi anamassu 'awd*
   r-Mqaddim n-Turirth adhidha ad r-qaid.
   He worked on the corvée (of the Makhzan) and they want him to work again
   The *mqaddim* of the (Aith) Turirth will soon be made a *qaid* (this last was a 1954 prediction which never came true).
6. *Ahsib allif ahsab, azzugwa min timnun.*
   'Amain darida, 'am u-nuss di-fuyun.
   When we are in love, the sequence is as follows:
   Two years of love and one and a half years of quarrelling (Sp. *follón).*
7. *A Valinsiyana aya r-'amar-inu,*
   Suyudhas agharrabu nisradh allif-inu.
   Oh Valenciana (name of Spanish Protectorate bus line), oh my soul,
   Please send a boatload of regrets to my sweetheart (working in Algeria).
8. *Ay amuray-nnagh, ay immis nj-asr,*
   Shinna mara yiqqim Khar Kwarsi adhifasar.
   Oh our bridegroom, the son of a good lineage,
   He wants to sit on a chair and command people (i.e., to be a tribal authority).
9. *Abiddagh gi-dhawarth innai no poder,*
   Porque no poder, entonces no saber.
   He came to the door, and told me he could not,
   Because he could not, this means he does not know how
   (Here the last two words of the first line and all of the second line are in Rifianized Spanish; the obvious reference is that of the girl who heaps scorn on a bashful and incompetent lover.).
10. *Ikhashshad g-unibdu, ikhashindi ibihithen,*
    Ikhashshad usinnidh ux-ufudh ifutikhen.
    The summer has come, and love along with it,
    I have been able to lie down at the knee of my sweetheart.

And some representative *izran* sung by girls in the Plain:

1. *Abridh n-tumubil arra Tanja dhihad,*
   Akhdim allif akhdim arrumdhuru wahid.
   The main road to Tangier stops there,
   There my sweetheart works and in summer he will return to marry me.
2. *A Bu Garru ya raghair arkiyadh gi-fus,*
   Asthikhbar-inex arridhar dh-susus.
   I burned my finger with a cigarette,
   and am left thin as a result of your love.
3. *Ofisina Ujdir r-bandira lo laso,*
   Amarzu khi-thuthi allif y yo paso.
   The office (Sp. *oficina,* "bureau") of Ajdir has a flag with a knot
   My sweetheart (a *mkhazni*) is there on duty and cannot come to see me.
4. *Ithnain ibridhen dhimsaggen aw-anu,*
   Ijj thawighanni, ijjin dh-allif-inu.
   Two paths join together at the well,
   One comes from me, the girl, and one from my sweetheart.

It is readily observable that all these couplets have to do, in one way or another, with the subject of romantic love, which is just as important in Morocco as anywhere in the Western world, although it may take rather different forms. The couplets to follow, sung by the *imdhyazen,* represent the analogous male point of view:

1. *Afunara ni-sh-sharq suwar udhaghs isirman,*
Nish ta'yar akidh-im, shim dhinni ti-yimmam!
A scarf from Algeria (lit. "from the east") with pictures of fish on it (as a gift),
I am only playing with you, and you go and tell your mother!

2. *Sarigh a n-Nadhur, iqqim ibil-'Abbas,*
Ash-khabar Yamna, a Khadduj ma la bas
I went to Nador, but did not get to Sidi bil-'Abbas (In Algeria),
How is Yamna? For Khadduj is very well.

3. *Dhahanjirth*[1] *tamzzyand gi dhir n-ar-rimman,*
Wa mi wa nimsigir mirghani iriyan?
Little girl in the shade of the pomegranate tree,
How will we get together and how will we spend our life?

4. *Dhahanjirth tamzzyand ay azikkur n-udhir,*
Antim'asha si-ddjirth, antimsa s-uzir.
Little girl like a bunch of grapes from a vine
Let us get together at night for dinner and each to his work during the day.

5. *Abarrad w-atay assasukhth itsimmidh,*
Dhahanjirth tamzzyand thijidda gi-simmidh.
A tea tray has been set out only to get cold,
A young girl has let me down in the cold.

6. *Izrig ayigarru innai ma tkiyafen*
r-kif ur tkiyyifen r-'amar ma tmillighen.
I was rolled a cigarette, and was told "Have a smoke,"
But I do not smoke with those who abuse me.

7. *Tumubil tazzugwakhth ahannas sinyayi*
A dhibhirth ni-na'na' i khatt sdh-adhayi.
Oh red bus, let me get up
I will get off at the garden of mint.

8. *Dhahanjirth tamzzyand gi dhawarth n-barra*
Qamad ijj ubarrad azdhadh ansu marra.
Little girl at the outside gate (of the house)
Fix a pot of tea and we will drink it together.

9. *Adhkhathind n-nuqqarth, athin yuktha w-amzir*
Antama'sha si-ddjirth, a nitta nsibda s-uzir.
Rings of silver made by the blacksmith
We come together at night and leave in the day.

---

[1] *Dhahanjirth* is the term for "girl" invariably employed by the Axt Tuzin, a fact indicating the Axt Tuzin origin of the *imdhyazen*, for the Aith Waryaghar the word is *thafrukhth*, pl. *thibrighin*.

APPENDIX III

(CHAPTER 10)

THE GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN AND "FIFTH" OF THE IMRABDHEN

Commentary on the significant features of the genealogy below (which was recorded in 1954-55) appears in the text of this book (Chapter 10). Here I give only the genealogy both leading to and of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar; and I do so with parenthetical comments of a skeletal kind on the more significant individuals and lineages who figure in it. Points of lineage definition and fission (as defined in the text), whether represented by an apical individual who is known, or if only by a lineage-group, are rendered in italics. For a general overall genealogy of Moroccan *shurfa*, the reader is referred to G. Drague (Pseud. of G. Spillmann), *Esquisse d'une Histoire Religieuse du Maroc*, Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, II, Paris: Peyronnet, 1950, charts I and II, facing p. 332.

* * *

LEVEL 1. THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD (died 632 A.D.)

L. 2. Lalla Fatima = 'ALI IBN ABI TALIB (The Prophet's father's brother's son)

L. 3. AL-HASAN (d. 670, in Medina) — AL-HUSAIN

L. 4. AL-HASAN AL-MATHNI — HUSAINI *shurfa*

L. 5. SIDI 'ABDALLAH AL-KAMIL

L. 6. MULAY IDRIS AL-AKBAR (First of the line to come to North Africa, in 788. Founder of Idrisid dynasty and point of definition of Idrisid *shurfa* in Morocco. Buried in Zarhun.)

L. 7. MULAY IDRIS AL-ASGHAR (Posthumous son of No. 6, above. Founder of city of Fez in 808, and buried there in *hurm* of Mulay Idris, in the Qarawiyin Mosque.)

L. 8. SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 9. SIDI 'ABDALLAH

L. 10. SIDI 'ALI

L. 11. SIDI HAIDARA (buried in Fez)

L. 12. SIDI MIZWAR (from Berber *amzggaru*, *amzwwaru*, "first"? Buried in tribe of SUMATA in the Jbala. Considered the first of the *sib'atu r-rijal* or "seven saints," lit. "seven men," of Morocco. Cf. Valentin Beneitez Cantero, "Miscelanea Costumbrista de Beni Aaros," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, VI, 22, Madrid 1952, pp. 18-28, esp. pp. 22-3.).

L. 13. SIDI SILLAM (buried in the BNI 'ARUS tribe of the Jbala. The second of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 14. SIDI 'AISA (buried in the BNI'ARUS of the Jbala; the third of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 15. SIDI HURMA or BU HURMA (buried in the BNI 'ARUS of the Jbala; the fourth of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 16. SIDI 'ALI (buried in the BNI 'ARUS of the Jbala; the fifth of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 17. SIDI ABU BAKR, or BU BKAR or BUKAR (buried in the BNI 'ARUS of the Jbala; the sixth of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 18. SIDI MSHISH (buried in the BNI 'ARUS of the Jbala; the last of the "seven saints": cf. Beneitez, above.).

L. 19.	SIDI MUSA (buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the BNI 'ARUS)	MULAY 'ABD AL-SALAM (d: 1227/8, buried in Jbil 'Alam, in the BNI 'ARUS: a *qutb* or "pole" of Moroccan Islam.).
L. 20.	SIDI AHMAD ("SIDI HAND U-MUSA," ancestor of the ASHT 'ARU 'AISA subclan of the IGZINNAYEN.).	SIDI 'ABD AL-KARIM
L. 21.		SIDI 'ABD AL-MALIK
L. 22.		SIDI 'ABDALLAH (BIN 'ABD AL-MALIK)
L. 23.		SIDI 'ABD AL-SALAM
L. 24.		SIDI MUHAMMAD
L. 25.		SIDI YASIN
L. 26.		SIDI MUHAMMAD
L. 27.		*SIDI IBRAHIM AL-A'RAJ* ("The Lame"):

Comment: Here we reach the point of definition, although not that of fission, for Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj was the first *sharif* to come to the tribal territory of Waryagharland. He came supposedly from Ceuta (Sibta), lived in the Jbil Hmam, established the Zawiyat al-Qulla at Bu Malik in what is now the lineage territory of the IDARDUSHEN, in the *Lower Imrabdhen* and on the banks of the Ghis River. He is said to have received his nickname *al-A'raj* through lameness engendered by a fall from his horse. He is buried outside the Bab l-Gisa in Fez, in a closed tomb with no *mqaddim* in attendance and bearing only a cardboard inscription, an indication of the fact that his mortal remains were not to be admitted to the *hurm* of Mulay Idris. The date of his death is uncertain: it is placed by the author of the *Maqsad* at 1285-85 A.D., while on the admittedly fragile and most *a posteriori* "cardboard" inscription, it is given as 1344. Neither of these dates tallies with that of the death of Mulay 'Abd al-Salam b. Mshish in the Jbala (at Level 19, above), eight generations earlier.

L. 28. SIDI YAHYA

L. 29. SIDI ISHAQ

L. 30. SIDI FADIL

L. 31. SIDI 'ABDALLAH

L. 32. SIDI ISKNAWI or ISKINAWI (supposedly from Ceuta, otherwise difficult to identify)

L. 33. SIDI AL-'ABBAS AL-FADIL (buried in "The East")

L. 34. SIDI 'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL-GHALBZURI:

Comment: This is the first appearance in the genealogy of the *Imrabdhen* sobriquet of *al-Ghalbzuri* (Rif. *Aghalbzuri*, pl. *Ighalbzuriyen*). Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ghalbzuri is buried in Fez, and one legend has it that he gave the Jbil Hmam its name.

L. 35. SIDI 'ABD AL-KARIM

Comment: The true point of fission of the *Imrabdhen* of the Aith Waryaghar, Sidi 'Abd al-Karim bin Sidi 'Abd al-'Aziz, is, however, buried in TIQQITH of the IBUQQUYEN. Unfortunately, no date of death can be assigned to him on the basis of independent evidence.

L. 36 (I): SIDI YA'QUB (BIN 'ABD AL-KRIM:) buried in IZAKIREN USASNU, in the "true" AITH BU 'AYYASH.

36 (II): SIDI 'AISA (BIN 'ABD AL-KRIM:) He is said to have married his deceased brother's wife (widow inheritance). He is buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA—the *zawiya* is named after him—in the *Upper Imrabdhen.* His line of descent was, and is, much more important than that of his elder brother Sidi Ya'qub.)

ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA: LINE OF SIDI YA'QUB BIN 'ABD AL-KRIM (36.I.)

L. 36 (I). SIDI YA'QUB BIN 'ABD AL-KRIM

L. 37. SIDI YIKHLIF

L. 38. SIDI 'UTHMAN

L. 39. SIDI L-AHSIN

L. 40. SIDI 'ALI

L. 41. SIDI YIKHLIF — SIDI YAHYA — SIDI MUHAMMAD — SIDI 'ABDALLAH

* * * *

L. 41 a. SIDI YIKHLIF

L. 42 a. SIDI MISA'UD

L. 43 a. SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 44 a. SIDI HMID "MARRUI" — SIDI MHAMMAD

L. 45 a. SIDI MUHAMMADI AZARQAN SIDI HMID SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 46 a. SIDI MUHAND AMQQRAN SIDI MUHAND AMZZYAN HAJJ MUHAMMAD

L. 47 a. SI HADDU (in IBAGHLIYEN) HMID (in MARRUI) MUHAMMAD AMQQRAN MUHAMMAD AMZZYAN (in IBAGHLIYEN) HAJJ TUHAMI

* * * * * *

L. 41 b. SIDI YAHYA

L. 42 b. SIDI HMID (?)

L. 43 b. *AITH SHINDUR* *IBILHAJJEN*

* * * * * * *

L. 41 c. SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 42 c. SIDI JILALI

L. 43 c. MUHAND

L. 44 c. HAJJ ʻAISA

L. 45 c. *DHARWA NJ-HAJJ ʻAISA* including, among others, HAMMU NJ-HAJJ ʻAISA, who was executed about 1924 by order of ʻAbd al-Krim in the Sunday Market of Thisar. He had in particular two sons:

L. 46 c. MUH N-HAMMU NJ-HAJJ ʻAISA (*qaid* of the Imrabdhen under the Spaniards, 1926–27, removed for high-handedness). ALLUSH N-HAMMU NJ-HAJJ ʻAISA (*Qaid* of the Imrabdhen under Spain 1927–34, succeeding his brother MUH, and Qaid of Uta Qaidate, embracing Aith Yusif w-ʻAri and Imrabdhen 1953–55).

N.B. DHARWA NJ-HAJJ ʻAISA also referred to as IJILALIYEN.

ALL REMAINING IMRABDHEN LINEAGES: LINE OF SIDI ʻAISA BIN ʻABD AL-KARIM (L. 36. II)

L. 36 (II). *SIDI ʻAISA BIN ʻABD AL-KARIM*

L. 37. A. (III): *SIDI ʻAMAR* *L. 37. B. (III): SIDI L-HAJJ YASIN*

L. 37 A. (III): SIDI ʻAMAR N-SIDI ʻAISA N-SIDI ʻABD AL-KARIM

L. 38 A. SIDI BUKAR (buried in Dhawragh in the Jbil Hmam, but grave site is not known).

L. 39 A. SIDI ʻAMAR U-BUKAR *SIDI ʻABD AR-RAZZAQ U-BUKAR*

1. *AITH ʻAMAR U-BUKAR:* L. 39 A. SIDI ʻAMAR U-BUKAR

L. 40 A. SIDI MHAND AFQIR (buried below Saturday Market of Imzuren). SIDI MUSA SIDI ʻATHMAN

* * *

a) *IFQIREN:* L. 40 A. SIDI MHAND AFQIR

L. 41 A. *IFQIREN*

* *

L. 40 A. SIDI MUSA

L. 41 A. SIDI LAHSIN — SIDI ʻABD R-ʻAZIZ — SIDI MHAND ("BU ZIMBU") — SIDI MUHAND

b) *AITH R-AHSIN:* L. 41 A. SIDI LAHSIN

L. 42 A. *AITH R-AHSIN* (present effective generation, in 1954–55, at L. 46 A).

* * *

c) *AITH ʻABD R-ʻAZIZ:*

L. 41 A. SIDI ʻABD R-ʻAZIZ

L. 42 A. *AITH ʻABD R-ʻAZIZ*

* * *

d) *AITH BU ZIMBU and IMRABDHEN N-IQANNIYEN:*

L. 41 A. SIDI MHAND ("BU ZIMBU")

L. 42 A. *AITH BU ZIMBU* — SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 43 A. SIDI HMID

L. 44 A. *IMRABDHEN (SHURFA) N-IQANNIYEN* (resident in the Aith ʻAbdallah, and as of 1953–55, the effective generation was at L. 46 A, in the person of SIDI ʻABD ARRAHMAN N-SIDI MUHAND N-SIDI MUHAND N-SIDI HMID.).

* * *

e) *IʻATHMANEN:* L. 40 A. SIDI ʻATHMAN

(L. 41 A. *IʻATHMANEN*)

L. 41 A. ZIYYAN — ʻABD L-KHALQ

L. 42 A. MUHAND — *IʻABDLKHALQEN*

L. 43 A. *YINN MUHAND U-ZIYYAN*

* * *

2. *AITH ʻABD AR-RAZZAQ U-BUKAR:*

I—L. 39 B. SIDI ʻABD AR-RAZZAQ U-BUKAR = ♀ n-SIDI DAWUD

L. 40 B-1. MHAND — L. 40 B-2. HMID (buried in "The East")

L. 41 B-1. SAʻID — MUSA — ʻABD R-ʻAZIZ — L. 41 B-2. L-QADI

L. 42 B-1. *IFASIYEN* — *IZIQQIWEN* (*baraka*-holders) — *IDARDUSHEN* — L. 42 B-2. *AITH R-QADI*

* *

1) *IFASIYEN:* L. 41 B-1. SAʻID N-SIDI MHAND

L. 42 B-1. MHAND — ʻABDALLAH — MUHAND

L. 43 B-1. Descendants in ZAWITH N-SIDI ʻAISA — HMID — Descendants in AXSHAB UMGHAR, in the THIMSAMAN

L. 44 B-1. MHAND — ʻABDSSRAM

L. 45 B-1. *IFASIYEN* "PROPER"

Comment: At L. 47 B-1, one descendant of one son of MHAND went to the French Zone, in Spanish times, and at the same level, two descendants of another of his sons are in AITH QAMRA, while at L. 50 B-1, two further descendants of this same son are in IFASIYEN and in SWANI. The effective generational level for the whole discontinuous lineage, in 1954-55, ranged between Levels 47/48 and 50 B-1.

2) *IZIQQIWEN:* L. 41 B-1. SIDI MUSA N-SIDI MHAND

L. 42 B-1. SIDI HMID

L. 43 B-1. SIDI MUSA

L. 44 B-1. SIDI MHAND ("AZIQQIW") U-MUSA

Comment: The true point of fission of this lineage, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, is one of the most important individual Imrabdhen in Waryagharland. Famous as an adjudicator of disputes, he was also both a fighter for the faith and a miracle-worker who had the ability to be in two places at once, as well as one who settled an Aith Waryaghar-Axt Tuzin boundary dispute to the distinct advantage of the former tribe (e.g., his own); and he reinforced the Waryaghar guard at the Marsat Imjahadhen or Burj l-Mujahidin fortress in Ajdir which still, as a ruin, overlooks the Spanish-held Island of al-Ḥusaima. He supposedly married the daughter of an *amghar* of the clan of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari, and was thus responsible for recementing an alliance between that clan and his own, an alliance which had presumably already been made many generations earlier by Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj. At any rate, a date can be assigned to Sidi Mhand u-Musa, on an informant's verbal authority: his death in 1254 A.H. (1838/39 A.D.), plus his burial in the so-called "Hillock of the Saints" in Aith Hishim. The same informant, who was one of his descendants, said that the IZIQQIWEN or DHARWA N-SIDI MHAND U-MUSA are the only "real" *shurfa* in Waryagharland (a claim which the AITH 'AZIZ also make for themselves), and that all other Imrabdhen are literally *imrabdhen* or *mrabtin*, in the sense of not being descended from the Prophet.

L. 45 B-1-a: SIDI SIDDIQ = ♀ No. 1

L. 46 B-1. SIDI MISA'UD "BU RJILA" — SIDI 'ABDSSRAM

Comment: The nickname is due to his having had a small or lame leg. He received the *baraka* directly from his grandfather Sidi Mhand u-Musa; it bypassed his father Sidi Siddiq. He died in 1288 A.H. (1871/2 A.D.) and is buried in Aith Hishim.

Comment: This man was the next recipient of the *baraka* after his nephew, Sidi Hmid "Bu Rjila," below: in this case the *baraka* jumped back a generation.

L. 46 B-1: SIDI MISA'UD "BU RJILA"

L. 47 B-1. SIDI HMID "BU RJILA" (received the *baraka* from his father.). — SIDI MHAMMAD "BU RJILA"

L. 48 B-1. SIDI 'ABDSSRAM "BU RJILA"

Comment: This man was stoned to death in 1924/5 in the Sunday Market of Thisar, by order of 'Abd al-Krim, for receiving money from or passing information to the Spaniards.

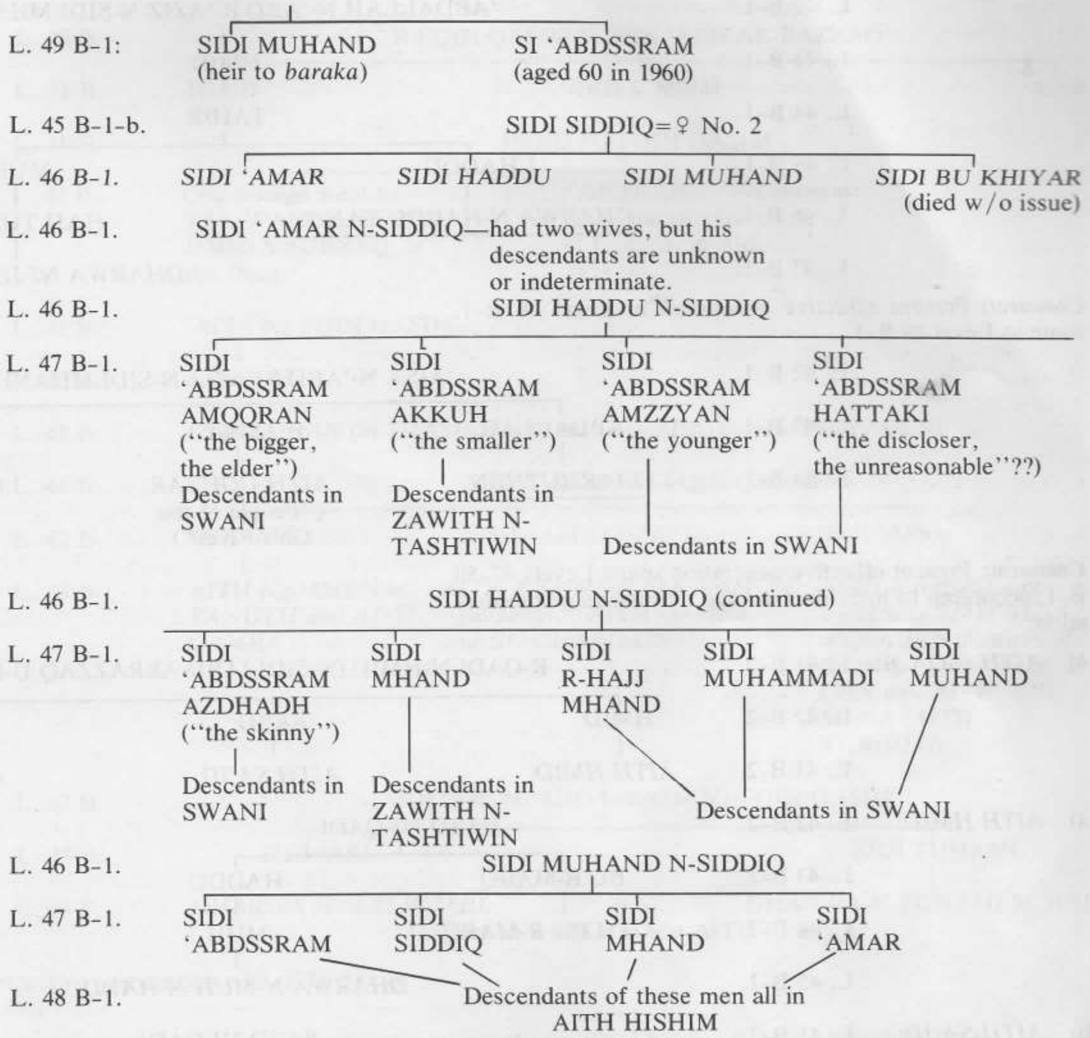
L. 49 B-1. SIDI MHAMMAD "BU RJILA" (current effective generation)

L. 46 B-1. SIDI 'ABDSSRAM N-SIDI SIDDIQ

L. 47 B-1. SIDI MUHAND (died 1305 A.H., or 1887/88 A.D., is buried in Aith Hishim, and probably received the *baraka* from his father).

L. 48 B-1. SIDI R-HAJJ 'AMAR (*Qaid* of the Imrabdhen under Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz, 1893-1908; possibly inherited the *baraka* from his father.). — SIDI HAMMADI — SIDI MUHAND — SIDI 'ABDSSRAM

Descendants all in Aith Hishim



L. 49 B-1: SIDI MUHAND (heir to *baraka*) — SI ‘ABDSSRAM (aged 60 in 1960)

L. 45 B-1-b. SIDI SIDDIQ = ♀ No. 2

L. 46 B-1. *SIDI ‘AMAR* — *SIDI HADDU* — *SIDI MUHAND* — *SIDI BU KHIYAR* (died w/o issue)

L. 46 B-1. SIDI ‘AMAR N-SIDDIQ—had two wives, but his descendants are unknown or indeterminate.

L. 46 B-1. SIDI HADDU N-SIDDIQ

L. 47 B-1. SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM AMQQRAN (“the bigger, the elder”) — SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM AKKUH (“the smaller”) — SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM AMZZYAN (“the younger”) — SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM HATTAKI (“the discloser, the unreasonable”??)

Descendants in SWANI — Descendants in ZAWITH N-TASHTIWIN — Descendants in SWANI

L. 46 B-1. SIDI HADDU N-SIDDIQ (continued)

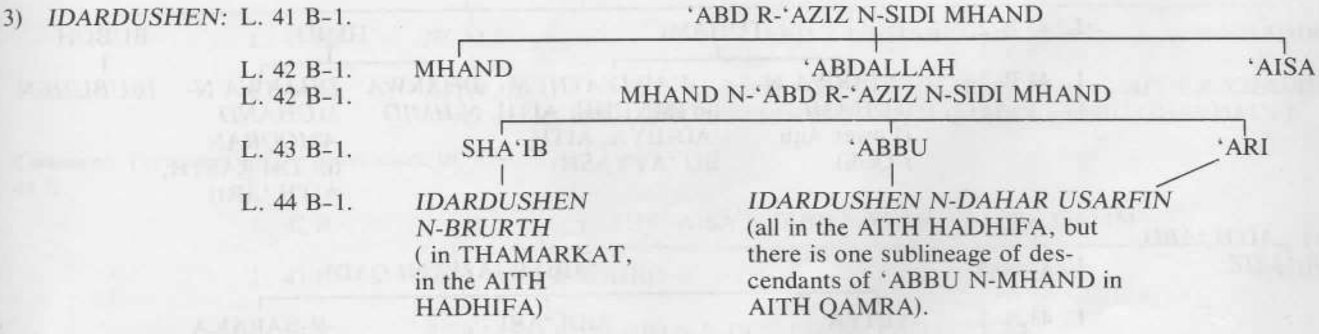
L. 47 B-1. SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM AZDHADH (“the skinny”) — SIDI MHAND — SIDI R-HAJJ MHAND — SIDI MUHAMMADI — SIDI MUHAND

Descendants in SWANI — Descendants in ZAWITH N-TASHTIWIN — Descendants in SWANI

L. 46 B-1. SIDI MUHAND N-SIDDIQ

L. 47 B-1. SIDI ‘ABDSSRAM — SIDI SIDDIQ — SIDI MHAND — SIDI ‘AMAR

L. 48 B-1. Descendants of these men all in AITH HISHIM



3) *IDARDUSHEN:* L. 41 B-1. ‘ABD R-‘AZIZ N-SIDI MHAND

L. 42 B-1. MHAND — ‘ABDALLAH — ‘AISA

L. 42 B-1. MHAND N-‘ABD R-‘AZIZ N-SIDI MHAND

L. 43 B-1. SHA‘IB — ‘ABBU — ‘ARI

L. 44 B-1. *IDARDUSHEN N-BRURTH* (in THAMARKAT, in the AITH HADHIFA) — *IDARDUSHEN N-DAHAR USARFIN* (all in the AITH HADHIFA, but there is one sublineage of descendants of ‘ABBU N-MHAND in AITH QAMRA).

Comment: The present effective generation is at Level 48 B-1: one man of the BRURTH group; BU TAHAR N-MHAND N-MUHAND N-SHA‘IB N-HMID N-SHA‘IB, was in 1953–55 the *khalifa* to the Qaid of the Upper Ghis Qaidate.

L. 42 B-1.	‘ABDALLAH N-‘ABD R-‘AZIZ N-SIDI MHAND	
L. 43 B-1.	HMID	
L. 44 B-1.	TAHIR	
L. 45 B-1.	HADDU	MUH
L. 46 B-1.	*DHARWA N-HADDU TAHIR*	HAJJ TUHAMI
L. 47 B-1.		*DHARWA NJ-HAJJ TUHAMI*

Comment: Present effective generation at Level 48 B-1, some at Level 49 B-1.

L. 42 B-1.	‘AISA N-‘ABD R-‘AZIZ N-SIDI MHAND		
L. 43 B-1.	‘ABDALLAH	‘AISA	‘AMAR
L. 44 B-1.	*IBARHUTHEN*	*AITH UGHZAR* ("People of the Ghis River")	*DHARWA N-BIN ‘AMAR*

Comment: Present effective generation spans Levels 47–50 B-1, according to individual lineage or sublineage proliferation.

4) *AITH R-QADI:*

L. 41 B-2.	R-QADI N-HMID (N-SIDI ‘ABD ARRAZZAQ U-BUKAR)		
L. 42 B-2.	HMID	SA‘ID	‘ABD R-‘AZIZ
L. 43 B-2.	*AITH HMID*	*AITH SA‘ID*	*AITH ‘ABD R-‘AZIZ*

a) *AITH HMID:*

L. 42 B-2.	HMID NJ-QADI	
L. 43 B-2.	BU R-MARQ	HADDU
L. 44 B-2.	*AITH BU R-MARQ*	MUH
L. 45 B-2.		*DHARWA N-MUH N-HADDU*

b) *AITH SA‘ID:*

L. 41 B-2.	SA‘ID NJ-QADI				
L. 43 B-2.	TUHAMI		HMID		BUBUH
L. 44 B-2.	*DHARWA N-TUHAMI* (Lower Aith r-Qadi)	*I‘AWIYATHEN* (in IMNUDH, AITH ‘ADHIYA, AITH BU ‘AYYASH)	*DHARWA N-HMID*	*DHARWA N-MUHAND AMQQRAN* (in TAFRASTH, AITH ‘ARI)	*IBUBUHEN*

c) *AITH ‘ABD R-‘AZIZ:*

L. 42 B-2.	‘ABD R-‘AZIZ NJ-QADI		
L. 43 B-2.	YIHYA	SIDI ‘ARI	R-BARAKA
L. 44 B-2.	*DHARWA N-YIHYA*	*DHARWA N-SIDI ‘ARI NJ-QADI*	*YINN R-BARAKA* (or IM‘ADDJIMEN: despite his name, the ancestor of this sublineage did not have the *baraka*).

* * *

II—L. 39 B.	SIDI ‘ABD AR-RAZZAQ U-BUKAR=Hafida n-SIDI BU MQATHIR
L. 40 B.	*R-FQIH QASIM*
L. 41 B.	*AITH KAMMUN*

1) *AITH KAMMUN:*

L. 40 B.		R-FQIH QASIM N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ	
L. 41 B.	HMID	*'ABD L-KRIM*	'AISA

L. 41 B.	HMID NJ-FQIH QASIM	
L. 42 B.	One lineage went to TALIWAN, in the BNI HMID S-SURRAQ, in the Jbala.	"ABARARIF"—***Comment:*** Only one survivor, at L. 45 B, in Ajdir, 1954–55.

L. 41 B. 'AISA NJ-FQIH QASIM
L. 42 B. ZARYUH
L. 43 B. *IZARYUHAN* (in THAMASIND, Bu GHARDAIN and I'AYYADEN)

L. 41 B.		'ABD L-KRIM NJ-FQIH QASIM	
L. 42 B.	SIDI 'ARI	SIDI 'ABD R-'AZIZ	SIDI 'AISA
L. 43 B.	*AITH KAMMUN of TANUTH and AITH QAMRA*	*AITH KAMMUN of KAMMUN "PROPER," AITH QAMRA and BU GHARDAIN*	*AITH KAMMUN of BUHAM, AITH BU SIQSAQEN* ("eaters of thrushes"), *IZARRUQEN and AITH 'ARU MUSA (AITH TURIRTH).*

L. 42 B.	SIDI 'ARI N-'ABD L-KRIM NJ-FQIH QASIM	
L. 43 B.	SIDI 'ARI	SIDI TUHAMI
L. 44 B.	*DHARWA N-'ARI W-'ARI*	*DHARWA N-TUHAMI N-'ARI*

(located in TANUTH and AITH QAMRA)

Comment: Present effective generation, in 1954–55, at Levels 48 B–50 B.

L. 42 B.		SIDI 'ABD R-'AZIZ N-SIDI 'ABD L-KRIM NJ-FQIH QASIM	
L. 43 B.	JILALI	'ABD R-UHHAB	R-KHADIR
L. 44 B.	*AITH JILALI*	*AITH 'ABD R-UHHAB*	*AITH R-KHADIR*

(All mixed, in KAMMUN "PROPER," AITH QAMRA and BU GHARDAIN.).

Comment: Present effective generation, in 1954–55, at Level 48 B.

L. 42 B.		SIDI 'AISA N-'ABD L-KRIM NJ-FQIH QASIM	
L. 43 B.	SIDI 'ABD R-WAHID	MUHAND	HMID

L. 43 B. SIDI 'ABD R-WAHID N-SIDI 'AISA N-'ABD L-KRIM
L. 44 B. SIDI JILALI
L. 45 B. SIDI MUHAMMAD

L. 46 B.	*SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD*	MUHAND AMQQRAN	MUHAND AMZZYAN
L. 47 B.	*DHARWA N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD (in AITH 'ARU MUSA of the AITH TURIRTH, and in the AXT TUZIN)*	BU TAHAR	*DHARWA N-MUHAND AMZZYAN (in IGAR USASNU of AITH ZIYYAN of the AITH 'ABDALLAH);*

L. 48 B. 'AMAR

L. 49 B. *DHARWA N-'AMAR N-BU TAHAR (in TUFATSH of the AITH TURIRTH.)*

DHARWA N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD:
L. 46 B. SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD

Comment: Buried beside the present house of a living member of his own lineage, near R-'ATTAF, in AITH 'ARU MUSA of the AITH TURIRTH, Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ûd had a great deal of *baraka* and was the point of fission of a most important holy lineage. Unfortunately, no dates are available for him.

(L. 46 B. SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD)

L. 47 B.
- SIDI 'ARI
- *SIDI MUHAND* (Buried in his own *zawiya* in the AITH 'ARU MUSA of the AITH TURIRTH, and received the *baraka* from his father.).
- SIDI HMID (Buried in BU'AIRMA in the AXT TUZIN, had 5 or 6 wives altogether; was a great adjudicator and acted as top *amghar* at the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, receiving one-fifth of the market *haqq* for murder.)
- SIDI MUHAMMADI (buried in R-'ATTAF)
- SIDI MULAY

L. 47 B. SIDI 'ARI N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD

L. 48 B. SIDI MUHAND (in BULMA, AITH TURIRTH)

L. 47 B. SIDI MUHAND N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD

L. 48 B.
- SIDI MUHAMMAD (Received the *baraka* from his father, and still alive in 1967)
- SIDI HMID (*Shaikh* of the Jbil Hmam subclans, 1953–55)
- ♀

L. 49 B.
- SIDI MUHAMMAD (will presumably receive his father's *baraka*);
- SIDI HMID
- MUHAND
- MUHAMMAD
- MISA'UD
- 'ABDSSRAM

L. 47 B. SIDI HMID N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD

L. 48 B.
- SIDI MUHAND
- SIDI MISA'UD
- SIDI MHAND
- SIDI MHAND AMZZYAN
- SIDI MUHAMMAD

(Live in R-'ARAMJUDH, in the AITH TURIRTH)

- SIDI HMID
- SIDI 'ABD AR-RAHMAN
- SIDI MHAMMAD

(Live in BU'AIRMA, in the AXT TUZIN)

L. 47 B. SIDI MUHAMMADI N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA'UD

L. 48 B. SIDI HAMMADI

L. 49 B. SIDI MUHAMMAD (resides in R-'ATTAF, as of 1967)

L. 47 B. SIDI MULAY

L. 48 B. ♀ = ♂ of the ASHT YUNIS, in the IGZINNAYEN

* * *

AITH BU SIQSAQEN: L. 43 B. MUHAND N-SIDI 'AISA N-'ABD L-KRIM

L. 44 B. "BU SIQSAQ" (so-called, probably, because he ate small birds)

L. 45 B. *AITH BU SIQSAQEN*

L. 44 B: BU SIQSAQ

L. 45 B. ZARA' BU STTA

L. 46 B. *AITH ZARA'* *IBUSTTATHEN*

* * * *

L. 43 B. HMID N-SIDI 'AISA N-'ABD L-KRIM

L. 44 B. ZARRUQ

L. 45 B. *IZARRUQEN* 'MUSA

Comment: Located in BUHAM and in THGHANIND, this lineage claims descent from SIDI AHMAD ZARRUQ, born in the BRANIS in 1442, died in Tripolitania in 1494, but the order of names in the lineage has been changed—as things stand now, it is, in effect, SIDI ZARRUQ N-HMID, in reversal of the above order. In any case, as it stands, this segment of the overall Imrabdhen genealogy is far too shallow to support such a claim.

L. 46 B. YIHYA

L. 47 B. *AITH MUSA U-YIHYA*

* * *

III—L. 39 B. SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ U-BUKAR = ♀ (AITH YITTUFT)

L. 40 B. 'ABDALLAH

L. 41 B. 'ALLA

L. 42 B. BRAHIM — YUSIF — HMID — MISA'UD — 'AISA

L. 43 B. *AITH BRAHIM* — *AITH YUSIF (ZAWITH N-SIDI YUSIF)* — *IGARRUDHEN* — *AITH MISA'UD* and AITH 'AMAR U-SHA'IB — *AITH SIDI* 'AISA (in AITH HISHIM)

1) *AITH BRAHIM:* L. 42 B. BRAHIM W-'ALLA W-'ABDALLAH N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ (buried in AITH TSARDHUND, AITH BRAHIM)

L. 43 B. 'ARI SA'ID

L. 44 B. *AITH TSARDHUND* ("People of the She-Mule") *AITH SA'ID*

L. 43 B. 'ARI N-BRAHIM ('ARU BRAHIM)

L. 44 B. MHAND HAJJ 'AMAR

L. 45 B. *DHARWA N-MHAND* SA'ID *IRHAJJ'AMAREN* BIL'ALI

L. 46 B. *DHARWA N-SA'ID N-MHAND* *IBIL'ALITHEN* *Unknown Lineage in AITH HISHIM*

L. 43 B. SA'ID U-BRAHIM

L. 44 B. 'ABDALLAH 'ARI

L. 45 B. HAND *DHARWA N-'ARI*

L. 46 B. *DHARWA N-HAND W- 'ABDALLAH* *ILUKUTHEN* *YINN MHAND W-'ARI* *IBILHAJJEN* (some in AZGHAR, AITH YUSIF W-'ARI)

* * *

2) *AITH YUSIF:* L. 42 B. YUSIF W-'ALLA W-'ABDALLAH N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ (Buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI YUSIF, which has come to be as representative of the *Lower Imrabdhen* as ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA has come to be representative of the *Upper Imrabdhen*.).

L. 43 B. HAJJ 'AMAR SI 'AMAR

L. 44 B. *DHARWA NJ-HAJJ 'AMAR* *YINN SI 'AMAR* (No sub-segments: located in R-MA'IZA).

L. 43 B. HAJJ 'AMAR U-YUSIF

L. 44. B. *AITH UMASIN* *AITH R-RAJA'*

L. 45 B. *DHARWA N-MHAND N-SHA'IB* (in AITH HISHIM) *DHARWA N-SHA'IB W-'ARI*

3) *IGARRUDHEN:* L. 42 B. HMID W-'ALLA W-'ABDALLAH N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ (buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI YUSIF)

L. 43 B. *6 Houses in AITH 'AZIZ* *1 House in ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA* *1 House in I'AKKIYEN*

4) *AITH MISA'UD:* L. 42 B. MISA'UD W-'ALLA W-'ABDALLAH N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ

L. 43 B. ('AISA) SHA'IB

L. 44 B. HMID R-HAJJ (?) 'AMAR

L. 45 B. *AITH HMID* *R-HUJJAJ* *AITH 'AMAR U-SHA'IB*

L. 44 B. 'AMAR U-SHA'IB U-MISA'UD

L. 45 B. HAJJ 'AMAR AMRABIT MUHAND

L. 46 B. *DHARWA NJ-HAJJ 'AMAR* *DHARWA UMRABIT* *DHARWA N-MUHAND*

5) *AITH SIDI 'AISA:* L. 42 B. SIDI 'AISA W-'ALLA W-'ABDALLAH N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ

L. 43 B. "AZZUGWAGH" ("Red-Head")

L. 44 B. DAHMAN

L. 45 B. *DHARWA N-DAHMAN UZZUGWAGH 'AISA* (There are a few houses of this small lineage in AITH HISHIM).

* * *

L. 36 (II): *SIDI ʿAISA BIN ʿABD AL-KARIM*

L. 37—A (III):	*SIDI ʿAMAR*	*L. 37—B (III): SIDI L-HAJJ YASIN*

L. 37—B (III): SIDI L-HAJJ YASIN N-SIDI ʿAISA BIN SIDI ʿABD AL-KARIM

L. 38 B. SIDI HMID L-QURUNI (“The Horned”: Buried in the ULAD ʿAMRAN clan of the tribe of the HIYAINA, in the southern Jbala.).

1) *AITH ʿAZIZ:* *L. 39 B.* *SIDI MUSA (“AGHWAR”*—Ar. *ghwal,* “ogres?”: Point of fission of this important lineage, and he is buried in IHARRUSHEN in the clan of the ASHT ʿASIM of the IGZINNAYEN.).

L. 40 B.	SIDI ʿARI (Buried in TUFATSH, AITH TURIRTH)	SIDI MHAND (Buried in IHARRUSHEN, in the IGZINNAYEN)	SIDI ʿABD AR-RAZZAQ (Buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR in the AITH HADHIFA)
L. 41 B.	*a) AITH ʿAZIZ N-Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR; b) AITH ʿAZIZ NJ-ʿAZIB IMZUREN; c) AITH ʿAZIZ N-TZIMMURIN and AITH ʿAZIZ N-AITH BU KHRIF (AITH BU ʿAYYASH); d) AITH ʿAZIZ N-TIGARTH (AITH ʿARI); and e) AITH ʿAZIZ N-TMJUND (ASHT ʿASIM, IGZINNAYEN).*	*AITH ʿAZIZ N-TMASIND*	*a) AITH ʿAZIZ N-BASHKRA (AITH HADHIFA); b) YINN HAND W-ʿARI*

L. 40 B. SIDI ʿARU MUSA (ʿARI U-MUSA) N-SIDI HMID L-QURUNI

L. 41 B. SIDI HMID (Buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR)

L. 42 B.	*SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR “AGNAW”* (e.g., “deaf and dumb”: buried in ZAWITH N-SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR, to which he gave his name.).	SIDI MUHAND	SIDI YIHYA

a) *AITH ʿAZIZ N-Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR:*

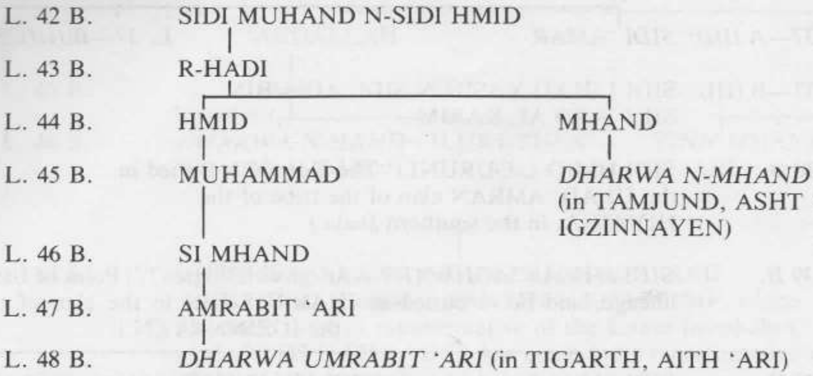
L. 42 B. SIDI ʿABD R-QADAR (“AGNAW”) N-SIDI HMID

L. 43 B. SI ʿABDSSRAM

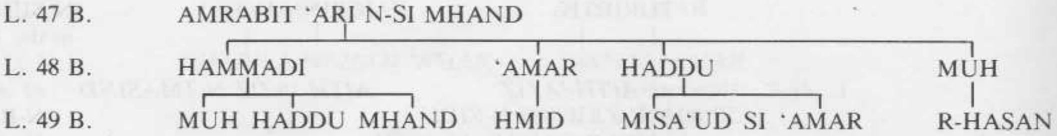
L. 44 B.	MUHAND	SILLAM	ʿABD AR-RAHMAN
L. 45 B.	*DHARWA N-MUHAND N-SI ʿABDSSRAM*	*DHARWA N-SILLAM N-SI ʿABDSSRAM*	*ʿAYYAD*
L. 46 B.			*DHARWA N-ʿAYYAD N-ʿABD AR-RAHMAN* (in THAGHANIND, AITH ʿABDALLAH)

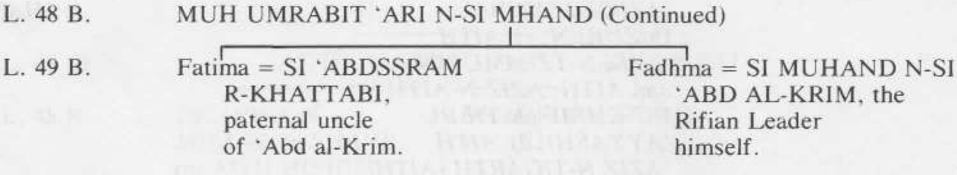
* *

b) *AITH 'AZIZ N-TIGARTH and AITH 'AZIZ N-TMJUND:*

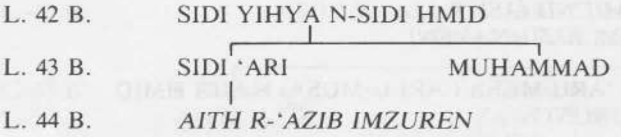

L. 42 B.
SIDI MUHAND N-SIDI HMID
L. 43 B.
R-HADI
L. 44 B.
HMID
MHAND
L. 45 B.
MUHAMMAD
DHARWA N-MHAND U-R-HADI (in TAMJUND, ASHT 'ASIM; IGZINNAYEN)
L. 46 B.
SI MHAND
L. 47 B.
AMRABIT 'ARI
L. 48 B.
DHARWA UMRABIT 'ARI (in TIGARTH, AITH 'ARI)

Subsegmentation:

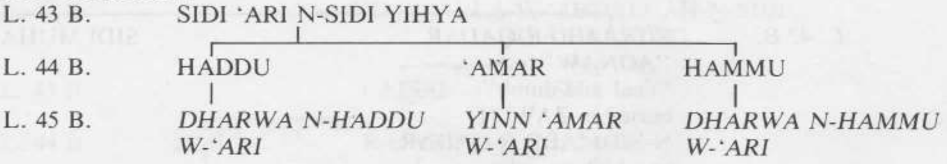

L. 47 B.
AMRABIT 'ARI N-SI MHAND
L. 48 B.
HAMMADI
'AMAR
HADDU
MUH
L. 49 B.
MUH
HADDU
MHAND
HMID
MISA'UD
SI 'AMAR
R-HASAN


L. 48 B.
MUH UMRABIT 'ARI N-SI MHAND (Continued)
L. 49 B.
Fatima = SI 'ABDSSRAM R-KHATTABI, paternal uncle of 'Abd al-Krim.
Fadhma = SI MUHAND N-SI 'ABD AL-KRIM, the Rifian Leader himself.

* *

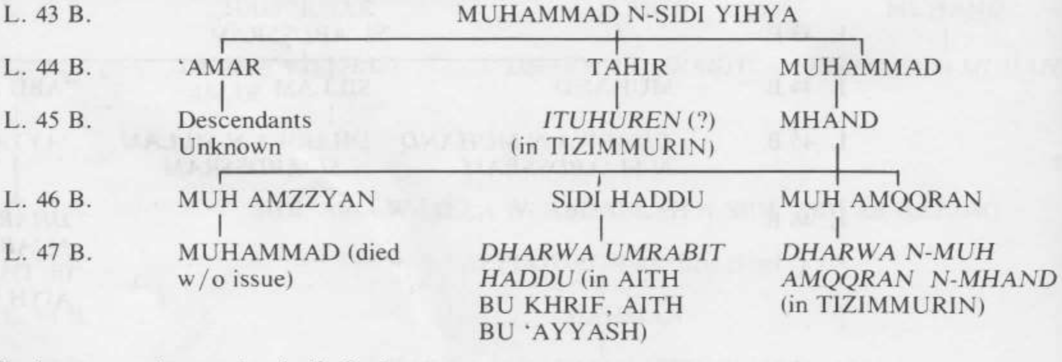

L. 42 B.
SIDI YIHYA N-SIDI HMID
L. 43 B.
SIDI 'ARI
MUHAMMAD
L. 44 B.
AITH R-'AZIB IMZUREN

c) *AITH 'AZIZ NJ-'AZIB IMZUREN:*


L. 43 B.
SIDI 'ARI N-SIDI YIHYA
L. 44 B.
HADDU
'AMAR
HAMMU
L. 45 B.
DHARWA N-HADDU W-'ARI
YINN AMAR W-'ARI
DHARWA N-HAMMU W-'ARI

Comment: Present effective generation at levels 48 B–49 B, in 1954–55.

d) *AITH 'AZIZ N-TZIMMURIN and AITH 'AZIZ N-AITH BU KHRIF:*


L. 43 B.
MUHAMMAD N-SIDI YIHYA
L. 44 B.
'AMAR
TAHIR
MUHAMMAD
L. 45 B.
Descendants Unknown
ITUHUREN (?) (in TIZIMMURIN)
MHAND
L. 46 B.
MUH AMZZYAN
SIDI HADDU
MUH AMQQRAN
L. 47 B.
MUHAMMAD (died w/o issue)
DHARWA UMRABIT HADDU (in AITH BU KHRIF, AITH BU 'AYYASH)
DHARWA N-MUH AMQQRAN N-MHAND (in TIZIMMURIN)

Comment: Present effective generation at level 49 B, in 1954–55.

e) *AITH 'AZIZ N-TMASIND:*

L. 40 B. SIDI MHAND N-SIDI MUSA

L. 41 B (a): HMID = ♀ No. 1

L. 42 B. BRAHIM

L. 43 B. 'AMAR 'ABD L-KRIM 'AZZUZ MUH HMID

L. 43 B. 'AMAR U-BRAHIM N-HMID

L. 44 B. 'ABDALLAH

L. 45 B. MISA'UD 'AMAR

L. 46 B. HADDU *I'AMRIWEN*

L. 47 B. MUHAND

L. 48 B. *DHARWA N-MUHAND HADDU*

Comment: In 1954–55, the effective generations of the DHARWA N-MUHAND HADDU lineage were at Levels 50 B–51 B, and at Level 49 B for the I'AMRIWEN.

* *

L. 43 B. 'ABD L-KRIM U-BRAHIM N-HMID

L. 44 B. SIDI MUHAMMADI

L. 45 B. *DHARWA N-SIDI MUHAMMADI*

* *

L. 43 B. 'AZZUZ U-BRAHIM N-HMID

L. 44 B. 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ

L. 45 B. *I'ABDARRAZZAQEN* (Some members of this lineage are in the community of AITH MUSA W-'AMAR of the AITH 'ARI).

* * *

L. 43 B. MUH U-BRAHIM N-HMID

L. 44 B. MUH

L. 45 B. *YINN MUH U-MUH* (in the Middle Nkur)

* *

L. 43 B. HMID U-BRAHIM N-HMID

L. 44 B. HAJJ ASHILHAY

L. 45 B. *ISHILHAYEN* (lit., *Swasa* or "Susis"—and located in SWANI of AITH 'ARI)

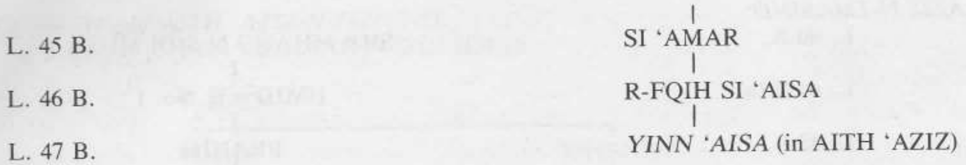
* * * * *

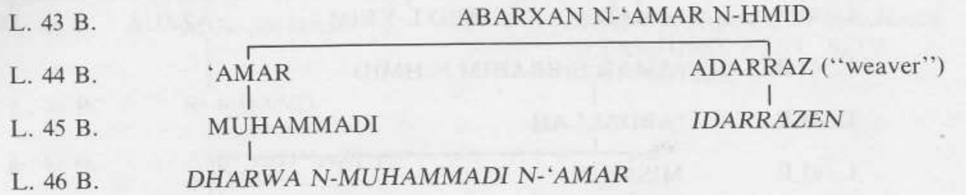
L. 41 B (b). HMID N-SIDI MHAND N-SIDI MUSA = No. 2

L. 42 B. 'AMAR (Buried in AITH 'AZIZ) 'ARI (Buried in AITH 'AZIZ)

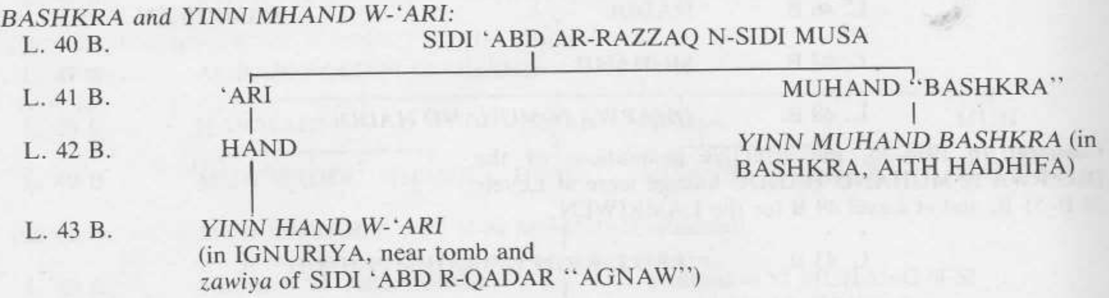
L. 43 B. R-MQADDIM ABARXAN 'AMAR MUHAMMADI

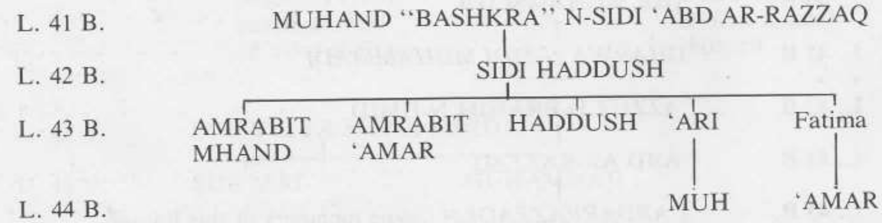
L. 44 B. *DHARWA NJ-MQADDIM* *DHARWA UBARXAN* MUH *DHARWA N-MUHAMMADI N-'ARI* (in IBAGHLIYEN, and in ISUFIYEN, AITH BU 'AYYASH).


L. 45 B.
SI 'AMAR
L. 46 B.
R-FQIH SI 'AISA
L. 47 B.
YINN 'AISA (in AITH 'AZIZ)


L. 43 B.
ABARXAN N-'AMAR N-HMID
L. 44 B.
'AMAR
ADARRAZ ("weaver")
L. 45 B.
MUHAMMADI
IDARRAZEN
L. 46 B.
DHARWA N-MUHAMMADI N-'AMAR

f) *AITH 'AZIZ N-BASHKRA and YINN MHAND W-'ARI:*


L. 40 B.
SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ N-SIDI MUSA
L. 41 B.
'ARI
MUHAND "BASHKRA"
L. 42 B.
HAND
YINN MUHAND BASHKRA (in BASHKRA, AITH HADHIFA)
L. 43 B.
YINN HAND W-'ARI
(in IGNURIYA, near tomb and zawiya of SIDI 'ABD R-QADAR "AGNAW")


L. 41 B.
MUHAND "BASHKRA" N-SIDI 'ABD AR-RAZZAQ
L. 42 B.
SIDI HADDUSH
L. 43 B.
AMRABIT MHAND
AMRABIT 'AMAR
HADDUSH
'ARI
Fatima
L. 44 B.
MUH
'AMAR

* * *

LINEAGES OF FOREIGN SHURFA OR OTHER SAINTS LIVING IN IMRABDHEN TERRITORY AND/OR OTHERWISE ASSIMILATED WITH THE IMRABDHEN:

1. *IHANUDHEN*, located in AITH 'AZIZ, AITH R-QADI and AITH BRAHIM: *shurfa* from the Ghmara.
2. *ANDRUSEN* ("Andalusians"), living in AZGHAR of the lowland AITH YUSIF W-'ARI: *shurfa* who say they came from AL-ANDALUS (e.g., Muslim Spain).
3. *ITARJIWEN*, living in AITH BRAHIM: *shurfa* of unknown origin, and *not* of the Imrabdhen of Waryagharland.
4. *IMISNAWIYEN*, living in KAMMUN in the AITH HADHIFA: *shurfa* descended from Sidi Bu Zkri, buried in Fez (?), from whom the AITH ZKRI of the AITH 'ABDALLAH and the IZKRITHEN of the ASHT 'ASIM in the IGZINNAYEN also claim descent.
5. *AITH BU HAMID*, living in KAMMUM in the AITH HADHIFA: *shurfa* descended from Sidi Bu Hamid, from the AITH R-HASAIN in the AITH 'AMMARTH (although he is buried in the ISIHIREN of the IBUQQUYEN).
6. *DHARWA N-SIDI BU KHIYAR*, who according to one account live near the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar. It will be recalled from the text that Sidi Bu Khiyar, the most famous saint in Waryagharland, was a "stranger," said either to have come from Algeria (according to my informants) or from the Sahara (Rodriguez Padilla, op. cit., 1930). He was in any case emphatically *not* one of the local Imrabdhen. It will also be recalled that he is buried at the highest point of the Jbil Hmam, above the local community of BU MA'DAN in the TIMARZGA, and that a very well-attended annual pilgrimage or *'amara* takes place at his tomb on the day immediately preceding the 'Aid l-Kbir (cf. D. M. Hart, "An *'Imarah* in the Central Rif: the Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, V, 2, 1957, pp. 239-245).
7. *I'AZZUZEN*, resident in ZAWITH N-SIDI 'AISA, where they are the guardians or *mqaddmin* of Sidi 'Aisa's tomb and *zawiya*. They are

also *imrabdhen* in the literal sense of the term, and are of quite unknown provenance.

8. *I'ABDRKRIMEN* (of the larger lineage of the AITH ZARA'), the lineage of the Rifian leader in AJDIR of the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI, said to be descended from one of the branches of the ASHT 'ARU 'AISA (Ar. *Awlad* or *Ulad 'Ali bin 'Aisa*)—that of SIDI 'ABD L-'AZIZ U-MUSA N-SIDI 'ABD L-HALIM B. SIDI 'AISA B. 'ALI B. 'AISA—from the lineage of the *Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa* in the IGZINNAYEN.
9. *DHARWA UMRABIT 'ARI* or *AITH TQSHARIN*, resident in the AITH TURIRTH: *shurfa* descended from Sidi Hand u-Musa in the ASHT 'ARU 'AISA of the IGZINNAYEN, but genealogical connections seem to be either indeterminate or grossly foreshortened.
10. *DHARWA UMRABIT 'AMAR*, resident in the AITH TURIRTH and in the TIMARZGA: possibly of the line of the ASHT 'ARU 'AISA (*Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa*), but this is not sure.
11. *DHARWA UMRABIT HUSAIN*, resident in the AITH TURIRTH: possibly, again, of the line of the ASHT 'ARU 'AISA *(Shurfa n-Sidi Hand u-Musa)* in the IGZINNAYEN, but, again, this is not sure.
12. *IMRABDHEN N-AITH BU KHRIF:* three lineages—AITH TUMRITSH, AITH TIZZA or DHARWA UMRABIT YUSIF, and DHARWA N-YASIN or ISIDDIQEN—all resident in AITH BU KHRIF of the "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH, and all from the IBDHARSEN or L-MTALSA in the Eastern Rif. These lineages are also all *imrabdhen* in the literal sense.

* * *

It should be noted that some of the above lineages, whether they claim *sharif* or only *mrabit* (or *amrabit*) status (and the Aith Waryaghar confusion over—or possibly fusion of—these two terms is manifest in Lineages 9-12), are definitely counted as IMRABDHEN in the sense that the Aith Waryaghar employ this term for their own clan/"fifth" of that name: this is the case for Lineages 1-5, and 7. Lineages 6, and 8-12, are equally definitely not considered as local IMRABDHEN, but rather as saintly or semi-saintly intruders, whatever their status, from elsewhere.

As a final comment, it need only be recalled that on the basis of their clan territory the Imrabdhen of Waryagharland are segmented into two territorially discontinuous subclans, IMRABDHEN N-WADDAI (Lower Saints) and IMRABDHEN N-DARA (Upper Saints). This "natural" territorial division, as discussed at length in the text (Chapter 10), tends to crosscut the genealogical system of lineage segmentation given at length in this appendix. Where a correspondence between the two exists, it may be regarded as fortuitous; and the various pockets of Imrabdhen lineages located in the territories of the lay Aith Waryaghar clans and "fifths," Upper and Lower Imrabdhen, are nonetheless looked upon as belonging to one or the other of these. Their genealogical relationships do not enter the picture here; and the issue of which of them, and of which of the Imrabdhen of the two main territorial blocs, are "holy holy" and which are "lay holy" lineages (the small minority in the first instance and the large majority in the second) has been amply dealt with in Chap. 10.

APPENDIX IV

(CHAPTER 11)

HAQQ DISTRIBUTION IN DETAIL

The tribal *haqq* of the Aith Waryaghar was divided into five equal shares amongst its constituent *khams khmas*, or "five fifths," as follows:

1. 1/5—a) AITH YUSIF W-'ARI and b) AITH 'ARI (*Khums* I)
2. 1/5—AITH 'ABDALLAH (*Khums* II)
3. 1/5—AITH BU 'AYYASH (*Khums* III)
4. 1/5—AITH HADHIFA (*Khums* IV)
5. 1/5—IMRABDHEN (*Khums* V)

* * *

1. Subdivision of *Haqq* Within "Fifth" of AITH YUSIF W-'ARI and AITH 'ARI (*Khums* I):

   1/5 of the tribal total
   - 1/2—AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (with AITH TURIRTH)
   - 1/2—AITH 'ARI (with TIMARZGA)

   A. The 1/2 share of the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI, within the overall share of one-fifth, was distributed as follows:

   1/2—AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (1)
   - 1/5—AITH TURIRTH
   - 2/5—AITH UGHIR IZAN
   - 2/5—ISRIHAN

   AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (2)

   a) The AITH TURIRTH share of 1/5 of that of the total *haqq* allotted to the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI was, in turn, distributed as follows:

   - 1/5—
     - 1/2— AITH 'AMAR
     - 1/2— THIZIMMURIN
   - 2/5
     - 1/2—
       - *DHARWA NJ-HAJJ AM'AWSH (YINN 'ARU MISA'UD)*
       - YINN BIL-LAHSIN
       - ITUFALIYEN
       - IBUTAHAREN N-BULMA
     - 1/2— AITH YIKHRIF U-HAND
   - 2/5—
     - *IMJJAT (DHARWA UFQIR AZZUGWAGH)*
     - AITH MHAND U-SA'ID
     - AITH 'ARU MUSA
     - AITH USWIR
     - AITH YA'QUB
     - YINN HAND U-MISA'UD
     - IHAMMUTHEN
     - AITH UFARAN
     - R-MQUDDAM

Comment 1: In the textual listing of the AITH TURIRTH lineages, it is noted that the DHARWA NJ-HAJJ AM'AWSH (or YINN 'ARU MISA'UD), YINN BIL-LAHSIN, ITUFALIYEN, IBUTAHAREN N-BULMA and R-MQUDDAM are all "brother" (sub-) lineages, all descended from Hand w-'Abdallah, and therefore all YINN HAND W-'ABDALLAH. Why, then, did the sublineage of R-MQUDDAM collect their minuscule share of the *haqq* with a different unit of reception within that subclan? Because they were not in the *liff* headed by the DHARWA NJ-HAJJ AM'AWSH, but rather in the opposite one, headed by the lineage of IMJJAT. (These two lineage names are therefore rendered above in italics.) This point is extremely important, and is one of several in which considerations of *liff* alliance overrode pure and simple considerations of segmentation insofar as *haqq* distribution was concerned. The distribution of *haqq* tended to follow the segmentary and/or territorial systems whenever possible; in this case it was not possible at all (see Chapter 12).

In the AITH TURIRTH, the lineages of the IZNAGEN and IHAWTSHEN were left out of the distribution of the fine: for the latter, feuding was only a "spectator sport" in which they were non-participants, only burying the dead of the feuding lineages. In the IZNAGEN case, there was much manipulation and even murder "behind the scenes," but it never became really overt in terms of the overall AITH TURIRTH conflict. They fought, indeed, but they were "middle-weights" rather than "heavy-weights," shadow-boxing rather than prize-fighting.

b) The AITH UGHIR IZAN share of 2/5 of that of the total *haqq* allotted to the AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (of whom the AITH UGHIR IZAN are one-half, i.e., of the "true" AITH YUSIF W-'ARI—of the lowlands) was distributed as follows:

- First, off the top, 1/3—AITH UJDIR
    - 1/2—AITH 'ARU 'AISA
    - 1/4—AITH MISA'UD U-YUSIF
    - 1/4—AITH ZARA'
- Then, the remainder was divided into 3 parts: 2/3—
    - IZIFZAFEN: 4 lineages
    - BUHAM: 3 lineages
    - LOWER THAMASIND: 3 lineages

c) The ISRIHAN share of 2/5 of that of the total *haqq* allotted to the "true" AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (of whom the ISRIHAN are the second half) was distributed as follows:

1/5— IKATTSHUMEN: 6 lineages
2/5— AITH YIKHRIF W-'AMAR ("true" ISRIHAN): 8 lineages
2/5— AITH MHAND U-YIHYA ("strangers"): 11 lineages.

B. The 1/2 share of the AITH 'ARI, within the overall share of one-fifth, was distributed as follows:

- 1/2—AITH 'ARI (1)
    - First:
        - 1/5—TIMARZGA
    - Then: AITH 'ARI (2)
        - 1/3—AITH R-'ABBAS
        - 1/3—IMHAWREN
        - 1/3—TIGARTH

a) The TIMARZGA share of 1/5 of that of the total *haqq* allotted to the AITH 'ARI was, in turn, distributed as follows:

- 1/5—AITH R-MAQSURIDH
    - 1/5—DHARWA N-MHAND N-Yamna
    - 2/5—IBUSTATHEN
    - 2/5—YINN 'ABDALLAH
- 2/5—AITH YUSIF
    - 1/2—YINN 'ABDALLAH (1)
        - 1/2—IBRAHAMEN
        - 1/2—YINN 'ABDALLAH (2)
    - 1/2—YINN 'ARI MQADDIM (1)
        - 1/2—YINN 'AMAR W-'AISA
        - 1/2—YINN 'ARI MQADDIM (2)
- 2/5—AITH YIKHRIF
    - 1/2—DHARWA N-'AMAR (BU MA'DAN)
        - 1/2—DHARWA N-BANDU
        - 1/2—AITH BU SHIKHAN
    - 1/2—DHARWA N-MUHAND (TFSAST)
        - 1/6—YINN 'AISA U-HAND
        - 1/6—IBUSHKUREN
        - 1/6—DHARWA UFQIR
        - 1/6—IQADDUREN
        - 1/6—IMIDDJAHEN
        - 1/6—DHARWA N-BU TAHAR

Then:

- 4/5—AITH 'ARI (2)
    - 1/3—AITH R-'ABBAS
    - 1/3—IMHAWREN
    - 1/3—TIGARTH

Hence:

b) 1/3—AITH R-‘ABBAS
  - 1/5—AITH BU MINQAD: 3 lineages (all discontinuous)
  - 2/5—UPPER AITH R-‘ABBAS: 4 lineages
  - 2/5—LOWER AITH R-‘ABBAS: 7 lineages

Comment 2: In this case, the AITH R-‘ABBAS of the "true" AITH ‘ARI, the *haqq* division follows territorial lines, very clearly so, whereas within the AITH YUSIF W-‘ARI the accent is more on those of segmentation. It may also be noted that wherever possible there seems to be a selective factor working in favor of a quinary division into "fifths" even at the lower levels. This phenomenon seems to be general: a consistent and constant validation not only of the function of *haqq* and of the *khams khmas* principle in Aith Waryaghar society, but equally a validation of the structural model which the Aith Waryaghar maintain of their own society. Obviously, however, the number and size in population of the lineage-groups or units of reception concerned would render the maintenance of this model impossible in every single instance; but it is nonetheless a segmentary ideal that pervades the whole segmentary system.

c) 1/3—IMHAWREN
  - First:
    - 1/5—AITH ‘ALLA (discontinuous, in the AITH ‘ABDALLAH)
  - Then:
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ARU HMID: 3 lineages
    - 1/3—AITH R-‘ARBI: 3 lineages
    - 1/3—IMJJUDHEN: 4 lineages

Comment 3: A characteristic of the *haqq* division within the AITH ‘ARI, in particular, although it also occurs within that of the AITH YUSIF W-‘ARI, is the act of cutting one-fifth "off the top," plus a subsequent division into thirds. This may be a reflection of the sometimes uncomfortable fact that the "true" AITH ‘ARI—or AITH ‘ARI (2)—unlike any of the other Aith Waryaghar clans, contain three subclans rather than two, a fact which, in Waryaghar eyes, tends to damage the "symmetry" of the overall model. Yet this fact had to be brought into alignment with the eminently equitable and egalitarian feature of *haqq* distribution, in which the share received by any given group was as accurate as possible a reflection of that group's size and political importance.

d) 1/3—TIGARTH (1)
  - 1/5—AITH DAWUD (discontinuous, in the AITH ‘ABDALLAH)
  - 2/5—UPPER THAMASIND: 4 lineages
  - 2/5—TIGARTH (2): 5 lineages (4 of which are "strangers")

Note: See Chapter 11.

2. Subdivision of *Haqq* Within "Fifth" of AITH ‘ABDALLAH (*Khums* II):

1/5 of the tribal total
  - 1/2—AITH ‘ARU MUSA
  - 1/2—AITH TMAJURTH

a) 1/2—AITH ‘ARU MUSA
  - 1/2—IQANNIYEN (1)
    - 1/3—IQANNIYEN (2): 8 lineages
    - 1/3—UQRISHEN: 2 lineages
    - 1/3—
      - IMARNISEN: 5 lineages
      - AITH ZKRI: 4 lineages
  - 1/2—THARIWIN
    - 1/3—AITH SA‘ID: 2 lineages
    - 1/3—BU JNAN: 4 lineages
    - 1/3—IKIDDABEN: 3 lineages

b) 1/2—AITH TMAJURTH
  - 1/2—AITH MUSA (1)
    - 1/2—AITH MARRUI: 2 lineages
    - 1/2—AITH MUSA (2): 4 lineages
  - 1/2—AITH ZIYYAN
    - 1/3—AITH DRIS (1)
      - 1/2—AITH DRIS (2): 2 lineages
      - 1/2—AITH R-QASIM: 2 lineages
    - 1/3—AITH ‘AMAR U-HMID: 3 lineages (Internally: 1/5, 2/5, 2/5)
    - 1/3—IBUNHAREN: 3 lineages (Internally: 1/5, 2/5, 2/5)

Comment 4: Owing to the fact that within the "fifth" of the AITH 'ABDALLAH territorial discontinuity is minimal or nil, and that this "fifth" forms a single territorial bloc, internal *haqq* division in this case is very much simpler than it is in the case of *Khums* I (AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI), above. However, within the AITH 'ARU MUSA reception unit, and again within those of the IQANNIYEN and THARIWIN contained within it, a division into thirds takes precedence over one into fifths. Also to be noted in both *Khums* I and *Khums* II are several instances of onomastic dominance: AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (1)/AITH YUSIF W-'ARI (2), AITH 'ARI (1)/AITH 'ARI (2), TIGARTH (1)/TIGARTH (2), for example, in *Khums* I; and IQANNIYEN (1)/IQANNIYEN (2), AITH MUSA (1)/AITH MUSA (2), and AITH DRIS (1)/AITH DRIS (2), in *Khums* II, here under discussion. In addition, within the AITH 'ARU MUSA reception unit, again, we may note the lumping together of the IMARNISEN and AITH ZKRI to receive, jointly, 1/3 of the IQANNIYEN (1) share. Regarding the one-half the total share destined for the AITH TMAJURTH reception unit, we may observe, within the further 1/2 share due the AITH ZIYYAN, the skimming-off of one-fifth from the top and the division of the remainder in half (expressed as 1/5, 2/5, 2/5) within both the smaller reception units of the AITH 'AMAR U-HMID and the IBUNHAREN, between which there was bitter opposition in *liff:* the top 1/5 in each case went to the two segments of a single lineage, the Ibuhraren, which had been rent asunder in the feud.

3. Subdivision of *Haqq* within "Fifth" of AITH BU 'AYYASH (*Khums* III):

1/5 of the tribal total
- 1/2—AITH 'ADHIYA
- 1/2—"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH (2)

a) 1/2—AITH 'ADHIYA
- 1/4—AITH BU QIYADHEN (1)
  - 1/2—AITH BU QIYADHEN (2)
    - 1/2—AJDIR BU QIYADHEN (3): 5 lineages
    - 1/2—IGAR W-ANU: 4 lineages
  - 1/2—AR-RABDA (1)
    - 1/2—AR-RABDA (2): 5 lineages
    - 1/2—AGHZAR IMZIREN: 2 lineages
- 1/4—AITH UMNUDH (1)
  - 2/3—DHARWA N-TARB 'AMAR (AITH UMNUDH (2)): 7 lineages
  - 1/3—AITH ISHSHU: 3 lineages
- 1/4—IGHMIREN (1)
  - 1/2—AITH YA'RA ("Marinids") 2 lineages
  - 1/2—IGHMIREN (2): 2 lineages
- 1/4—AITH TZURAKHTH
  - First: 1/5—AITH BU STTA (discontinuous, in AITH BU KHRIF of "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH): 4 lineages
  - Then: 2/3—AITH 'AISA: 5 1/2 lineages
  - 1/3—AITH RUQMAN: 4 1/2 lineages

b) 1/2—"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH —or AITH BU 'AYYASH (2)
- 1/4—AITH BU KHRIF
  - 1/2—IMRABDHEN and AITH YUNIS: 4 lineages
  - 1/2—AITH WUZGHAR: 3 lineages
- 1/4—ISUFIYEN (1)
  - 1/3—AITH TA'A: 3 lineages
  - 2/3—ISUFIYEN (2): 5 lineages

- b) 1/2—"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH —or AITH BU 'AYYASH (2) (*continued*)
  - 1/4—AITH TFARWIN
    - 1/2—DHARWA N-DAWUD: 5 lineages
    - 1/2—AITH IMHIJJA: 2 lineages
  - 1/4—IZAKIREN (1)
    - 2/3—IZAKIREN (2): 4 lineages
    - 1/3—IRIYANEN (1): 2 lineages (one of which is IRIYANEN (2))

Comment 5: This "fifth," *Khums* III, provides (as noted in Chapter 10) perhaps one of the most explicit and classic examples of onomastic dominance/recessiveness in Waryagharland: in the wider context the name AITH BU 'AYYASH refers explicitly to the whole "fifth" (and even to one of the two lay tribal halves in a case of alleged binary fission), but in the narrower one, informants scale the name down a step to refer to half the "fifth" in question, and specifically to that half which was opposed in *liff* to the AITH 'ADHIYA (who were onomastically recessive, but only onomastically). Thus our usage of "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH or AITH BU 'AYYASH (2) is intended to convey this sharply situational and contextual explicitness; and implied by this usage is, of course, the scaling factor of AITH BU 'AYYASH/"TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH and/or AITH BU 'AYYASH (1)/AITH BU 'AYYASH (2). The contexts in which this explicitness emerges are those of segmentation, territoriality (the Monday Market of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash being shared by both the groups in question), *haqq* payments and reception, and *liff* alliance.

In both the AITH 'ADHIYA and "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH reception units, a fivefold division was manifestly impossible: here a synthesis of "symmetry" was attained on a fourfold basis. The AITH 'ADHIYA affiliations, however, of the AITH BU STTA lineage-groups resident in AITH BU KHRIF of the "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH were resolutely adhered to through the expedient of taking one-fifth off the top of the AITH TZURAKHTH sub-share, and presenting this to the AITH BU STTA. In this instance, segmentary considerations triumphed to some extent over territorial ones, but not entirely, as the communities of Tazurakhth and Aith Bu Khrif adjoin each other territorially. Furthermore, the hostility between the AITH 'ADHIYA and the "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH subclans in terms of the overall tribal *liff* arrangements has already been noted: *Khums* III, like *Khums* I, was split (approximately) down the middle. And within the territory of the AITH TZURAKHTH, there are ten resident lineage groups, but imbalance is again achieved through an unequal division (in terms of the size of the groups concerned) of 5 AITH 'AISA lineages as opposed to 4 AITH RUQMAN lineages, giving a total of 9 lineage-groups. The tenth group, named Aith Tizi Marda, was itself split in half in its own immediate *liff* alignments, and hence we find 5 1/2 lineages claiming the two-thirds share of the AITH 'AISA and 4 1/2 lineages claiming the one-third share of the AITH RUQMAN.

Note: See Chapter 11.

4. Subdivision of *Haqq* within "Fifth" of AITH HADHIFA (*Khums* IV):

- 1/5 of the tribal total
  - 1/3—
    - 1/3—I'AKKIYEN: 4 lineages
    - 2/3—AITH 'ARUS
  - 2/3—AITH HADHIFA (2)

- a1) 1/3 of 1/3 I'AKKIYEN
  - 1/4—AITH DARA
  - 1/4—AITH MUSA
  - 1/4—AITH 'AISA
  - 1/4—AITH TARF

- a2) 2/3 of 1/3—AITH 'ARUS
  - 2/3—AITH YIKKUR
    - 1/2
      - First:
      - 1/5—AITH U-SAMMAR: 2 lineages
      - Then:
      - 1/3—AITH BU SA'IDA: 2 lineages
      - 2/3—TH KHRUQATH: 2 lineages
    - 1/2
      - 1/5—IHARUNEN: 3 lineages
      - 2/5—AITH JUHRA: 3 lineages
      - 2/5—AITH SHIQRAN: 2 lineages
  - 1/3—AITH YIKHRIF
    - 1/2—AITH TIGARTH: 2 lineages
    - 1/2—AITH U-MARU: 2 lineages

- b) 2/3—AITH HADHIFA (2)
  - 1/2—AITH BU JDAT (1)
    - 1/2—AITH BU JDAT (2): 20 lineages
    - 1/2—IHADDUTHEN: 16 lineages
  - 1/2—IRAQRAQEN
    - 1/2
      - 1/3—AITH MISA‘UD: 6 lineages
      - 1/3—I‘AWDHATHEN: 4 lineages
      - 1/3—THIZIMMURIN: 2 lineages
    - 1/2
      - 1/3—YINN ‘AMAR U-SA‘ID: 6 lineages
      - 1/3—IHARSHIYEN: 4 lineages
      - 1/3—AITH ARGHWAT: 4 lineages

Comment 6: In the "fifth" of the AITH HADHIFA/AITH ‘ARUS: I‘AKKIYEN, *Khums* IV, it was always the heads of the lineages who received the *haqq* upon distribution. However, the fivefold division here is only adhered to within the AITH YIKKUR reception unit of the AITH ‘ARUS. In this same reception unit, as in that of the IRAQRAQEN of the "true" AITH HADHIFA, a new refinement has come into play: the division of each of these units into unnamed halves for the purpose of *haqq* distribution only, not for any other reasons.

5. Subdivision of *Haqq* within "Fifth" of IMRABDHEN (*Khums* V):

- 1/5 of the tribal total
  - 1/2—UPPER IMRABDHEN
  - 1/2—LOWER IMRABDHEN

- a) 1/2—UPPER IMRABDHEN
  - 1/4—AITH Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ‘AISA
    - 1/3—IJILALIYEN (1)
      - 1/2—DHARWA N-SIDI HMID MARRUI and 2 other lineages
      - 1/2—IJILALIYEN (2)
    - 1/3—AITH MHAND W-‘ABDALLAH: 2 lineages
    - 1/3—I‘AZZUZEN: 2 lineages
  - 1/4—AITH ‘AZIZ
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ARI
      - 1/2—AITH R-‘AZIB IMZUREN
      - 1/2—AITH Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ‘ABD R-QADAR
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ABD R-RAZZAQ
      - 1/2—YINN SIDI MUHAND BASHKRA
      - 1/2—YINN HAND W-‘AISA
    - 1/3—AITH MHAND
      - 1/2—UPPER AITH ‘AZIZ: 5 lineages
      - 1/2—LOWER AITH ‘AZIZ: 4 lineages
  - 1/4—AITH R-QADI
    - First:
    - 1/5—I‘ATHMANEN: 2 lineages
    - Then:
    - 1/3—AITH HMID: 2 lineages
    - 1/3—AITH SA‘ID: 4 lineages
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ABD R-‘AZIZ: 3 lineages
  - 1/4—AITH KAMMUN
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ABD R-‘AZIZ (in KAMMUN)
      - 1/3—AITH JILALI: 3 lineages
      - 1/3—AITH R-KHADIR: 2 lineages
      - 1/3—AITH ‘ABD R-UHHAB: 3 lineages

- a) 1/2—UPPER IMRABDHEN (*continued*)
  - 1/4—AITH KAMMUN (*continued*)
    - 1/3—AITH ‘AISA
      - 1/3—IZARRUQEN
      - 1/3—AITH BU SIQSAQEN
      - 1/3—DHARWA N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA‘UD (in the AITH TURIRTH)
    - 1/3—AITH ‘ARI
      - 1/2—DHARWA N-‘ARI W-‘ARI
      - 1/2—DHARWA N-TUHAMI N-‘ARI

Comment 7: Regarding the "fifth" of the IMRABDHEN, *Khums* V, it is to be noted that although the AITH Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ‘AISA, the people of the Upper Zawiya, are descended from Sidi Ya‘qub b. ‘Abd al-Krim, while the other three sub-units of reception at the same level, and indeed all the rest of the IMRABDHEN, are descended from his younger brother Sidi ‘Aisa b. ‘Abd al-Krim, the first-mentioned receive their *haqq* share with the UPPER IMRABDHEN just as the others do; and hence a kind of "lumping" prevails. The reason for this is twofold: the descendants of Sidi Ya‘qub are much fewer in number than those of his brother Sidi ‘Aisa, and they are located territorially in the Upper Zawiya, where Sidi ‘Aisa is buried, which thus became the original focal point of the UPPER IMRABDHEN, while the Lower Zawiya, that of Sidi Yusif w-‘Alla, is the original focal point of the LOWER IMRABDHEN.

The second factor is that all the UPPER IMRABDHEN lineages which are territorially excentric to the main cluster receive their share of the *haqq* with one or other of the four main sub-units of reception. Examples are: (a) the AITH R-‘AZIB IMZUREN in the Plain, (b) the AITH Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ‘ABD R-QADAR and (c) the YINN SIDI MUHAND BASHKRA, both spatially in the AITH HADHIFA, all with the reception unit of the AITH ‘AZIZ; (d) the DHARWA N-SIDI HMID MARRUI, spatially in the AITH ‘ABDALLAH, with the reception unit of the AITH Z-ZAWITH N-SIDI ‘AISA; and finally (e), the IZARRUQEN, (f) the AITH BU SIQSAQEN and (g) the DHARWA N-SIDI R-HAJJ MISA‘UD (this last located spatially in the AITH TURIRTH), all with the reception unit of the AITH KAMMUN. This is further proof of how scattered the IMRABDHEN lineages are within Waryagharland.

- b) 1/2—LOWER IMRABDHEN
  - 1/4—AITH BRAHIM
    - 1/2—AITH TSARDHUND: 5 lineages
    - 1/2—AITH SA‘ID: 6 lineages
  - 1/4—AITH MISA‘UD (1)
    - 1/2—AITH MISA‘UD (2): AITH MISA‘UD (3): 2 lineages AITH ‘AMAR U-SHA‘IB: 3 lineages
    - 1/2—AITH YUSIF (ZAWITH N-SIDI YUSIF): 4 lineages (two excentric, in R-MA‘IZA)
  - 1/4—AITH ‘AMAR U-BUKAR
    - 2/3—AITH MUSA: 7 lineages
    - 1/3—AITH MHAND: 2 lineages
  - 1/4—AITH MHAND
    - 1/2—IFASIYEN: 6 lineages
    - 1/2—IDARDUSHEN
      - 1/3—AITH ‘AISA: 3 lineages
      - 1/3—DHARWA ‘ABDALLAH: 2 lineages; DHARWA N-MHAND: 2 lineages in the AITH HADHIFA.
      - 1/3—IZIQQIWEN or DHARWA N-SIDI MHAND U-MUSA (in AITH HISHIM and SWANI): 3 lineages

Comment 8: Once again, two excentric lineages located in the AITH HADHIFA receive their share of *haqq* with the IDARDUSHEN half of the AITH MHAND reception sub-unit; and the IZIQQIWEN lineages descended from Sidi Mhand u-Musa of Aith Hishim are also "lumped" with the IDARDUSHEN sub-unit for *haqq* purposes, as well.

Note: See Chapter 11.

APPENDIX V

(CHAPTER 12)

CHRONOLOGY THROUGH MATERIALS IN MANUSCRIPT FORM

(In Author's Possession)

N. B.: All dates are given in A.D. form only, and have been calculated through H.-G. Cattenoz, *Tables de Concordance des Eres Chrétienne et Hégirienne*, 3rd Edition, Rabat: Editions Techniques Nord-Africaines, 1961. The manuscripts (labelled as MSS.) are recorded in the order collected and translated by the author.

* * *

A) AITH TURIRTH:

1724 (March): sale of pomegranate trees in r-'Attaf (MS. 27): document appears with no indication of lineage or clan names of any sort. (*R-'Attaf* is possibly derived from Lit. Ar. *'atf,* "bend, blind alley," an etymology which would fit the local community of that name in the Upper Nkur River Valley in the subclan territory of the Aith Turirth.)

1736 (June): a sister sells land to her brother Hmid b. Musa *l-M'awti l-Waryaghli* in Thasriwin (MS. 19). This land she inherited from Hmid b. Musa *Amkhluf.* (This is the first appearance of the name of the putative Aith Turirth-Timarzga clan-ancestor *Bu M'awiya,* as in *l-M'awti,* above; of the name *Amkhluf,* which survived in the region as *Makhrufth* until the mid-1960's; and, in the Aith Turirth documentation, of the overall tribal name *l-Waryaghli.*)

1749 (July): the same Hmid b. Musa *l-M'awti l-Waryaghli* buys more land, from another woman, in r-'Attaf (MS. 18).

1750 (March): Bloodwealth payment (*d-diyith*) in land and trees is received by Fqir Hmid b. Muhammad for the murder of Hmid u-Musa u-Brahim of the lineage of *Aith w-'Amar* (probably a lineage ancestral to the present subclan of the Aith Turirth, and here we have the first mention of it that I could discover); the land and trees in question were both bought by the Talib Muhammad b. 'Ali *l-M'awti l-Waryaghli* (MS. 16).

1788 (Sept. 29): Purchase of land in Jarf Shiqran (presumably in the Aith 'Arus) by the Amrabit Hmid b. 'Abdallah b. Suna *t-Tawrirti l-Waryaghli l-M'awti:* here we find, for the first time, the present clan name (*at-Tawrirti = Aith Turirth*), coupled with the tribal name (*l-Waryaghli* = Aith Waryaghar), and tripled with the name of the clan ancestor (*l-M'awti = Amrabit Bu M'awiya*). After this point, the ancestor's name *l-M'awti* dies out, and is superseded by *t-Tawrirti* (MS. 23).

1797 (February): *Musa u-Hammu t-Tawrirti,* the son of the ancestor of the lineage of Ihammuthen (considered today to be the oldest in the clan area of the Aith Turirth) buys land from his father's wife, between the territory of the Aith Misa'ud and of Muhammad w-'Aisa (MS. 20: From here on, there is now no more usage of *l-M'awti* as a name, which has definitely been superseded by *t-Tawrirti.*).

1829 (January): Purchase of olive trees in r-'Attaf by Muhammad b. Hmid b. 'Abdallah (who probably had no connection with the lineage of Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah, as they settled in Bulma), from the Igzinnayen. This indicates a pattern of previous land ownership, as all of the Aith Turirth land had previously belonged to the Igzinnayen. (In this document, Muhammad b. Hmid b. 'Abdallah is also clan-named t-Tawrirti; and thus the Aith Turirth are now very well established, from a documentary point of view: MS. 21.)

1853 (May): Enter the beginnings of the lineage of *Imjjat.* The Fqir Azzugwagh, who has now appeared from Hibir in the Igzinnayen, marries Yamna n-bil-Lahsin Hand w-'Abdallah of Bulma. (MS. 31.)

1865 (January): *Sadaqa* in land is given to the Fqir Azzugwagh by an Aith Turirth widow, from the property which she had inherited from her husband in the Fqir's own lineage of Aith Yusif u-Yihya in Hibir in the Igzinnayen (MS. 30: It will be recalled from the text that the Fqir Azzugwagh arrived as a penniless *adhrib* in the Aith Turirth, from the Igzinnayen.)

1870 (February): Fqir Azzugwagh buys land in l-'Ass from Musa u-Haddush Misa'ud (of Ihammuthen lineage?), and from Arhma bint Amkhluf (his wife?), of the Aith 'Aru Musa: this consists of her inherited property in land, trees, houses, water, etc. (MS. 28).

1884 (January): Muhammad n-Muhammad n-'Aisa is given *dhazttat* (protection money) to kill the son of Haddu n-Bu Tahar n-Hmid n-'Abdallah in Tigzirin (MS. 4). *Comment by author:* the plot thickens.

1885 (May): The Fqir Azzugwagh has to resell a flintlock gun to his brother-in-law Misa'ud Arqiya (probably of Tigzirin: MS. 15).

1887 (April): The same Misa'ud Arqiya gives Arqiya n-Muhammad n-Sa'id a pistol as *rhin* for purchase, by him; of property from her (MS. 24).

1887 (May): The Fqir Azzugwagh buys land in r-'Attaf from Muhammad n-Muhammad nj-Ahsin (MS. 22).

1895 (December): The barley of the Fqir Azzugwagh is burned by persons unknown (MS. 14).

1896 (October): An *'ahd* covenant is made over a land disagreement in Asrafil, Timarzga (MS. 14).

1897 (January): Muh n-Haddu n-Bu Tahar kills Muh n-'Amar n-Ku' of his own volition (MS. 8).

1897 (March): *Sulh*, or truce, and payment of *qisas* for wounding, in Aith Yikhrif, Timarzga (MS. 4).

1897 (May): Mhand n-Mzzyan nj-Mqaddim (of the r-Mquddam sublineage of the Yinn Hand w-'Abdallah of Bulma, Aith Turirth) kills his own father's brother Misa'ud nj-Mqaddim, after having been paid *dhazttat* to do so, by the Idawdawen sublineage of the Iznagen in Tigzirin (MS. 1).

1897 (July): Document, witnessed by Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud, drawn up over the killing of Muh Uzzugwagh by people in Ikhuwanen (in the Igzinnayen), and the vengeance taken by the Fqir Azzugwagh through killing his son's murderer and by then burning the latter's house, as *haqq* (MS. 7).

1900 (July): Poisoning of a woman and *wakala* (representational) testimony thereof, in Dwaiyar of the Igzinnayen (MS. 25).

1904 (June): The Fqir Azzugwagh gives *wakala* representation to his son 'Amar Uzzugwagh over land in Ihammuthen (MS. 33).

1907-1908 (December-January): Mhand n-Mzzyan is exculpated as a witness from the Ihawtshen lineage over having started the bloodfeud with the lineage of the Dharwa nj-Hajj Am'awsh (MS. 13).

1906-1910 (November-November): Acquisition by 'Amar Uzzugwagh of land in Tazirand (from the *wakala* representation of a woman of the Dharwa n-Quba' sublineage of the Aith Uswir, at first), both through purchase and through *sadaqa* (MS. 29).

1912 (January 12): Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh makes peace with a man of the Aith 'Ammarth over a mule that died right after he bought it (MS. 5).

1912 (November 3): The lineage of Aith 'Amar w-'Aisa, in Asrafil of the subclan of Timarzga, pays a *haqq* of 200 duros and half the land which they owned in Ifuzar to the Ikhuwanen (Igzinnayen) for two men killed of the latter group, in the Sunday Market of Izimmuren (at the *Zawiya* of Sidi Muhand n-Sidi r-Hajj Misa'ud in Aith 'Aru Musa of the Aith Turirth: Timarzga, MS. 1).

1918 (May): Agreement in Iharrushen (Igzinnayen) not to cut down brushwood or *ghaba* (MS. 10).

1918 (November-December): Marriage of Hmid n-Mzzyan Uzzugwagh to Maryim n-Muh ("Yighidh") nj-Hajj Am'awsh (MS. 26).

1922 (August): Marriage of Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh to Tahra n-Mhand, of the Timarzga (MS. 32).

1922 (October-November): *Sulh* or truce arranged between the Aith 'Amar w-'Aisa and Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim lineages of the Timarzga (specifically between the Dharwa n-'Ari n-'Amarush branch of the former and the Dharwa nj-Shaikh 'Amar nj-Mqaddim branch of the latter: for Shaikh 'Amar nj-Mqaddim had been killed by 'Aisa Uzaryuh of the Yinn 'Abdallah, who had been given a *dhazttat* bribe by the Yinn 'Amar w-'Aisa to do so: Timarzga, MS. 2).

1924 (October): Members of lineages of Bulma and l-'Ass buy land in Ifzaren, in the Axt Tuzin (MS. 12).

1925 (January 6): Marriage of Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Fatima Umrabit 'Ari (although the date on the *zujiya* document is given as January 6, 1927, my informant was certain that this was two years too late: MS. 35).

1926 (August): Qaid Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh pays for the nine-shot repeating rifle of his deceased brother Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh (MS. 2).

1926 (November): Marriage of Qaid Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh to Thraimas n-Siddiq of the Iznagen (MS. 34).

1929 (May): Muh n-'Amar Haddu of Bulma buys land from a woman, but her brothers take it back as *shuf'ath*, the priority rights of agnates over land (MS. 11).

1936 (August): Marriage of Yamna n-Muh n-'Amar Uzzugwagh and Muh n-'Amar n-'Ari of the Aith Uswir (the date of the document is August 30, 1937, but my informant was certain that this latter date is a year too late: MS. 36).

B) TIMARZGA: All Documents from the Timarzga are cited with the Aith Turirth Documents, in (A) above.

C) IGZINNAYEN:

1862 (October): The Asht 'Abd r-Harim (of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa subclan) give the people of Izkrithen (in the clan of the Asht 'Asim) *dhazttat* money to kill one of their own men (MS. 11).

1863–1864 (December–January): *Diyith* or bloodwealth is paid for a woman in the Asht Mhand clan (MS. 27).

1871 (April): A man of the Asht Yunis clan is raided and beaten by the I'athmanen (clan of Asht r-Udha: MS. 15).

1881 (November): Land purchase document from *imgharen* in the Asht Mhand, who had taken over the land in question in lieu of a *haqq* payment of 280 *riyals* (MS. 25).

1898 (November 1): One Hmid n-Mhand n-Hmid of Wawnkwarth (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: the man was named, as so often happens, for his paternal grandfather) fires on the Sultan's Army, which is passing through. (Interestingly, some of the sons of the Hajj Am'awsh of Bulma in the Aith Turirth in Waryagharland are witnesses to this: MS. 9).

1899 (October 13): Lay tribesman of the Imjjat lineage in Hibir (clan of the Asht 'Asim) kills a *sharif* of the Ikhamlishen lineage (possibly from Targist), and pays a bloodwealth or *diyith* of 20 *riyals* (MS. 13).

1905 (March 20): 'Amar u-Haddush in Dwaiyar (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa) is paid *dhazttat* by the Dharwa n-Halladi lineage of Wawnkwarth (also Asht 'Aru 'Aisa) in order to kill Muh n-'Ari Amardul, who had himself previously killed 'Amar Ufqir 'Ari Ushmammadh (MS. 4).

1908 (May): A man of Thinimrar (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa) kills a man of the Ibdharsen (l-Mtalsa) tribe. The *ashtarbi'in* of all the Igzinnayen and of the Ibdharsen collectively swear to this at the tomb of Sidi 'Ari n-Bu Rquba in the Asht Yunis; and the killer has to pay a *diyith* or bloodwealth of 288 duros to the victim's agnates and a *haqq* of 200 duros (divided into three parts: one part fine, two parts food), plus 2 goats and 5 liters of olive oil, to the *imgharen* (MS. 22).

1914 (January—May 11–14): Hajj Biqqish of the Ikhuwanen (clan of the Asht 'Asim) and eleven other *imgharen*, acting here as co-jurors, from the tribal *ashtarbi'in* of the Igzinnayen as a unit, reclaim the *diyith* or bloodwealth of 82 *riyals* from a Christian in Wujda (Oujda) because he had killed a man of the Iqarru'an (Asht 'Asim: MS. 23).

1915 (February 3): Payment of a fine of 100 *riyals* and a woman, in Thinimrar (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: MS. 15).

1915 (April–May): *Sulh* or truce arranged between two lineages in the clan of the Asht Mhand (MS. 27).

1916 (June): Non-payment of *haqq* by a woman in a case of poisoning of another woman in Hibir (Asht 'Asim); and, as a result, the *ashtarbi'in* evaluate her land at 36 duros and place it into a state of *dhamrist* (Mor. Ar. *rhin*) or mortgage, for a two-year period (MS. 12).

1916–1917 (December–January): Sheep-stealing between the Asht Yunis and the Asht Mhand, for which the culprits in the former clan had to pay a 50-*riyal* fine to the latter (MS. 16).

1918 (October): Testimony over money, in the Asht Mhand (MS. 21).

1919 (May): Muh n-'Amar Bu Rqubawi knocks out the tooth of 'Ari n-Sidi 'Abd r-Rahman n-Sidi Hmid Ahadri (MS. 17).

1919 (December): The second tooth-breaking: Kukuh n-Bu Tshkurth knocks out the tooth ("God caused him to do so") of Sillam Ashahbun, in Wawnkwarth (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: MS. 9).

1920 (April): R-Ghazi pays 20 *riyals* to Hud n-Mhand for goats stolen by him in Thinimrar (Asht 'Aru 'Aisa MS. 10).

1920 (April): Theft of goats from Thaghirasth (clan of the Asht Yunis) by people of the Asht Mhand (MS. 18).

1920 (September): The woman 'Aisha Taka'bunt (of Ika'bunen, clan of Asht 'Asim) has to swear a collective oath, at the tomb of Sidi Musa in Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim), with her own two daughters and her brother-in-law, to the effect that she did not kill the two daughters of Muh n-Muh n-'Ari n-Tka'bunt (MS. 11).

1921 (February): Muhammad n-Bu Tshkurth pays Sillam Ashahbun the *qisas* of 57 *riyals* for his broken tooth (MS. 8: cf. MS. 9, cited above and dated December 1919).

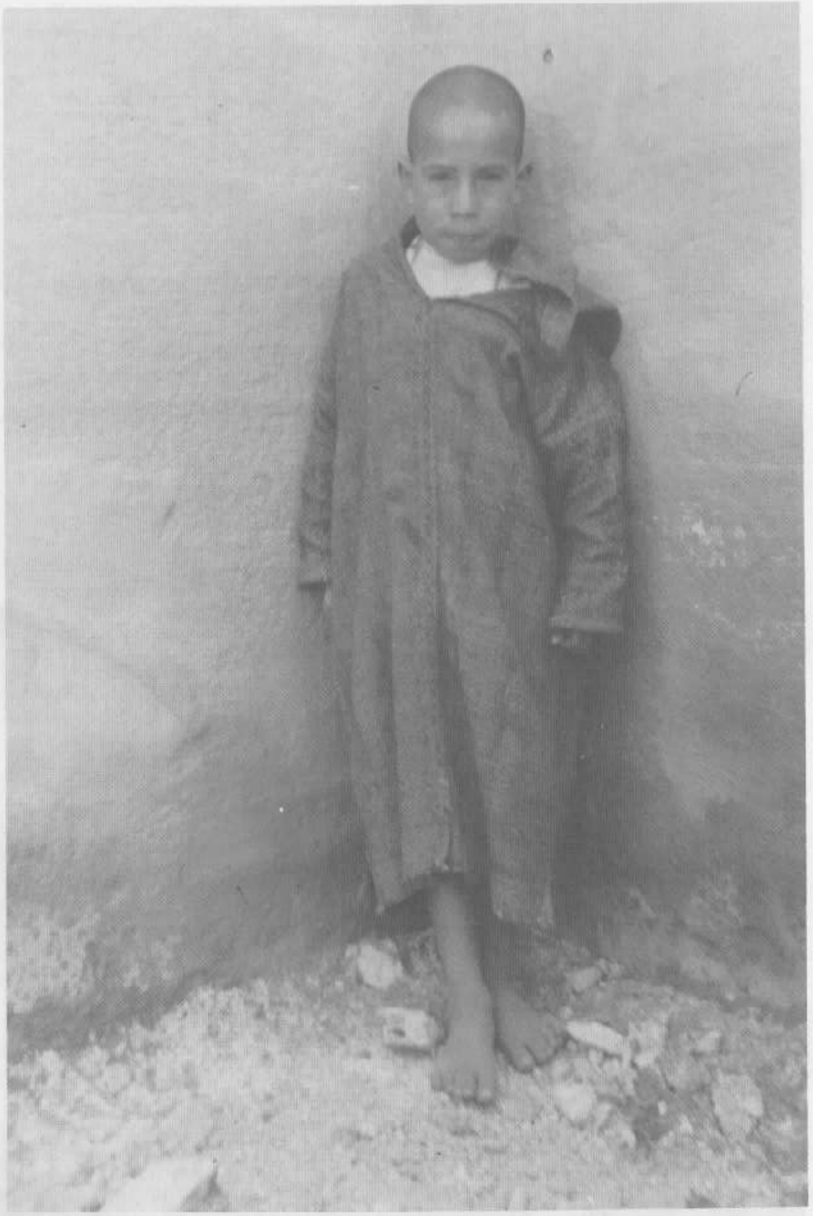
1922 (April): Agreement made amongst all the *imgharen* of the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, at the tomb of their ancestor Sidi 'Aisa, to the effect that if anyone is caught "eating" the *sadaqa* of the *zawiya*, the *imjahadhen* of 'Abd al-Krim who are stationed in Azraf (Axt Tuzin) will move down upon him, under their local commander, the *basha* of the Igzinnayen, Muh Amzzyan Ukhiyyad (MS. 23).

1922 (August 23): The people of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim) swear an oath by the force of *talaq aththalath*, or the "three-time divorce" formula (i.e., thus rendering the oath irrevocable, after recognizing the universal validity of this formula in Shari'a Law) that they will kill the murderer of Shaikh Mhand n-'Allash of the Asht Mhand and will confiscate all his property, even if it should cost them 1000 *riyals* (MS. 20).

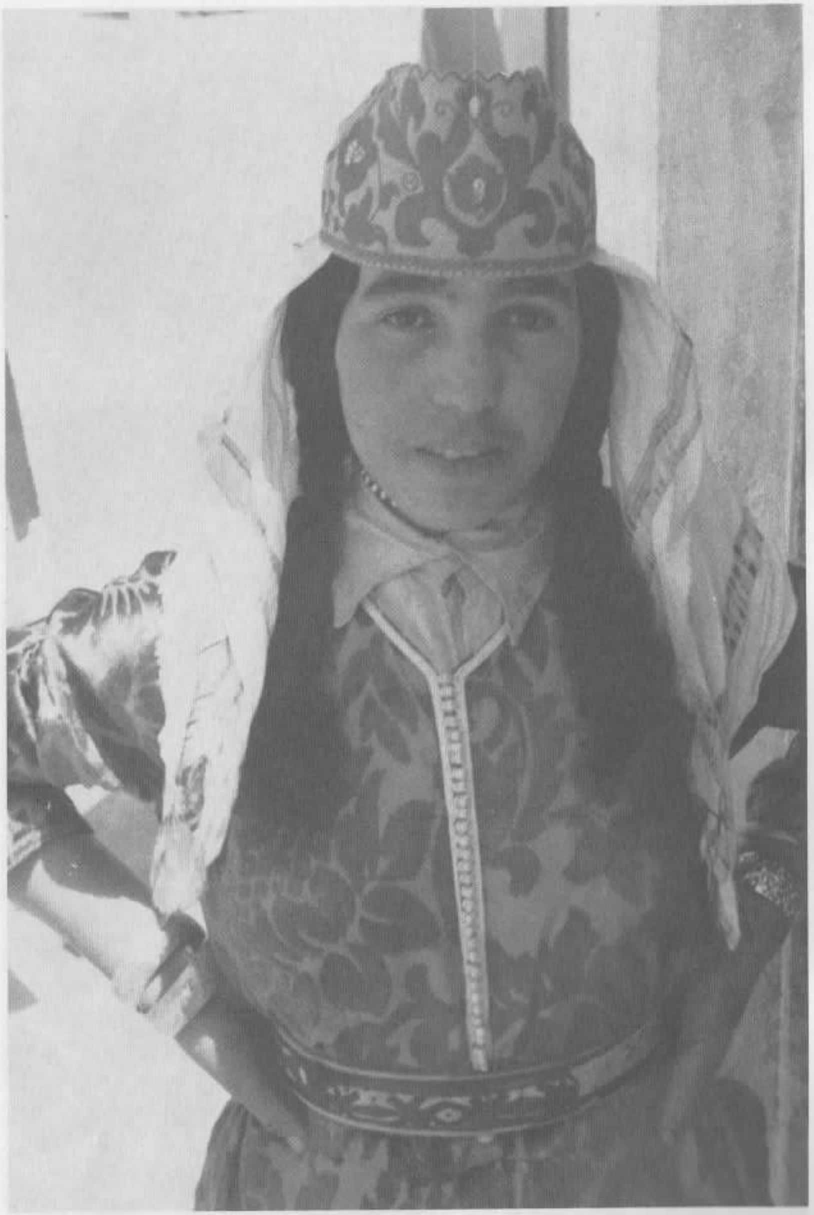
1924 (June): 'Abd al-Krim appoints *qaids* in the Igzinnayen, under the supervision of Haddu n-Muh Amzzyan l-Bu 'Ayyashi (dhu-Bu 'Ayyash: Rif.), the *kbir mhalla* of the Igzinnayen, and Hmid Budra l-Waryaghli (dhu-Waryaghar: Rif.); 'Abd al-Krim's Minister of War. The top man in the Igzinnayen, under these two men, above, is to be Muh Amzzyan Ukhiyyad, the new *basha*, and *qaids* of 100 men are to be elected (MS. 2).

1925 (June-July): *Qanun* of fines for theft of vegetables, fruits, etc., (ranging, in general, from one to six pesetas' fine), levied by 'Abd al-Krim in the Igzinnayen, and so levied under the supervision of the *basha* of that tribe, Muh Amzzyan Ukhiyyad (MS. 1).

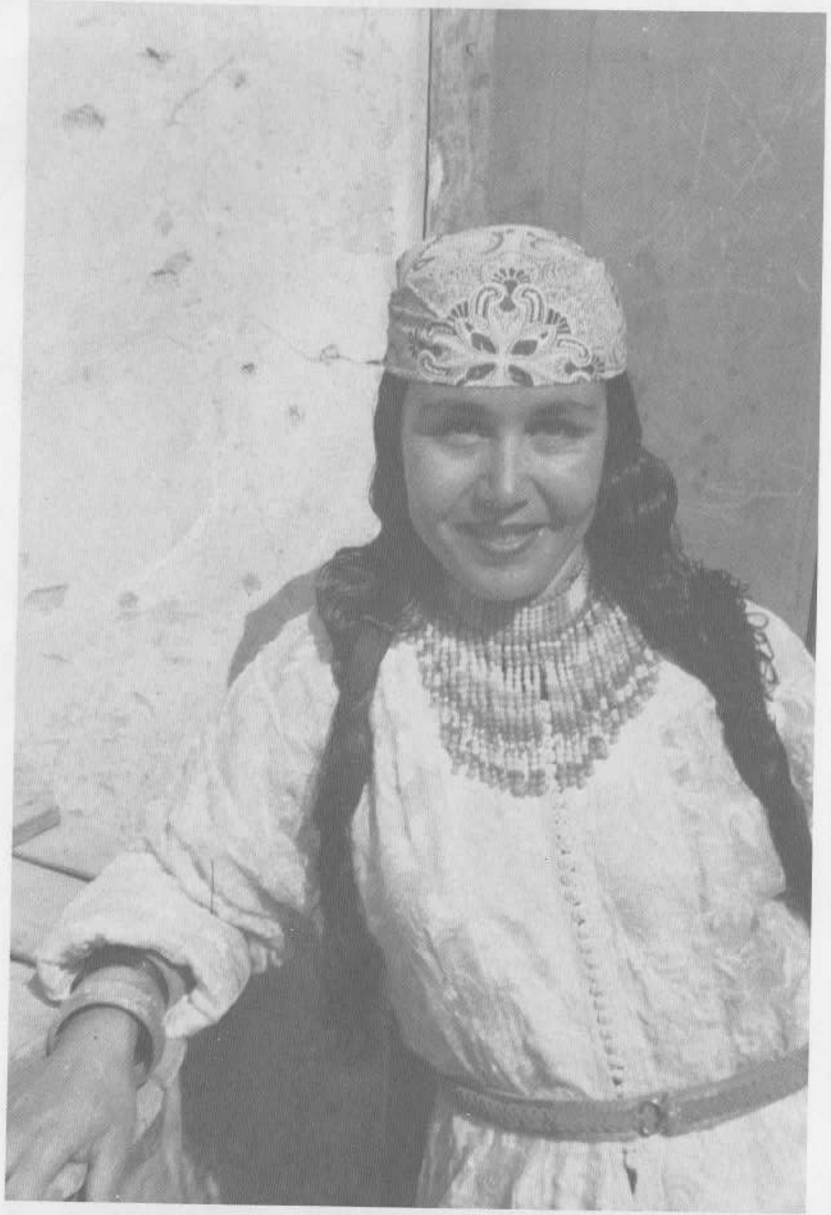
1926 (April): The Qaid 'Amar Uhar ("The Fox") of the Aith Bu Stta lineage in the Aith Bu Khrif (Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Waryagharland), *qaid* of 100 men, and in front of witnesses, pays one Sha'ib n-Haddu n-Muhand w-'Allush of the Ikhabbaben (clan of the Asht Yunis, in the Igzinnayen) 10 Spanish duros for the latter's donkey which the *imjahadhen* of 'Abd al-Krim had commandeered (MS. 5).



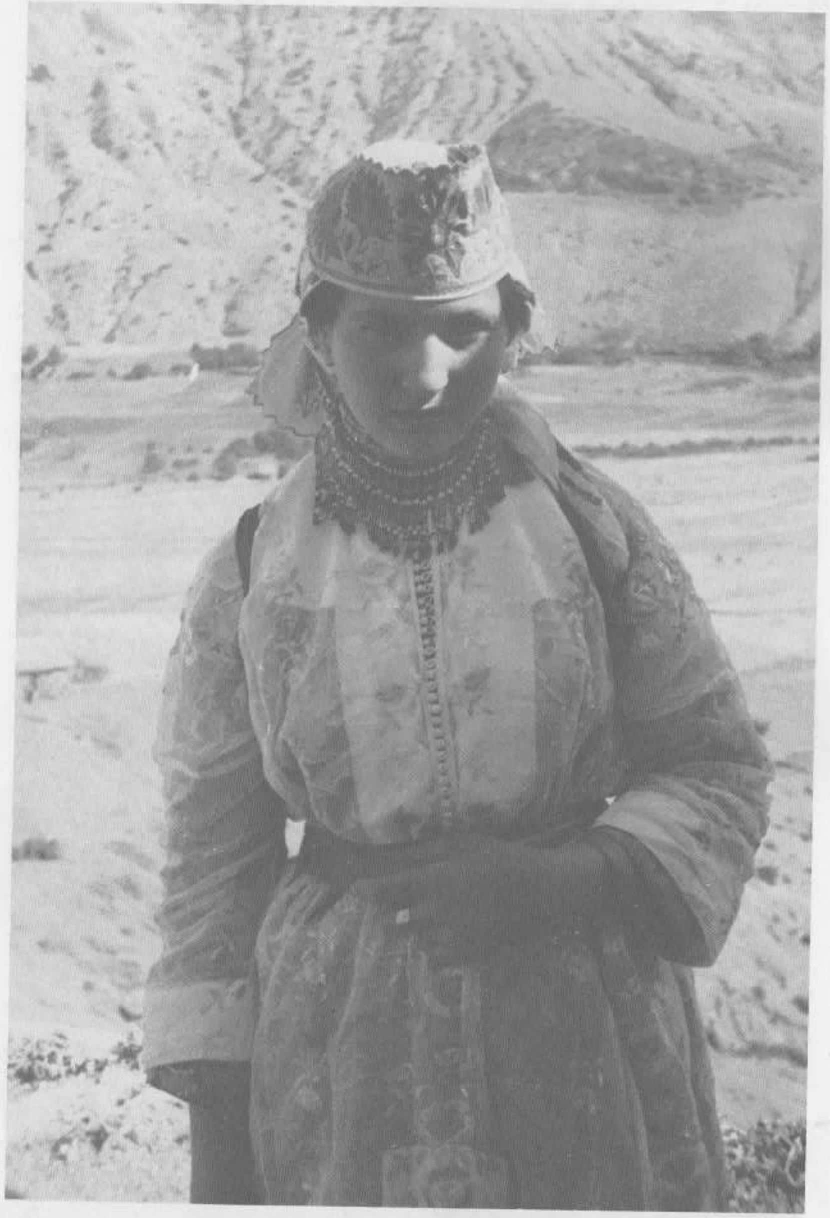
Boy, Imzuren (1953)



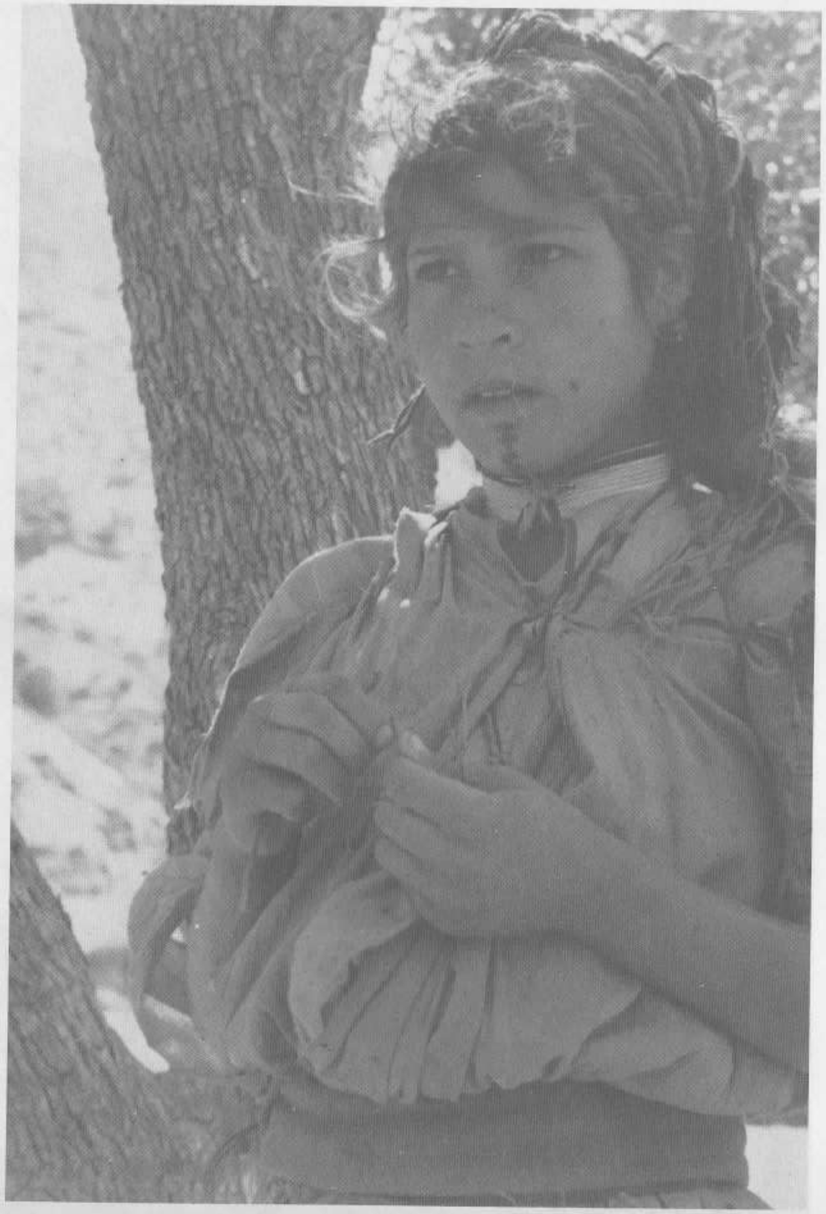
Young woman of the Aith Bu ‘Ayyash (1955)



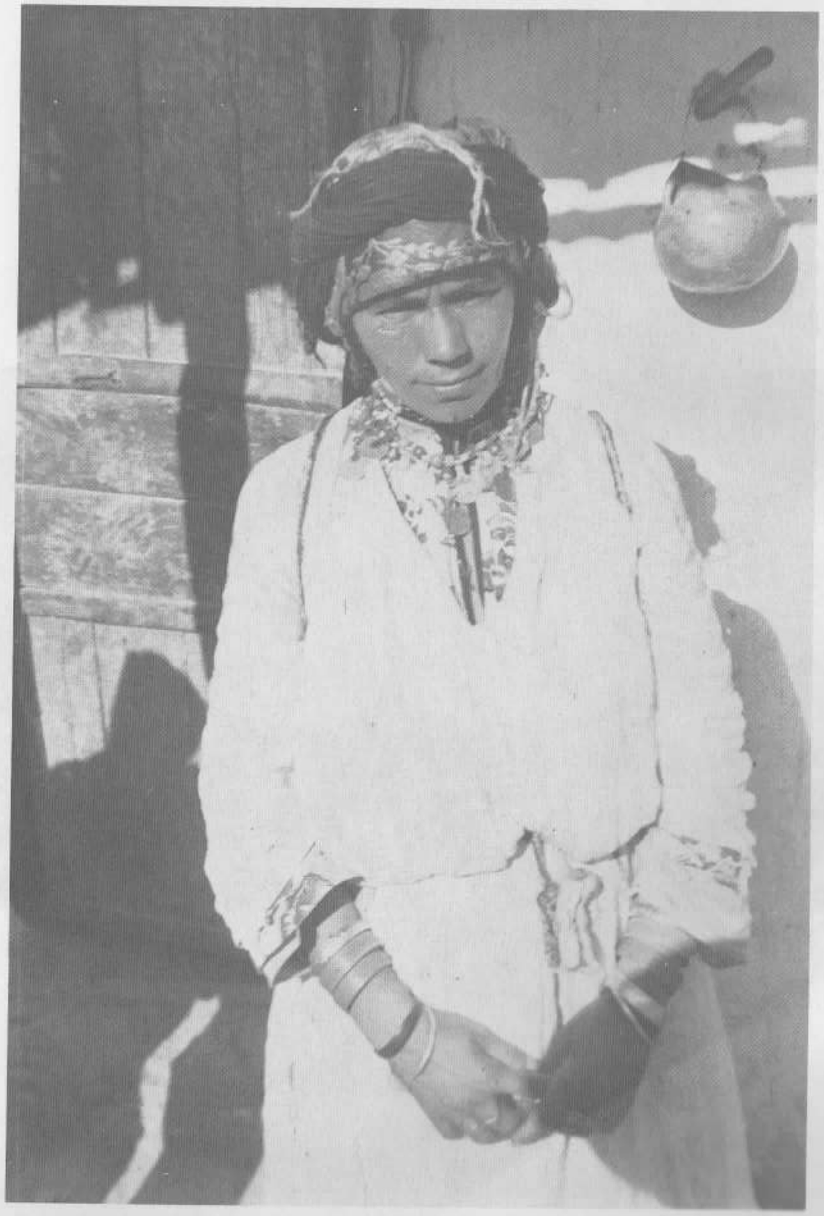
Young woman of the Aith Hadhifa in festival dress (1953)



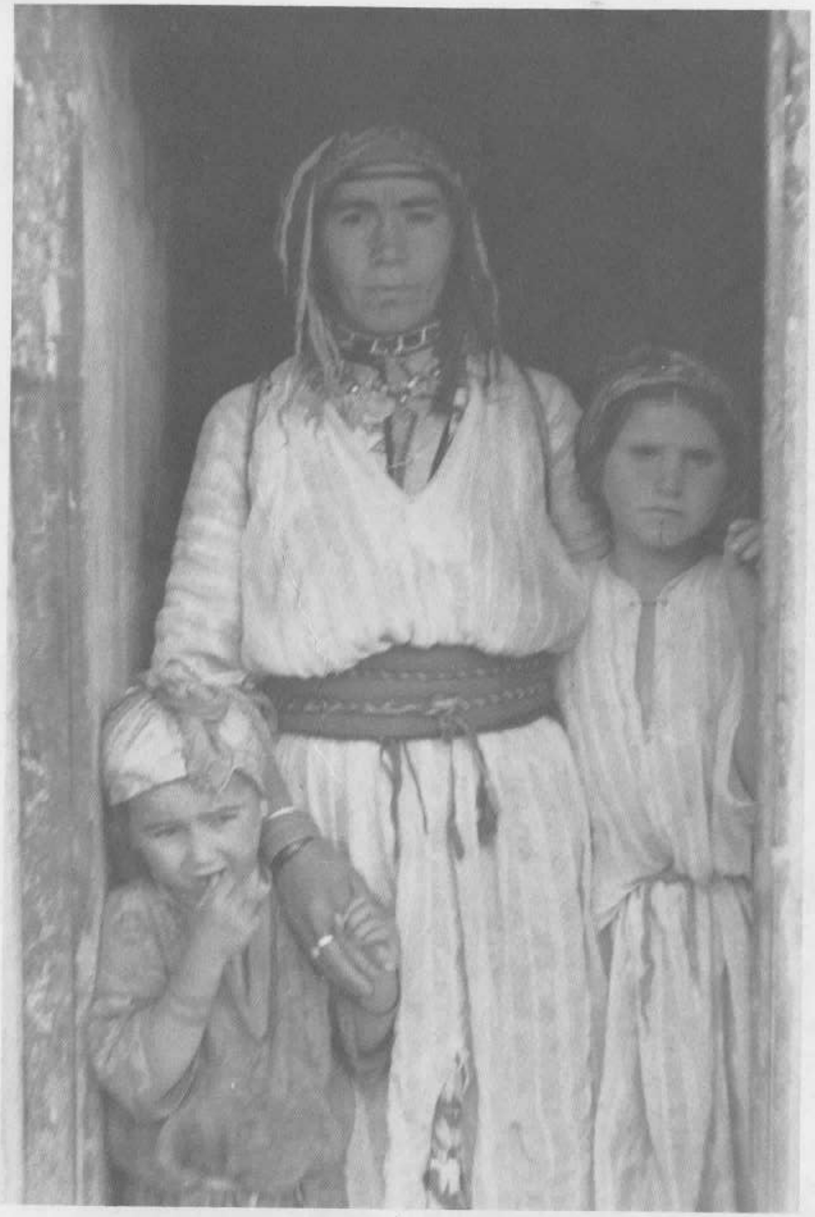
Girl at Wednesday Market, Tawrirt (1955)



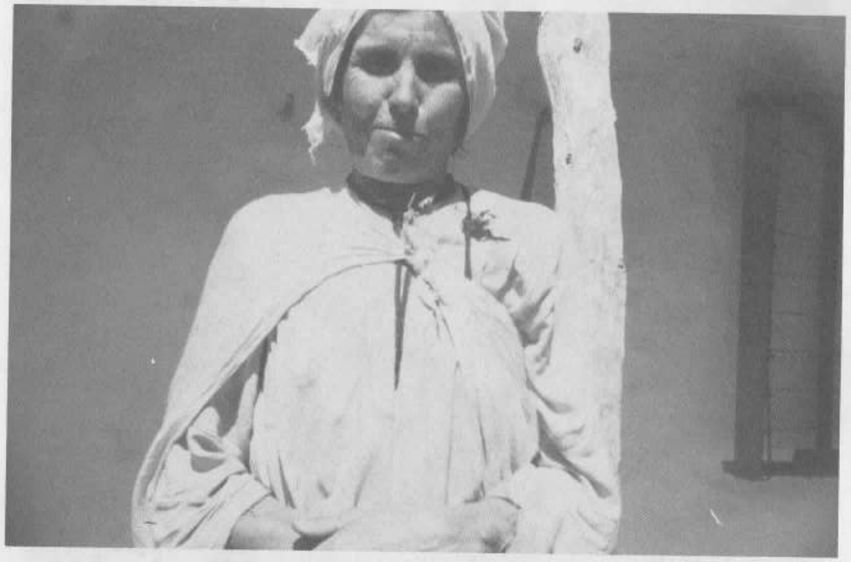
Young girl at Aswil, Aith Turirth (1954); Photograph by J. R. Erola



Woman from Asrafil, Timarzga, showing headress of married women (1955)

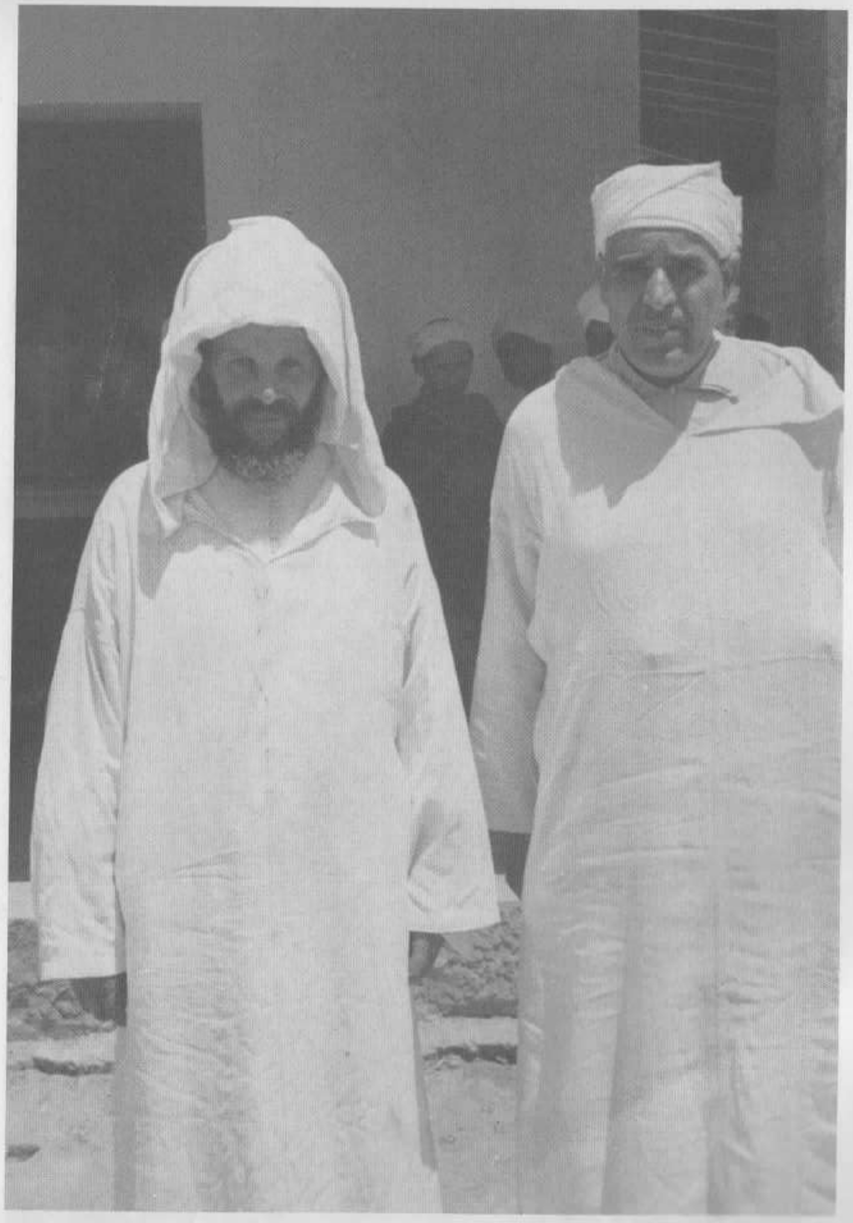


Woman from Asrafil, Timarzga, with two children

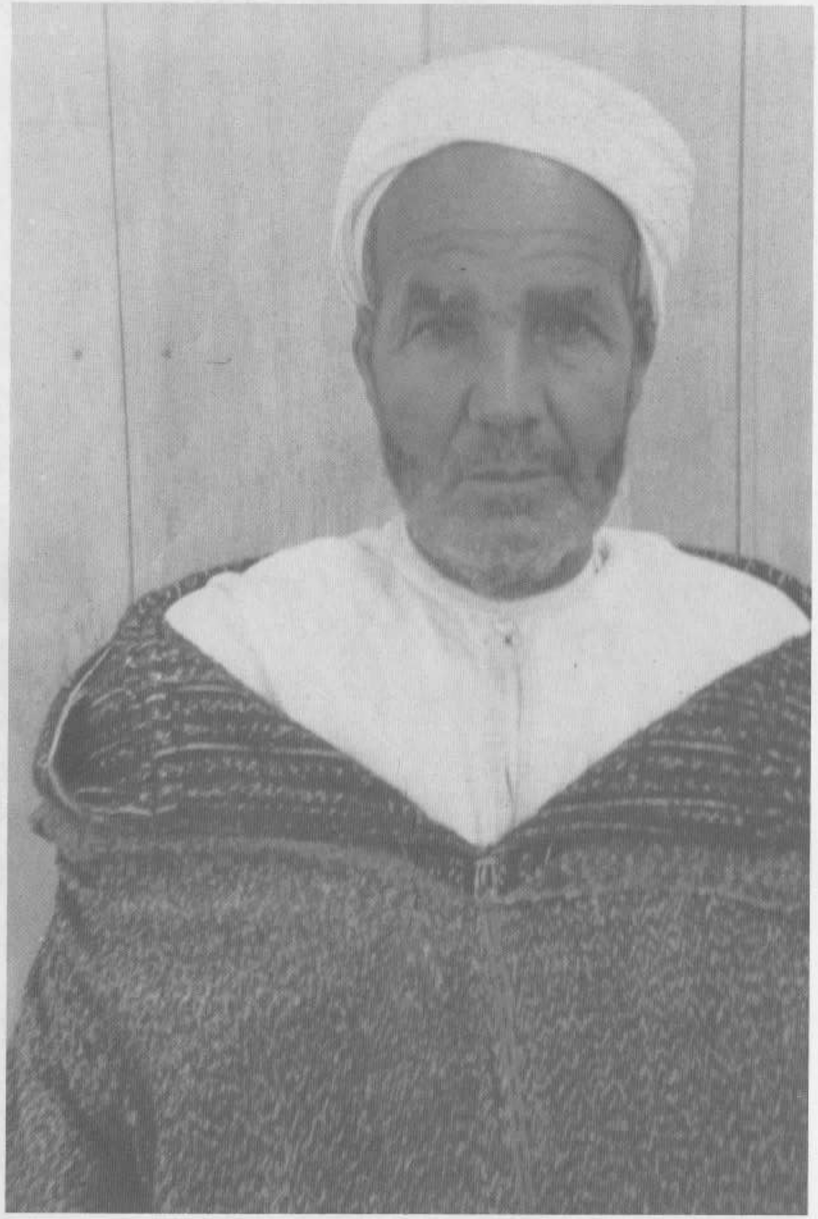


Elderly woman from the Aith Turirth (1962)

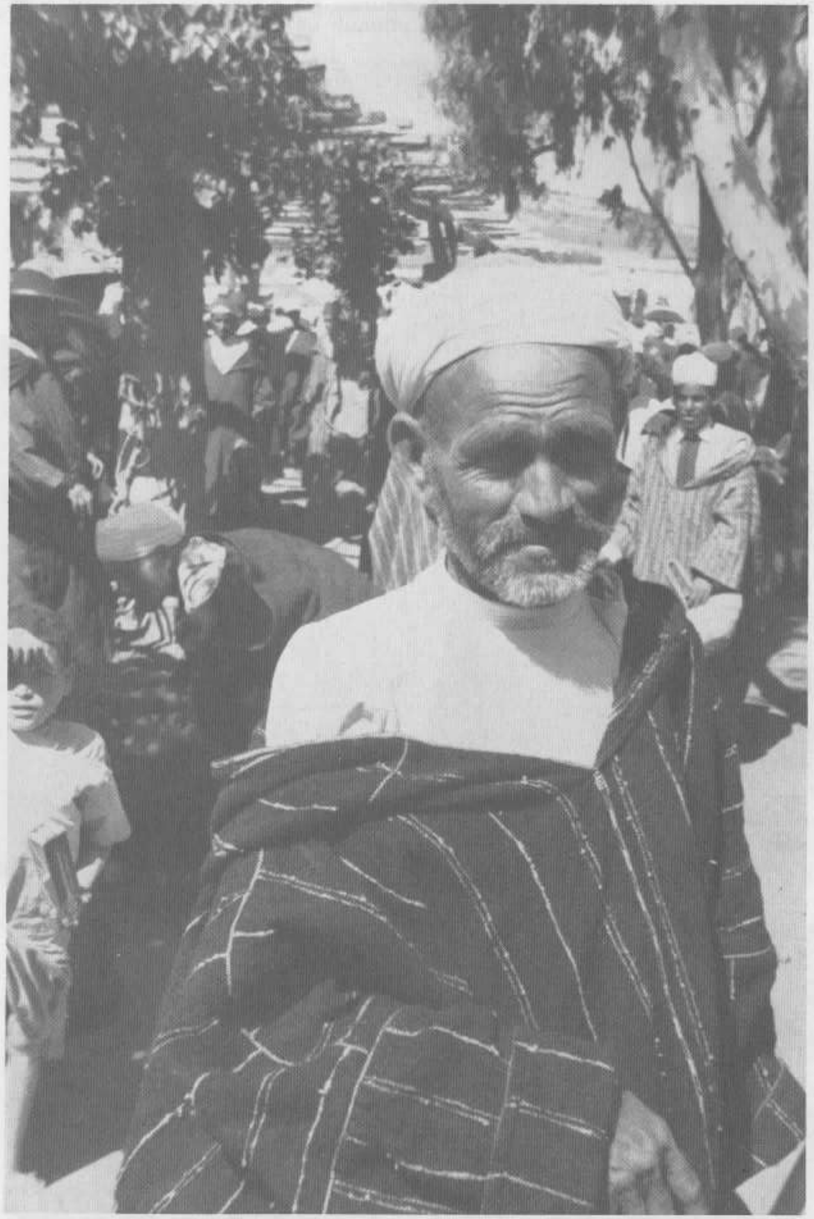
Lowlander at Imzuren in uniform of Spanish *mkhazniya* (1953)



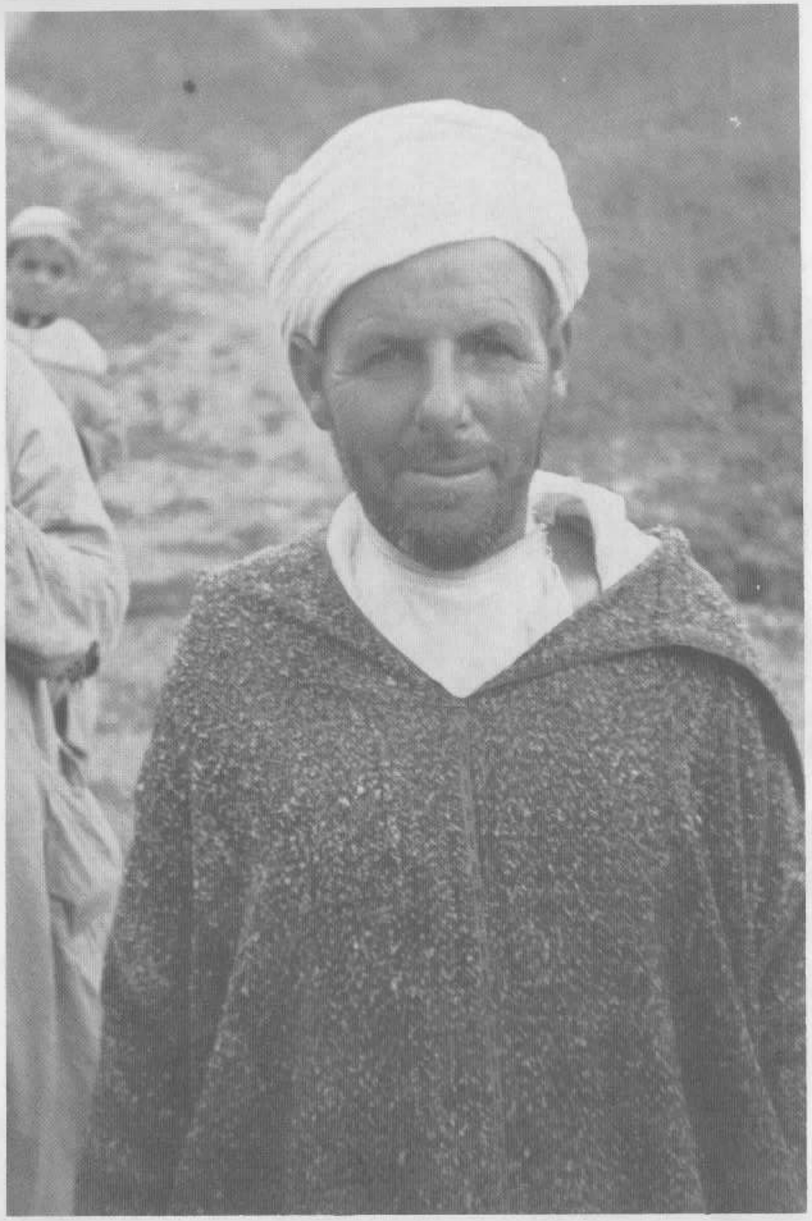
Saint and Lay Tribesman: an *amrabit* of considerable prestige resident in the Aith 'Abdallah (left) and a lay member of the same clan (right) who was *qaid* of 100 men under Abd al-Krim (1953)



Elderly man of the Aith 'Abdallah (1953)



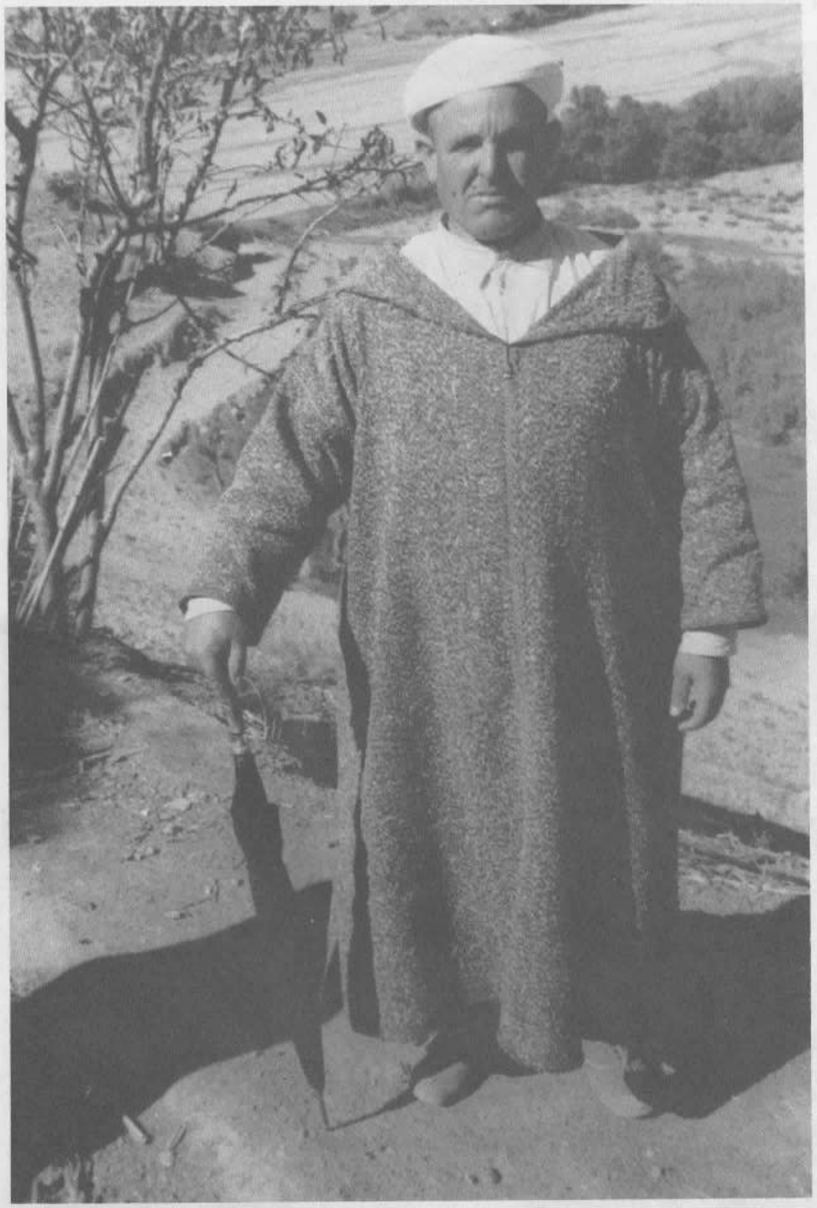
Notable at Monday Market of the Aith Hadhifa (1953)



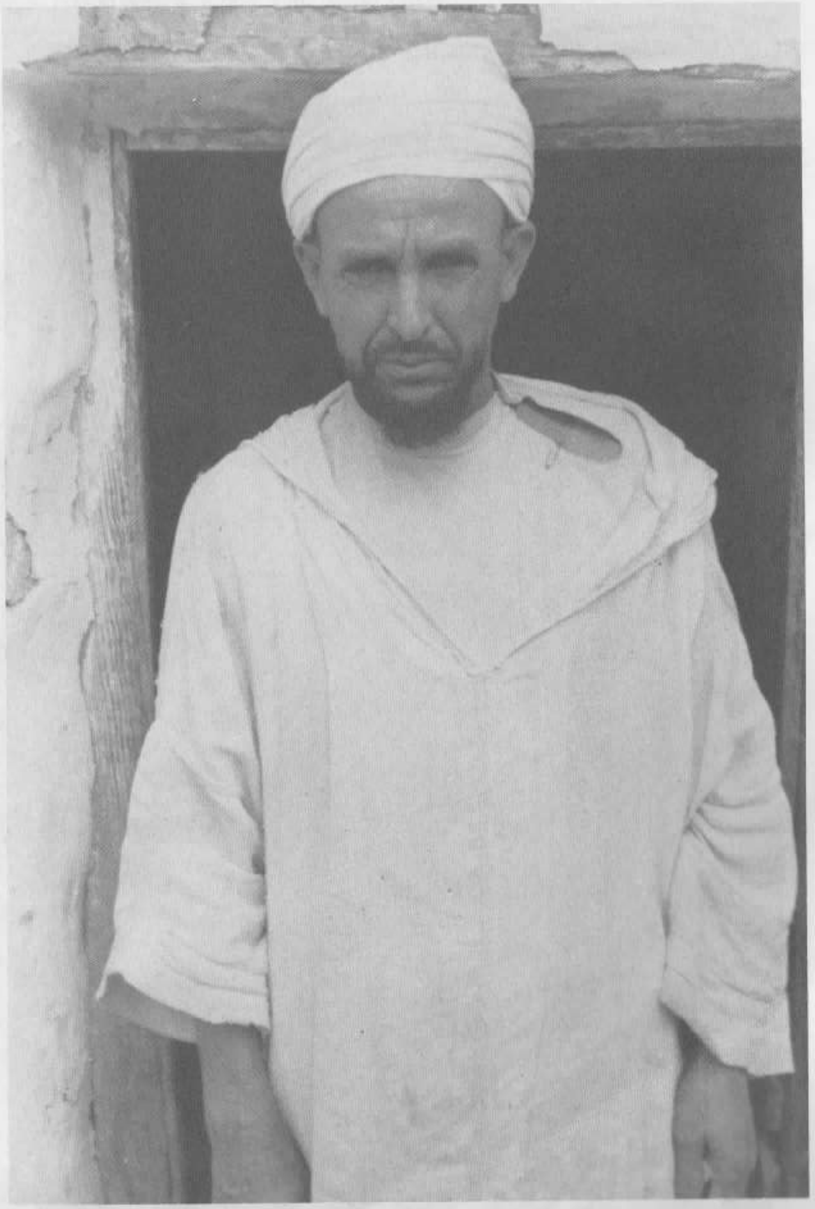
Man from Aith Bu Khrif in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (1954)

Prominent member of a holy Imrabdhen lineage resident in the Aith Turirth (1954)

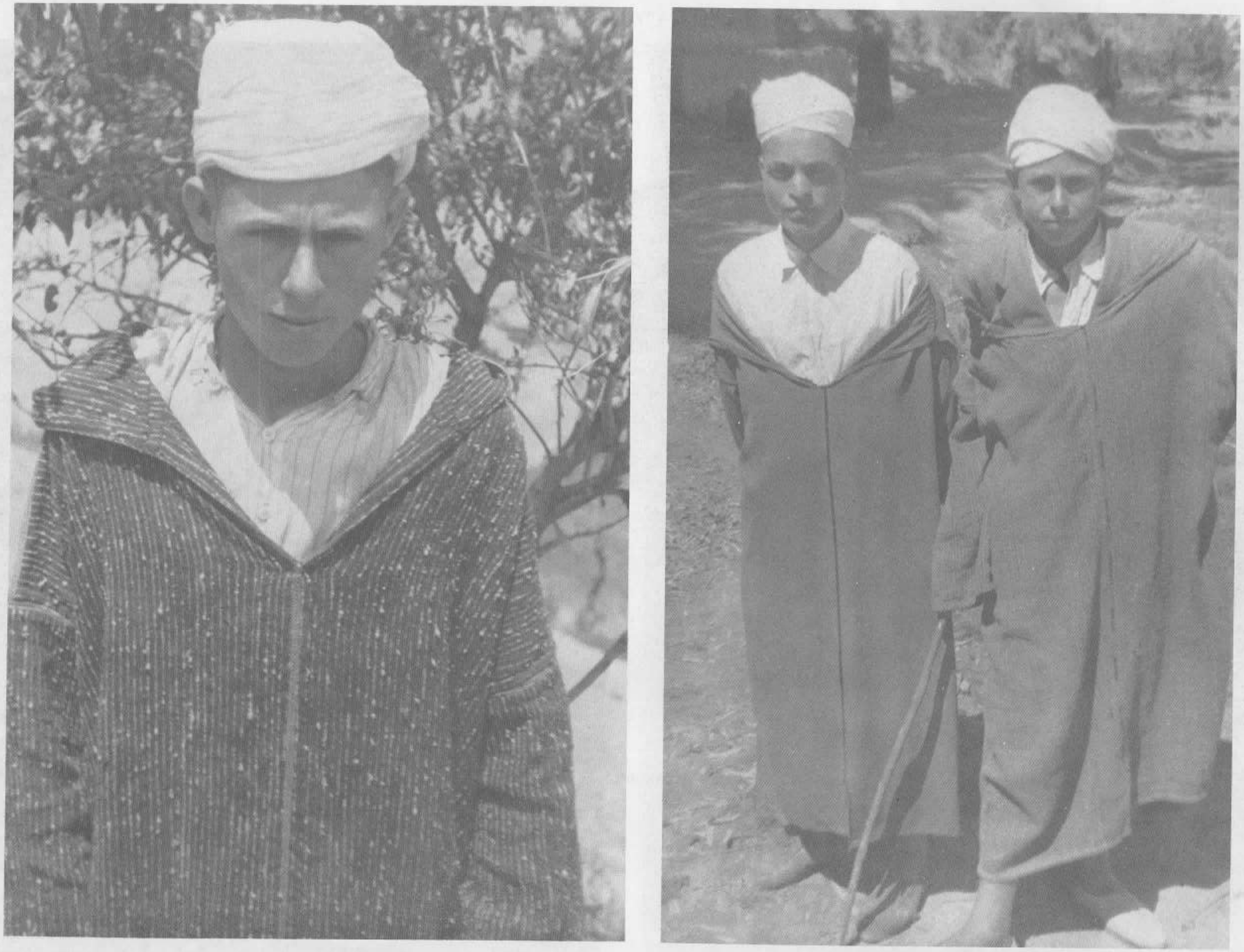
a, b, c. Aith Turirth notables (1959, 1965)



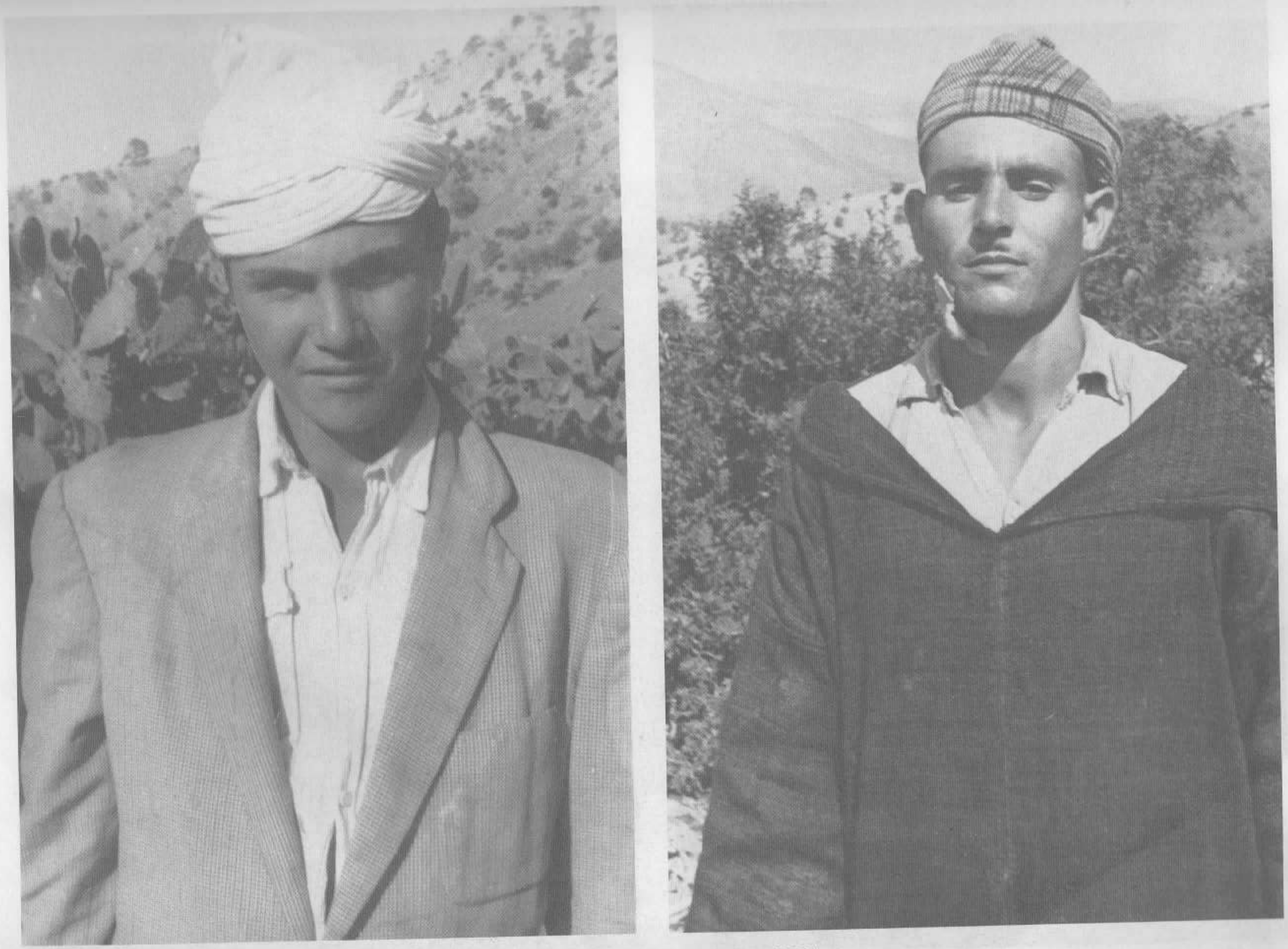
Shaikh of the Aith Turirth (1959)



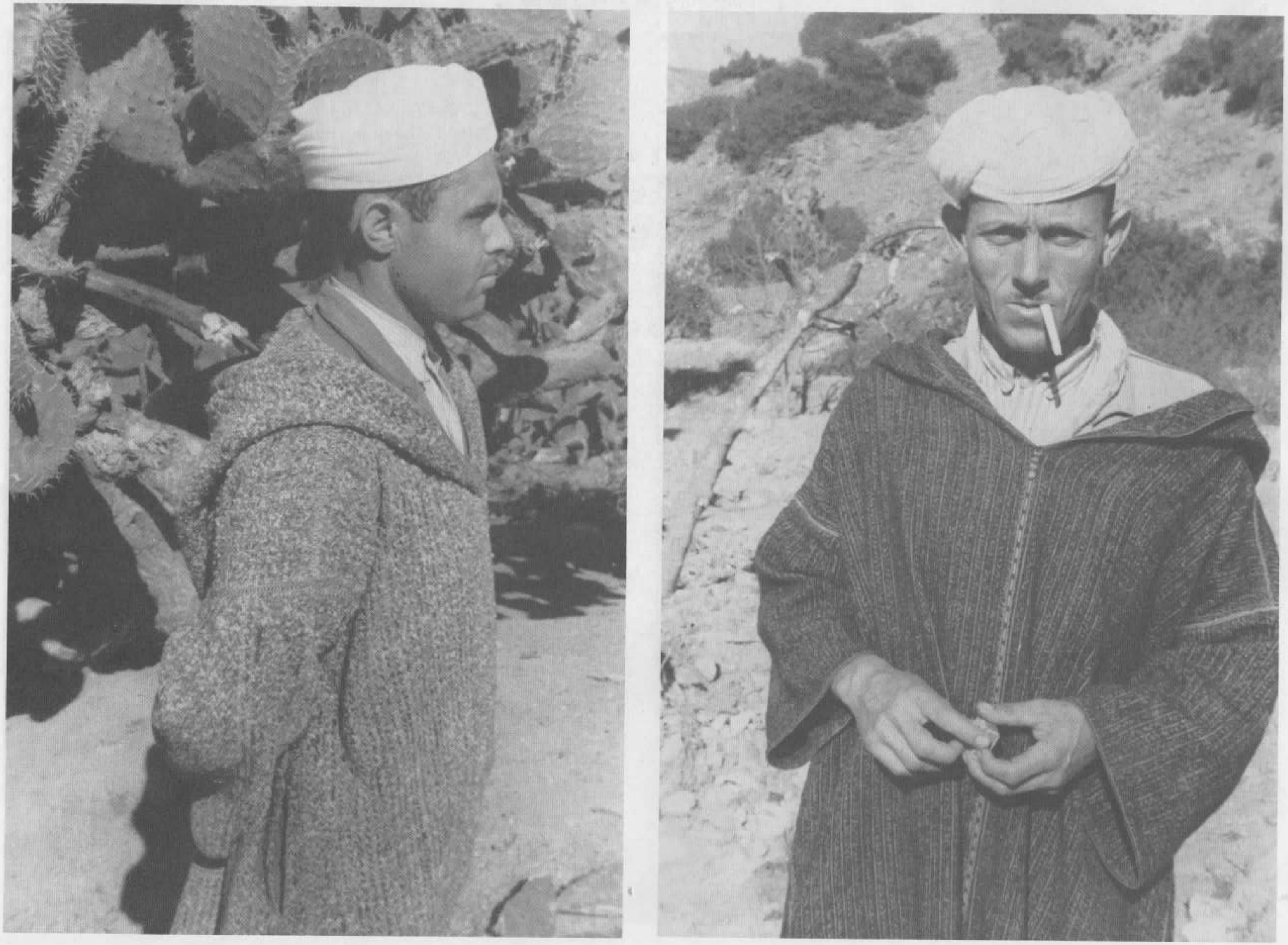
Member of Darqawa order, Aith Turirth (1960)



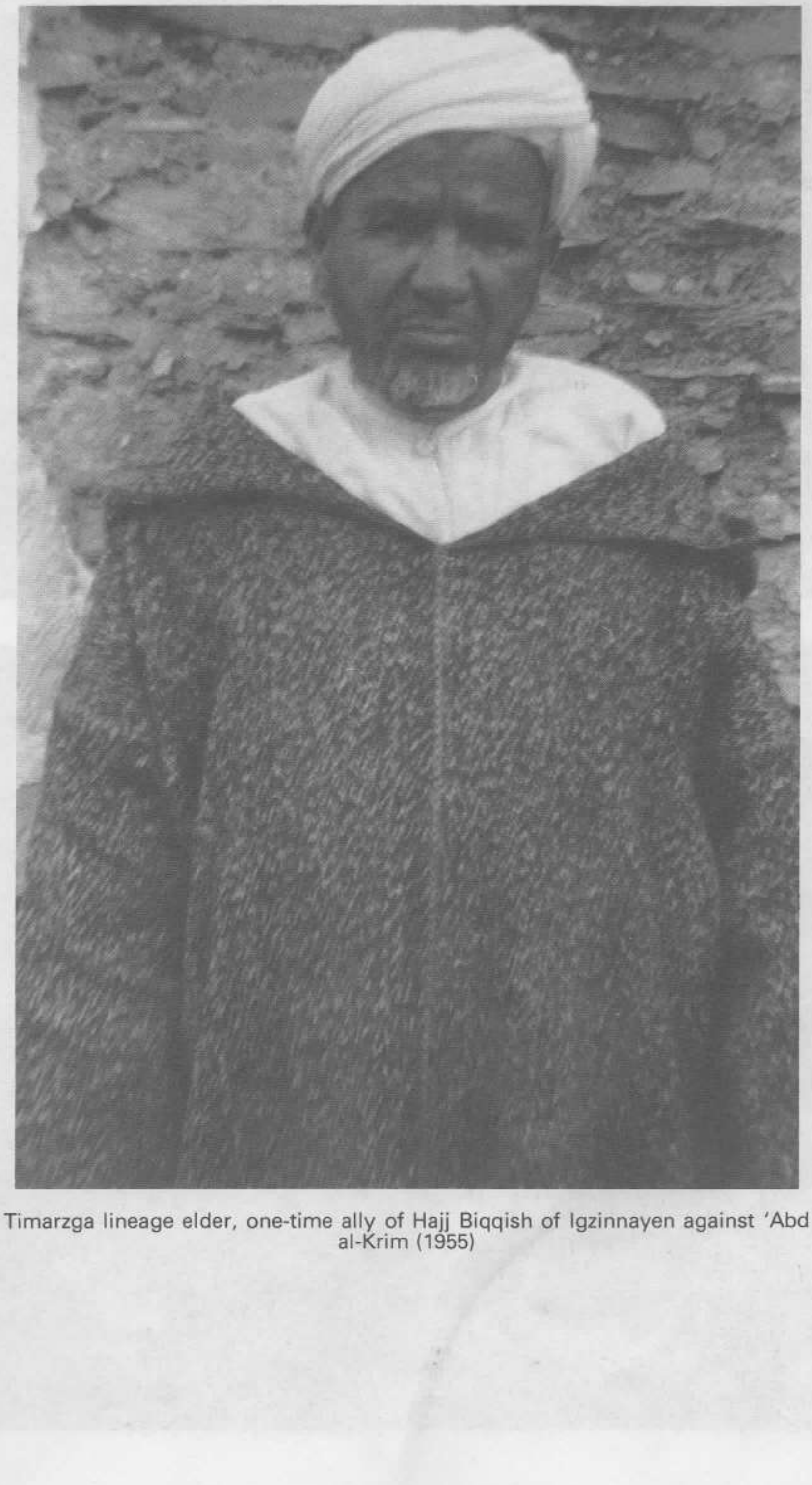
a. Young man of the Aith Turirth (1960). b. Same young man as a boy, with friend (1955)



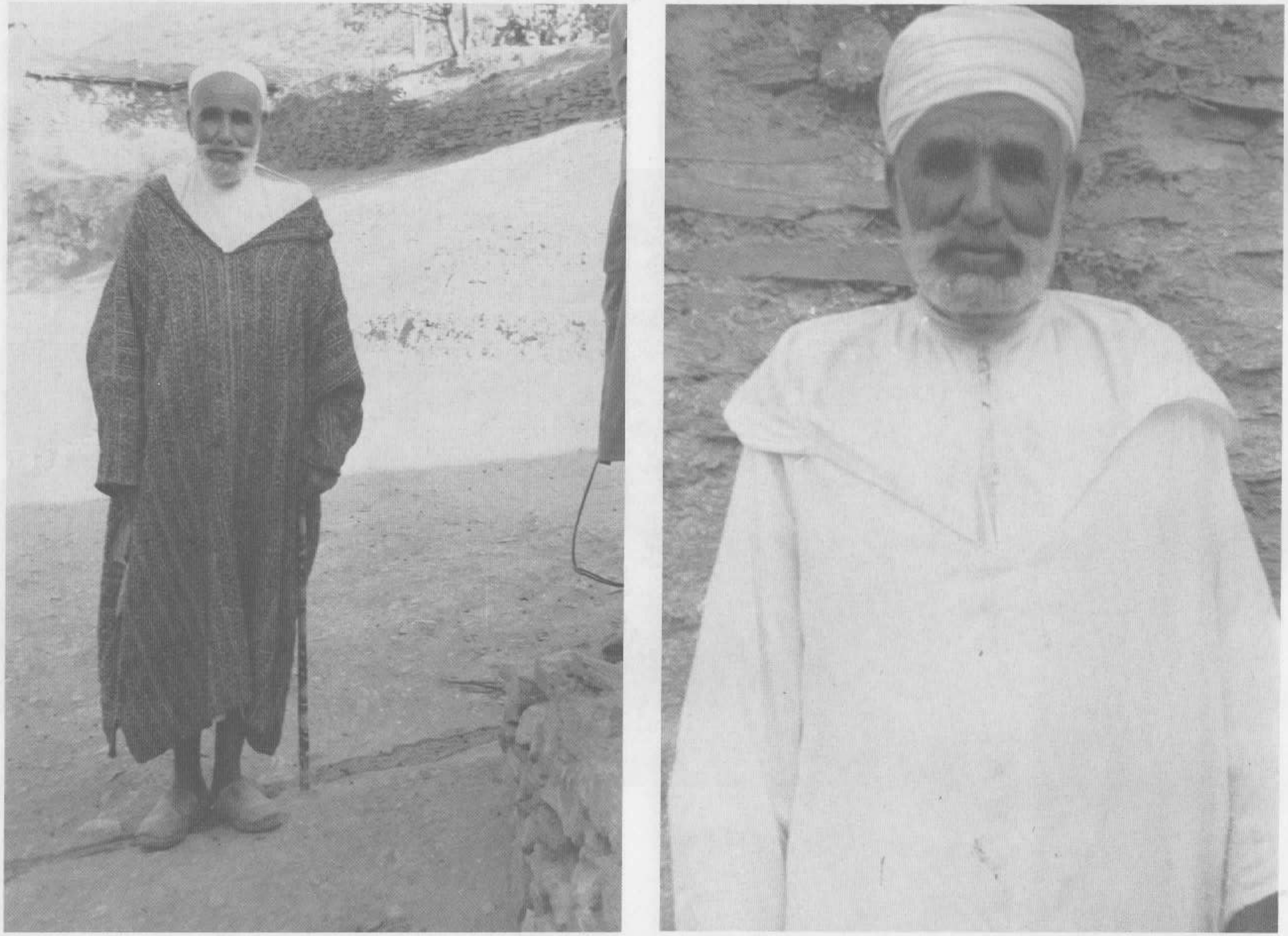
a, b. Young men of the Aith Turirth (1962)



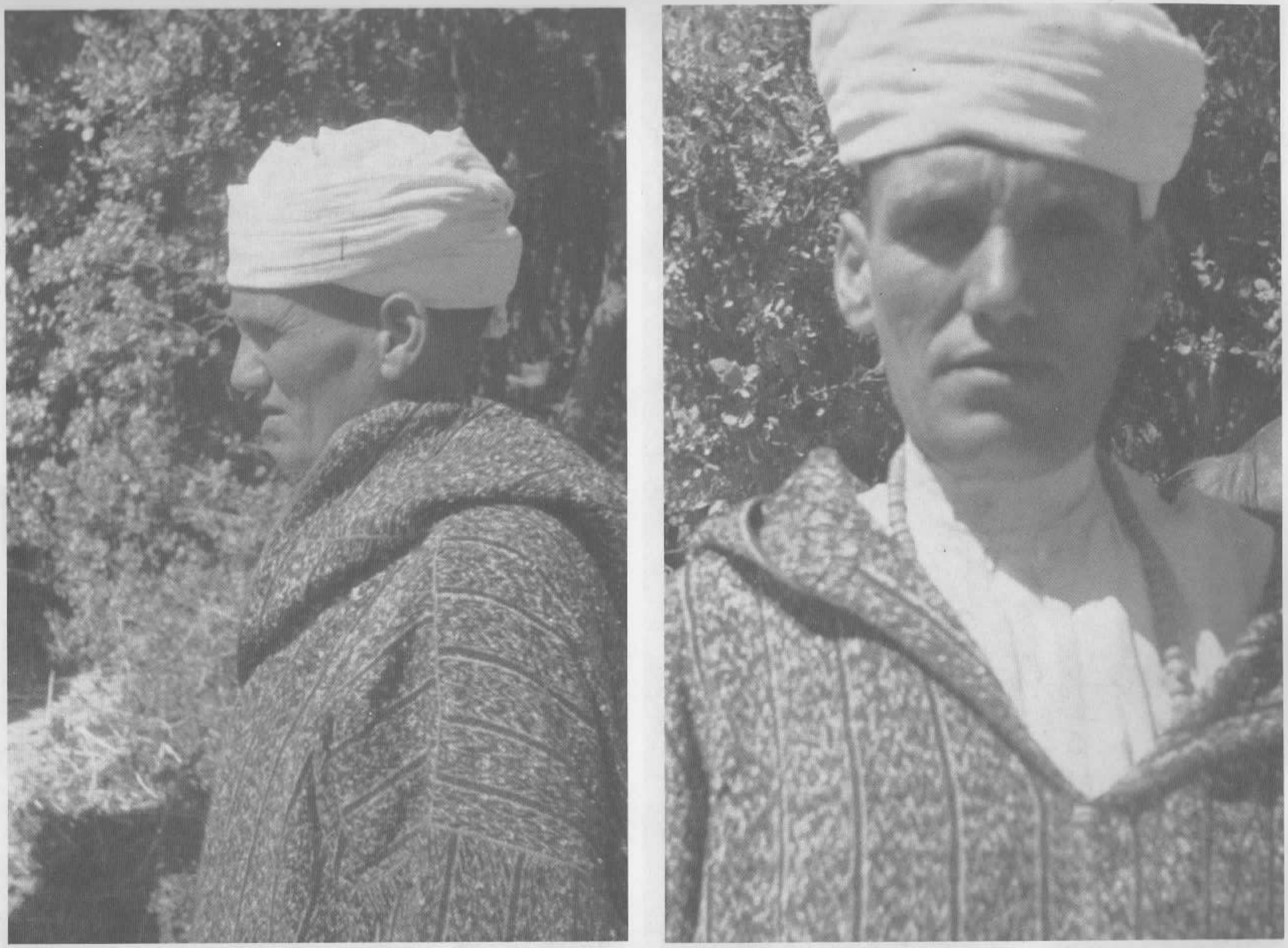
a, b. Men of the Imjjat lineage, Aith Turirth (1960)



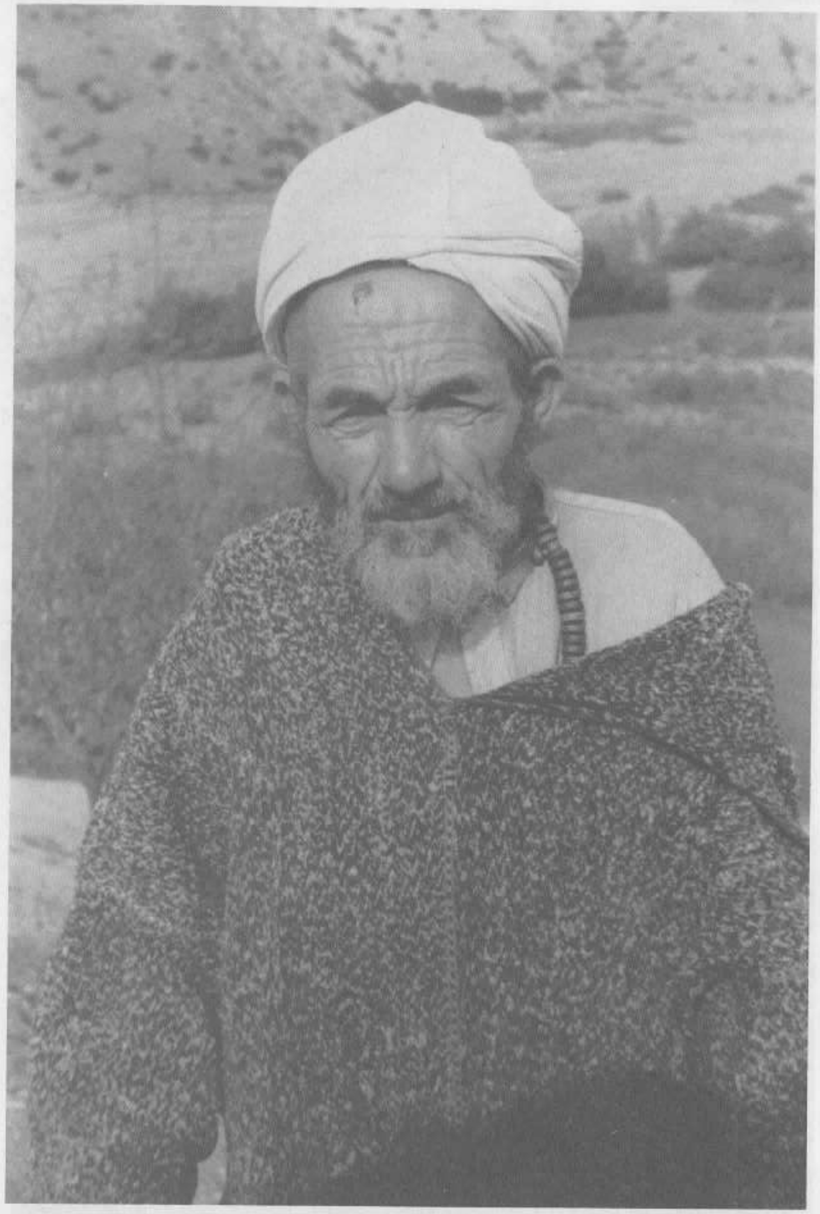
Timarzga lineage elder, one-time ally of Hajj Biqqish of Igzinnayen against 'Abd al-Krim (1955)



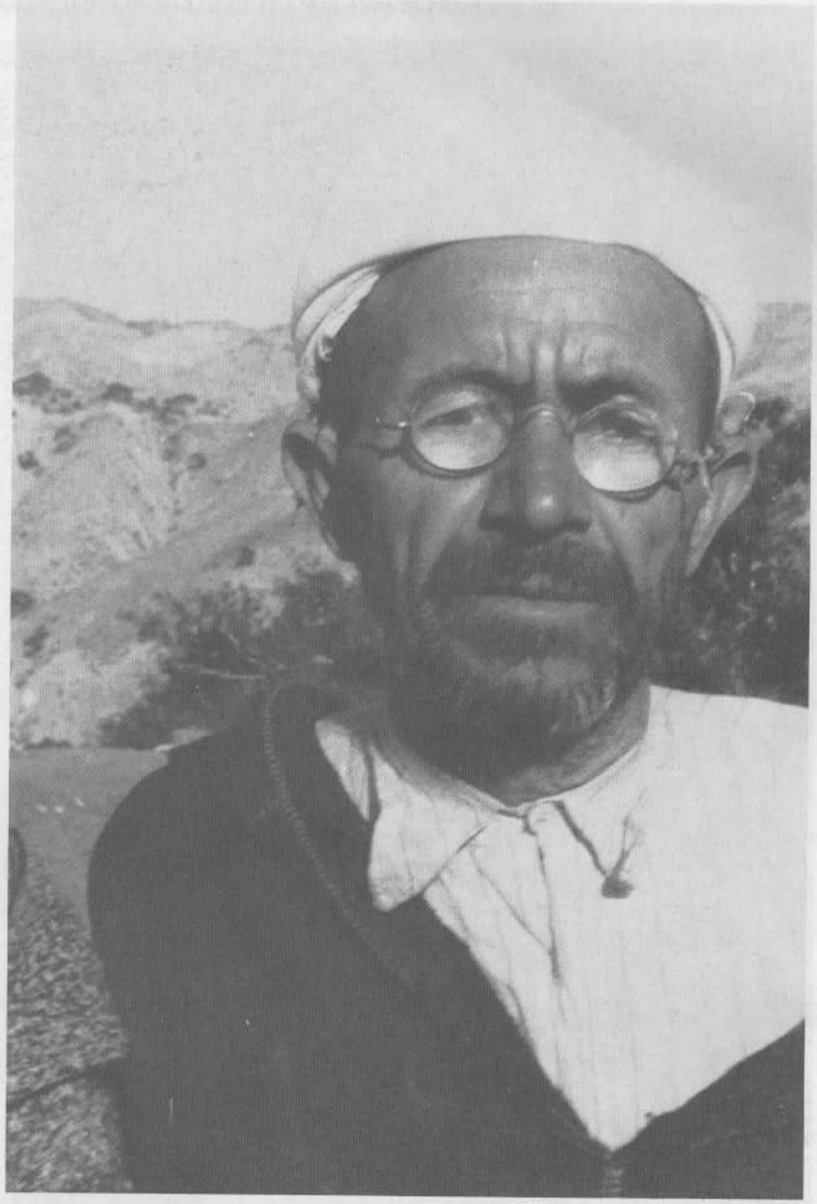
a, b. Timarzga lineage elder, and one-time *qaid* of 100 men under ʻAbd al-Krim (1954, 1955)



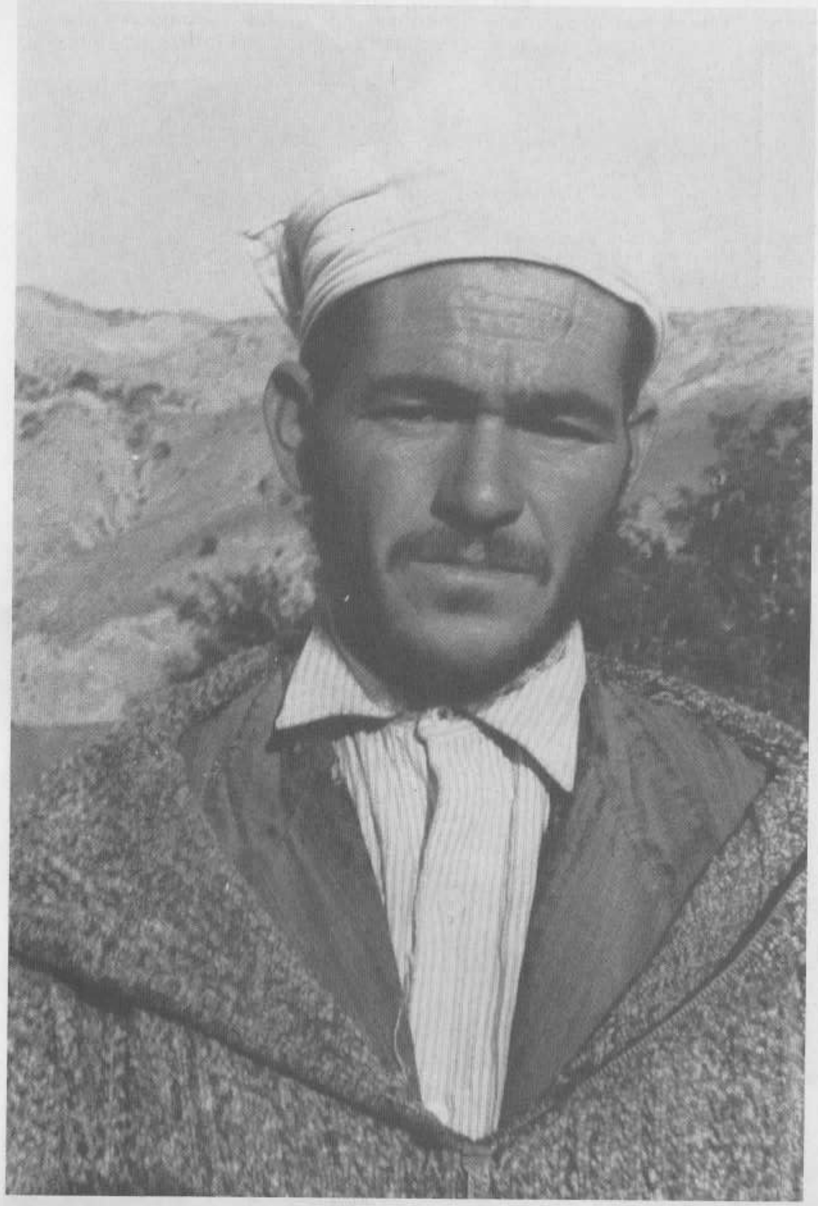
a. Headman or *jari* of a Timarzga local community, and member of 'Alawiyin religious order (1954). b. Front view of same individual, showing 'Alawiyin rosary around his neck (1954)



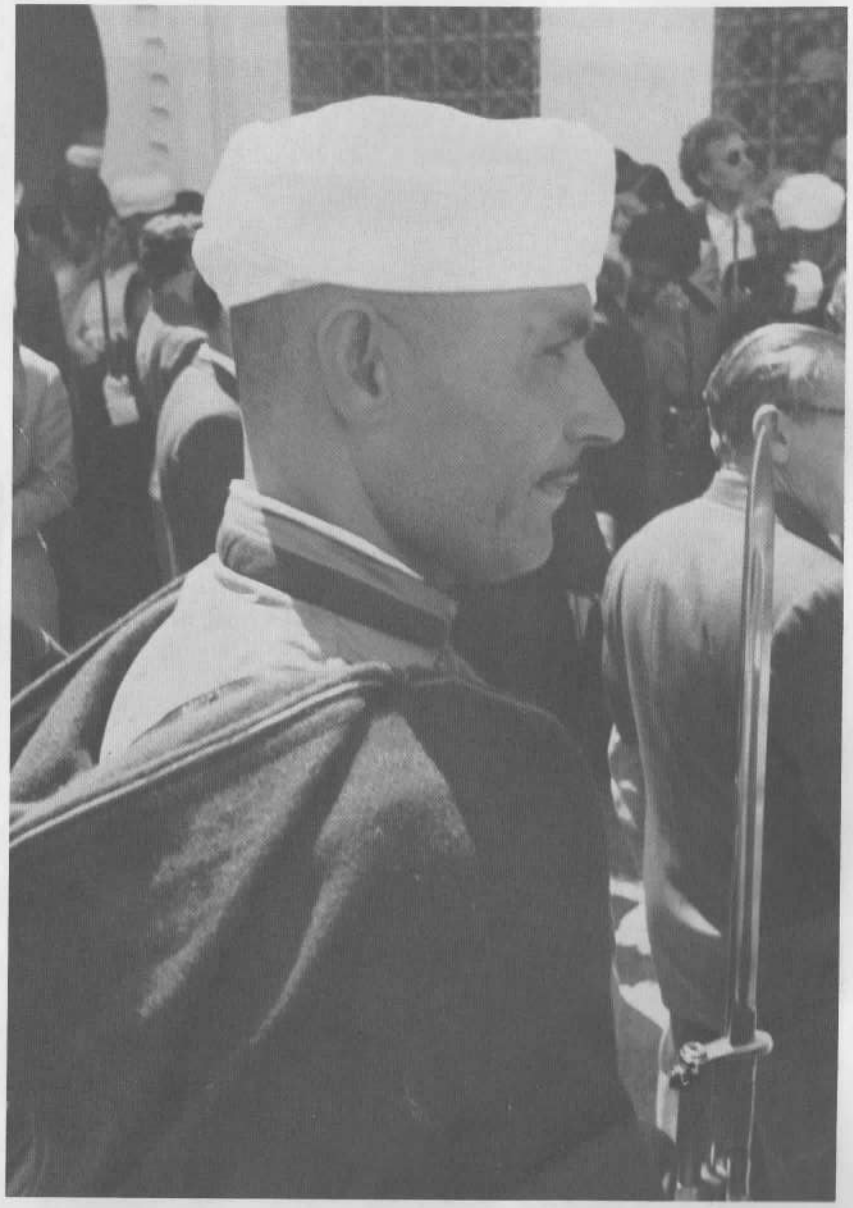
Timarzga elder, wearing 'Alawiyin rosary (1960)



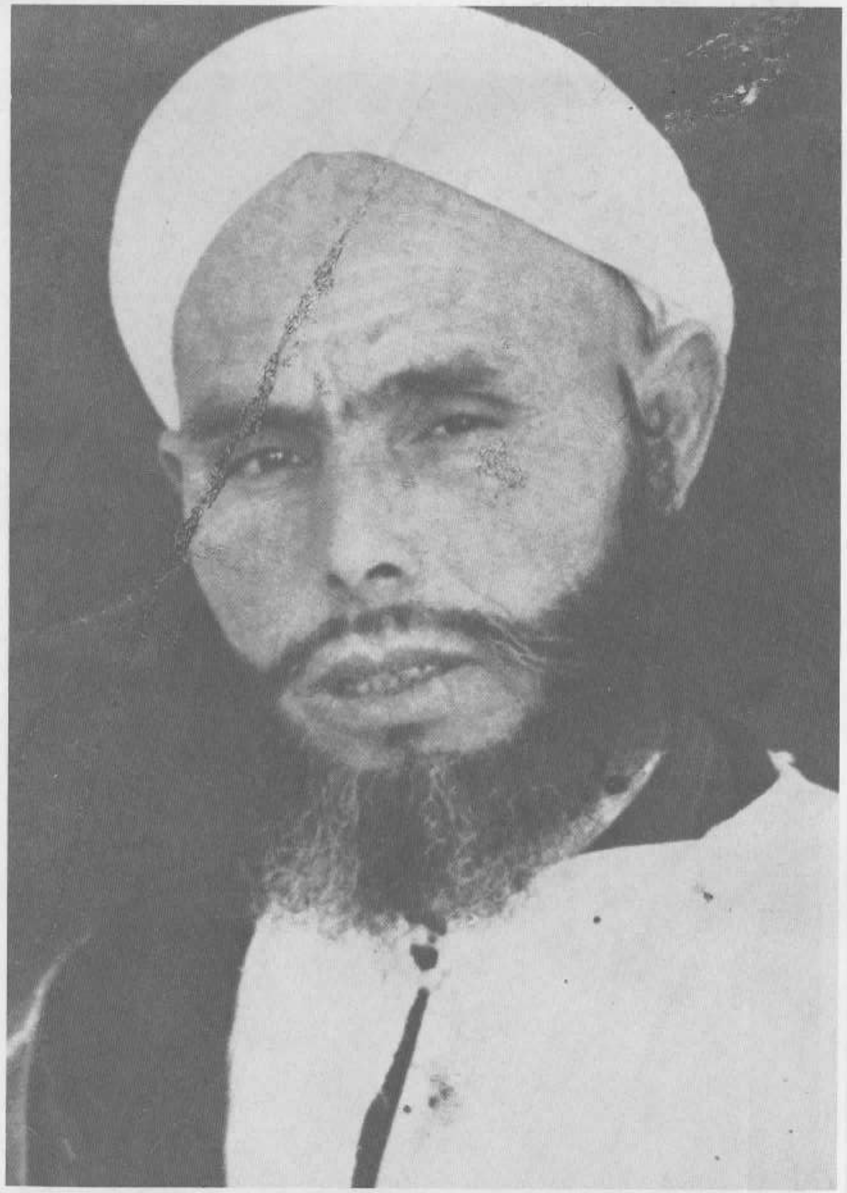
Timarzga elder (1961)



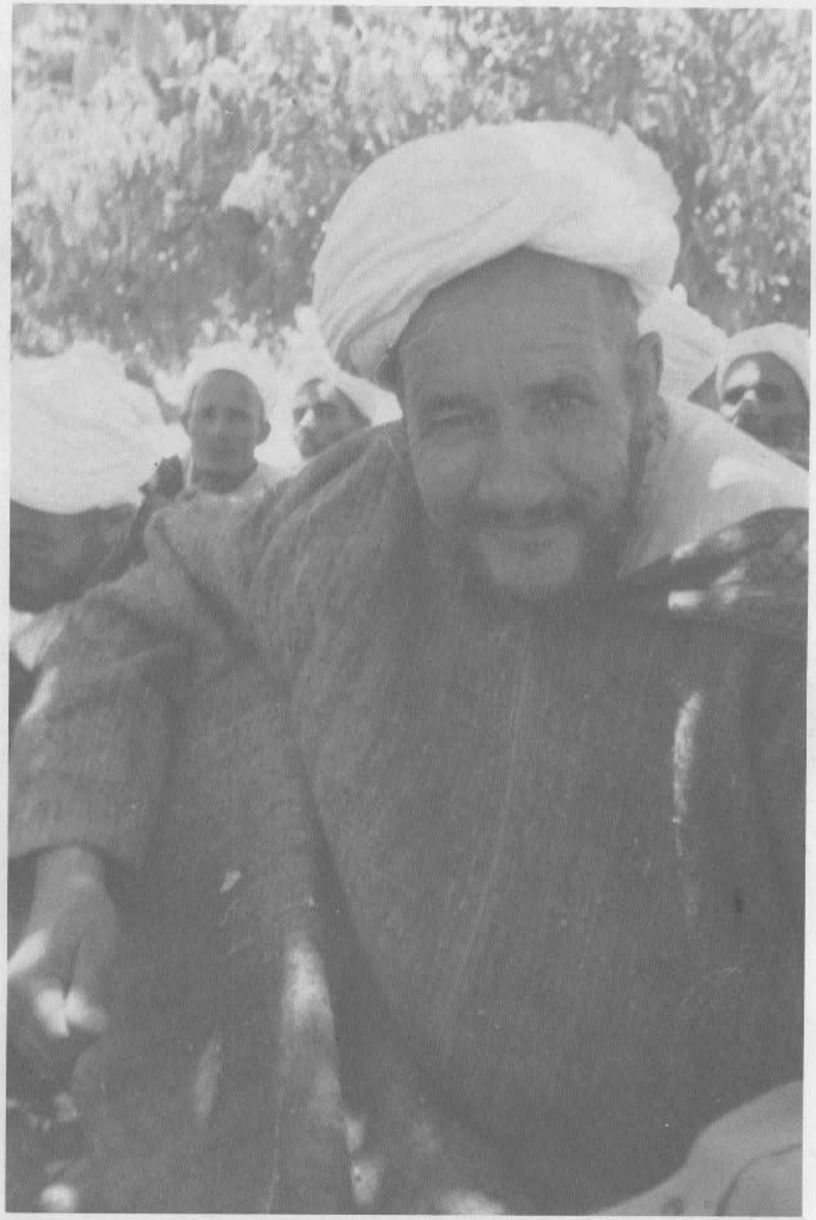
Man of the Timarzga (1961)



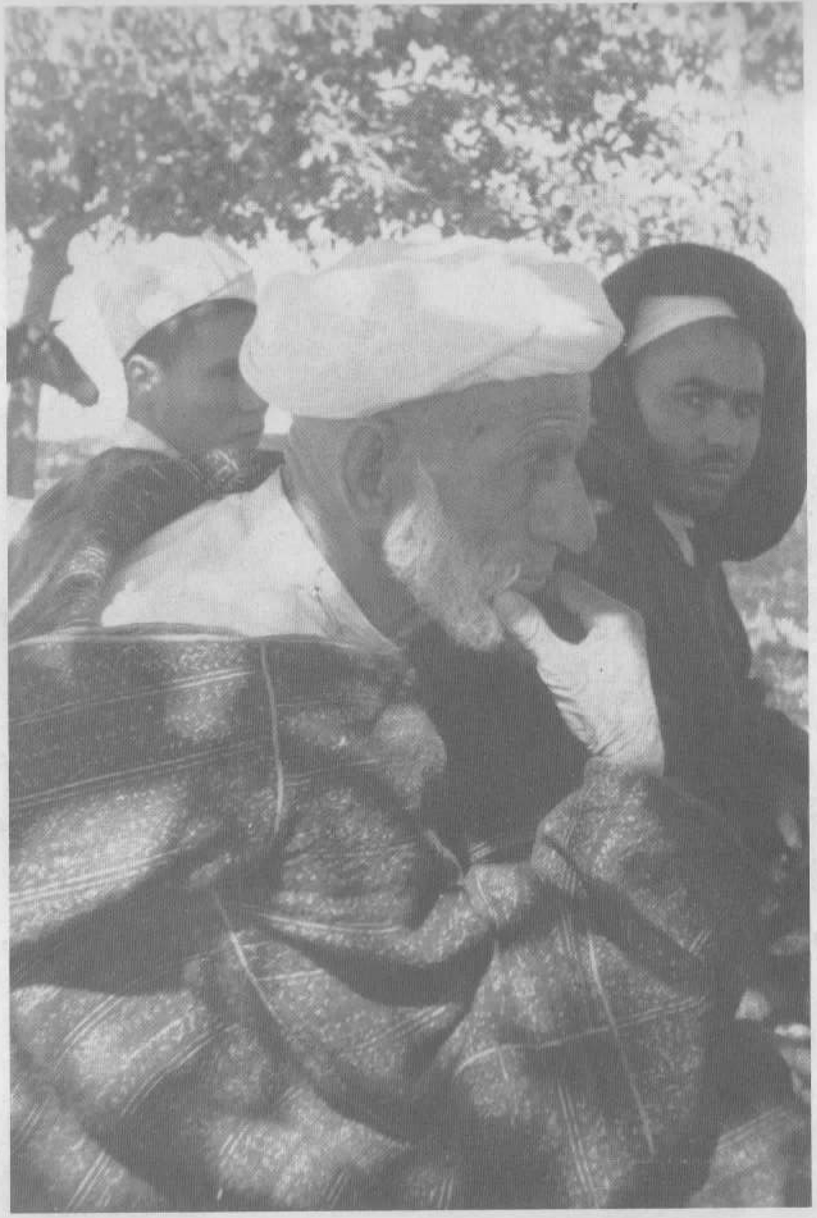
Aith Waryaghar member of the Guard of the Khalifa of the Spanish Zone, Tetuan (1953)



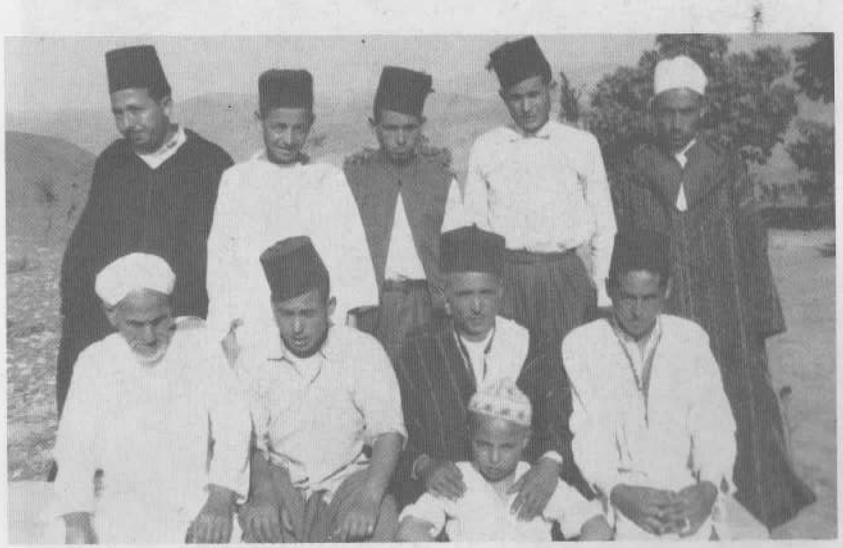
The late Hajj Hammadi n-'Amar Uzzugwagh, of the Imjjat lineage in l-'Ass, Aith Turirth; bloodfeuder, *qaid* of 100 men under 'Abd al-Krim, and sub-clan *mqaddim* under Spanish rule



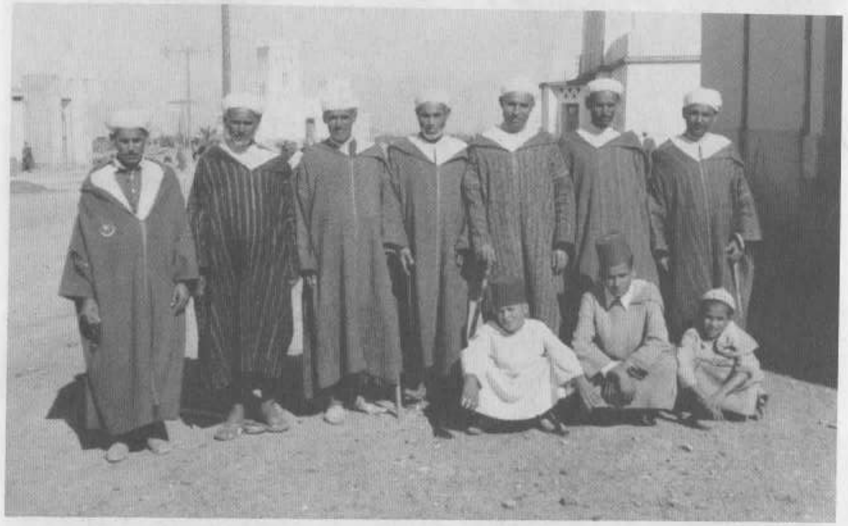
Aith 'Ammarth: the late Qaid 'Amar Usbuh, known as "Je m'en fou" (1954)



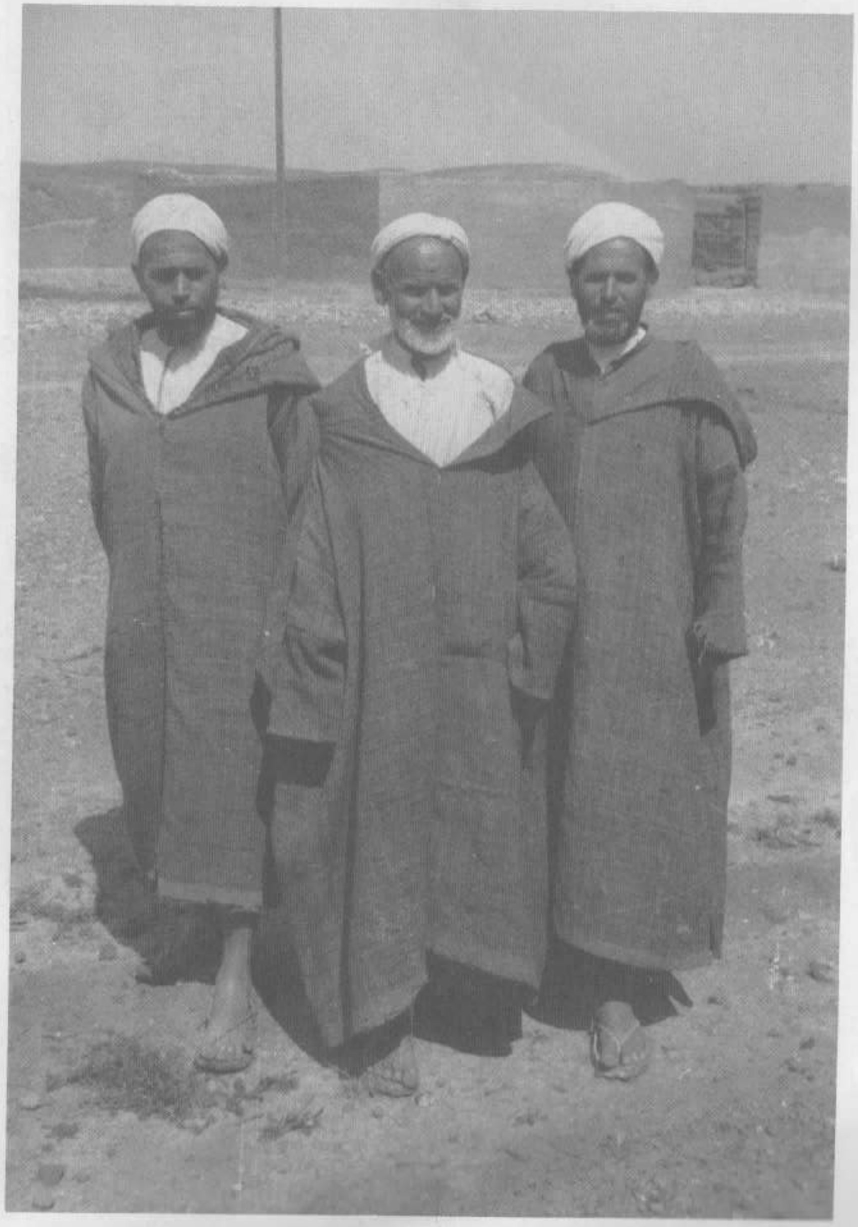
Aith 'Ammarth: Shaikh of Aith 'Abbu clan (1954)



Qaid Muh Abarqash (seated at far left) and his sons, members of a leading Aith Ziyyan lineage in the Aith Tmajurth subclan of the Aith 'Abdallah (1953)

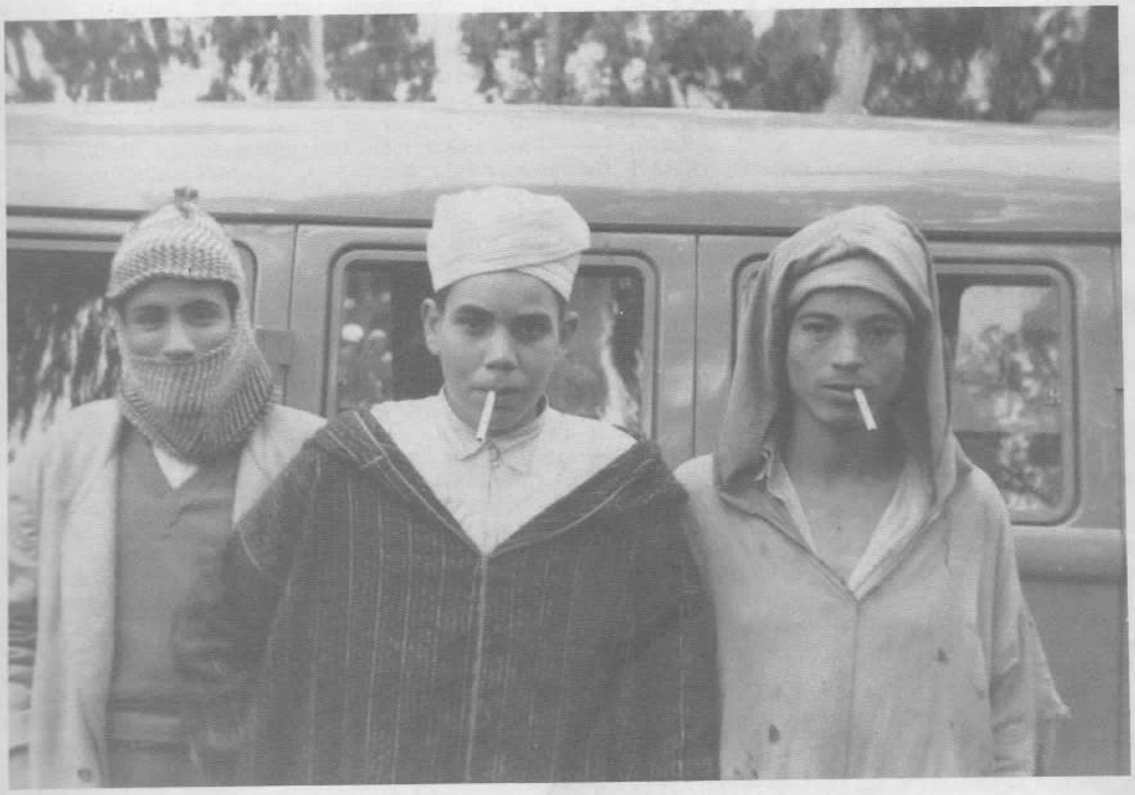


Members of a single agnatic lineage of the Aith Yusif w-'Ari at Imzuren (1953). Man at far left with starred and crescented *jillaba* is an orderly of the Spanish tribal administration office



Three lowland elders, Imzuren (1953)

Men of Ignan, Aith Turirth (1960)



Young man of some relative means (center), and two poorer companions (1960)

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———, review of WOOLMAN, David S., 1968, below, *The Middle East Journal*, XXIII, 2, 1969, p. 252.

COULEAU, Julien, *La Paysannerie Marocaine*, Paris and Aix-en-Provence: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968. A study of Moroccan agriculture by an agronomist; also contains valuable insights into the sociopolitical structure of Moroccan tribes, but is overgeneralized and gives no indication of source material.

COULSON, Noel J., *A History of Islamic Law*, Islamic Surveys, No. 2, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964. An excellent short summary not only of the history of Islamic Law but of Islamic legal theory and principles.

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DAMIDAUX, Capt. C., *Combats au Maroc, 1925-1926*, Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1928. Of little value except for details on the final French advance into Waryagharland from the south in May 1926.

DEL PINO OLIVA, Francisco, "La Construccion en el Rif," *Seleccion de Conferencias Realizadas en la Academia de Interventores Durante el Curso 1950-1951*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1951, pp. 151-171. Deals with houses and house construction in the Western Rif (Bni Bu Frah).

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———, *Del Islam*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. General articles on Islam, plus more particular articles on its manifestations in Northern Morocco and in Ifni.

DRAGUE, Georges (pseudonym for SPILLMANN, Georges), *Esquisse d'Histoire Religieuse du Maroc*, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, II, Paris: Peyronnet, n.d., ca. 1951. Useful and informative, but excessively colonialistic in point of view.

DUBREUIL, B., *Les Pavillons des Etats Musulmans*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines à Rabat (Nouvelle Série, t. I), Rabat: Centre Universitaire de la Recherche Scientifique, ca. 1963 (originally published in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, I, 3, 1960, and II, 2-3, 1961). An historical analysis of the flags of present-day Muslim states, adequately illustrated.

DUMAINE, Jacques, (probably a pseudonym for MONTAGNE, Robert), "Les Elements du Problème du Rif," *Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité Algérie-Tunisie-Maroc*, No. 2 bis, 1926, pp. 89-99. The "problem" in question is that posed by 'Abd al-Krim, with the Aith Waryaghar as one of its principal "elements." The article has interesting tidbits, but is highly colonialist in tone and orientation.

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EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E., *The Nuer*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. A classic of social anthropology which contains the original statement on and analysis of segmentary lineage systems.

———, *The Sanusi Of Cyrenaica*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. A highly stimulating combination of social anthropology and political history, containing the first application of segmentary theory to an Arab society.

———, *Kinship And Marriage Among the Nuer*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. Contains the original and classic differentiation of "widow inheritance" from the levirate.

———, *The Position Of Women In Primitive Society And Other Essays*, London: Faber, 1965. Of these essays, the one of most relevance for present purposes is the introductory one on the comparative method in social anthropology.

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FORTES, Meyer, "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 55, 1953, pp. 17-41 (reprinted in OTTENBERG, Simon and Phoebe, Eds., *Cultures and Societies of Africa*, New York: Random House, 1960, pp. 163-189). Very important article on the structure and function of agnatic lineage systems.

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GABRIELLI, Léon, *Abd-el-Krim et les Evenements du Rif*, Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1953. A valuable personal account of the Rifian War of 1921-1926 by the French *controlleur civil* at Tawrirt, who went into the Rif late in 1924 on a mission to see 'Abd al-Krim.

GALAND, Lionel, "Les Quinquegentanei," *Bulletin de l'Archéologie Algérienne*, 1969. Cogently discusses the possibility of a system of "five fifths" in Kabylia during the pre-Islamic Roman occupation.

GARCIA FIGUERAS, Tomas, *Del Marruecos Feudal: Episodios de la Vida del Cherif Raisuni*, Madrid, Barcelona and Buenos Aires: Compania Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1930. An excellent supplement to FORBES, 1924, above, containing valuable information on Raisuni's capture by 'Abd al-Krim.

———, "Un Cabecilla de Yebala: Ahmed ben Mohammed el Hosmari (a) El Jeriro," in GARCIA FIGUERAS, Tomas, *Miscelanea de Estudios Varios sobre Marruecos*, vol. 3, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1953, pp. 73-108. The only available biography of l-Khriru, Raisuni's ex-lieutenant.

———, "Mistica y Poesia del Alzamiento Nacional en Marruecos," in GARCIA FIGUERAS, Tomas, *Miscelanea de Estudios Varios sobre Marruecos*, vol. 3, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1953, pp. 235-309. Contains Qaid Sriman r-Khattabi's letter to Franco assuring him of the support of the Aith Waryaghar in 1936.

GARCIA FIGUERAS, Tomas, and DE RODA JIMENEZ, Rafael, *Economia Social de Marruecos*, 3 vols., Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950-1955. Although colonialistically oriented, a good overall study of the economics, and secondarily, the sociology, of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco. Cf. review by HART, 1954, of vols. I and II of this work in *The Middle East Journal*, vol. VIII, no. 4, 1954, pp. 349-350.

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GELLNER, Ernest, "The Far West of Islam," *British Journal of Sociology*, IX, 1, 1958, pp. 73-82. A double-barreled review article of MONTAGNE, 1930 (a), below, and BERQUE, 1955 (b), above.

———, "The Concept of Kinship," *Philosophy of Science*, XXVII, 2, April 1960, pp. 187-204. A rebuttal to an earlier paper by Rodney NEEDHAM, but it approaches the problem of kinship more on a philosophical than on an anthropological plane.

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———, "Concepts and Society," *Transactions of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology*, Washington, D.C., vol. I, 1962, pp. 153-183. Stresses the importance of context, in sociology and in social anthropology.

———, "Saints of the Atlas," in PITT-RIVERS, Julian, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1963, pp. 145-157. Summary article of principal ideas expressed in GELLNER, 1969, below.

———, "Sanctity, Puritanism, Secularisation and Nationalism in North Africa: A Case Study," in PERISTIANY, J. G., Ed., *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities and Social Change*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1968, pp. 31-48. A review article and sociological recast of LINGS, 1961, below.

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———, *Saints Of The Atlas*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. An elegant sociological analysis of the holy lineages of the Ihansalen in the Central Atlas, together with an account of their political relations with the surrounding lay Berber tribes. The work, however, suffers from too much compression or excision of hard evidence, and from occasional errors of interpretation. Cf. review by HART, *Middle East Journal*, XXIV, 4, 1970, pp. 531-536.

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GHIRELLI, Angelo, *Monografia de la Cabila de Beni Tuzin*, Madrid 1923. Contains the basis, unfulfilled, of an ethnography of the Axt Tuzin.

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———, "Monografía de la Cabila de Bokoia," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, VIII, 32, Madrid, March 1955, pp. 27-83. Provides a basis for a good general ethnography of the tribe of the Ibuqquyen.

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———, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (ed. by POLK, William L., and SHAW, Stanford, J.), Boston: Beacon Press, 1962. A collection in one volume of the best articles of an outstanding Islamicist.

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GRAY, Robert F., *The Sonjo of Tanganyika*, London: Oxford University Press (for International African Institute), 1960. An ethnography of an "irrigation-based" society.

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GUILLAUME, Alfred, *Islam*, Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1956. A standard short introduction which, in an appendix, pinpoints the basic doctrinal differences between Islam and Christianity through a review of The Apostles' Creed. The author is a clergyman.

HANOTEAU, Adolphe, and LETOURNEUX, Ernest, *La*

Kabylie et les Coutumes Kabyles, 2nd Ed., 3 vols., Paris: Challamel, 1893. The first and still the most exhaustive ethnographic study of the Algerian Kabyles, this work was regarded as a "Bible" by the French colonialist administration. Although it is still useful in a historical sense, much of the data and all the theory embodied in the work are now completely outmoded.

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———, *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: Arabic-English*. Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Arabic Series, No. 9, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1966. (See also SOBELMAN, Harvey, and HARRELL, R. S., below.)

Both very useful works, although the dictionary entries might have been more complete.

HARRIS, Walter Burton, *France, Spain And The Rif*, London: Edward Arnold, 1927. A superficial account of the Rifian War of 1921-1926, of value only for its chapter on the Oujda Conference of April 1926 which the author attended in his capacity as London *Times* correspondent in Tangier.

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———, "An *'Imarah* in the Central Rif: The Annual Pilgrimage to Sidi Bu Khiyar," *Tamuda*, V, 2, 1957, pp. 239-245. Description of the pilgrimage to and communal prayer at the tomb of Waryagharland's main saint on the day before the 'Aid l-Kbir, as I witnessed it on August 1, 1955.

———, "Notes on the Rifian Community of Tangier," *Middle East Journal*, XI, 2, 1957, pp. 153-162. An ethnographic survey based on two and one half years' casual observation and two weeks of intensive work.

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———, "Morocco's Saints And Jinns," *Tomorrow*, VII, 1, Winter 1959, pp. 45-54. A short popularized account of saint worship and avoidance of *jnun* in Waryagharland.

———, "Tribal And Place Names Among the Arabo-Berbers of Northwestern Morocco: A Preliminary Statistical Analysis," *Hespéris-Tamuda*, I, 3, 1960, pp. 457-511. The statistical components computed for place, lineage, community and clan names in the Jbala, Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir tribes underscore the correctness of the general assumption that Berber takes predominance over Arabic the further east one moves in Northern Morocco.

———, "The Social Structure of the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara," *Middle East Journal*, XVI, 4, 1962, pp. 515-527. Of no special import to the present study other than in the fact that it contains a discussion of the etymology of *aitharbi'in*, a concept also used by the Rgibat, in a rather different way.

———, "Clan, Lignage et Communauté Locale dans une Tribu Rifaine," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, No. 8, 1965 (special issue dedicated to conference on *Douars et Centres Ruraux*, April 26-28, 1965), pp. 25-33. A short and fundamentally economic-oriented synopsis of HART, 1970 (a), below.

———, "A Customary Law Document from the Ait 'Atta of the Jbil Saghru," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée*, I, 1, 1966, pp. 91-112. Translation and analysis of an undated Arabic document (probably a copy) which contains numerous points of interest on the Customary Law of the Berber tribe concerned.

———, "Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée*, III, 1, 1967, pp. 65-95. A study of the structure, function and ideology of the concept of *khams khmas* in the segmentary systems of three Moroccan tribes: the Aith Waryaghar, the Ait 'Atta of the Jbil Saghru and Central Atlas, and the Dukkala of the Atlantic Coastal Plain.

———, "Clan, Lineage, Local Community and the Feud in a Rifian Tribe (Aith Waryaghar, Morocco)," in SWEET, Louise E., Ed., *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*, New York: Natural History Press, 1970 (a), vol. II, pp. 3-75. A very much amplified version of HART, 1965, above, which culminates in a detailed analysis of *liffs* and the bloodfeud as well as in an account of the Imjjat feud in the Aith Turirth.

———, "Conflicting Models of a Berber Tribal Structure in the Moroccan Rif: The Segmentary And Alliance Systems of the Aith Waryaghar," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée*, VII, 1, 1970 (b), pp. 93-99. Contains in capsule form one of the principal arguments of the present study.

———, "The Tribe in Modern Morocco: Two Case Studies," in GELLNER Ernest, and MICAUD, Charles, Eds., *Arabs and Berbers*, London: Duckworth, 1973, pp. 25-58. Presents the differing cultural and structural responses to social change of the Aith Waryaghar on the one hand and the Ait 'Atta of South-Central Morocco on the other.

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HERNANDEZ MIR, F., *Del Desastre a la Victoria (1921-1926)*, 4 vols., Madrid: Fernando Fe, 1926-1927. An informative but not always reliable Spanish account of the Rifian War, 1921-1926.

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———, *Man In The Primitive World*, 2nd Ed., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958.

———, "Law And Anthropology," in FRIED, Morton H., Ed., *Readings in Anthropology*, Vol. II: *Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, New York: Crowell, 1959, pp. 296-310 (reprinted from *Virginia Law Review*, vol. 32, 1946, pp. 836-854).

HOFFMAN, Bernard G., *The Structure of Traditional Moroccan Rural Society*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1967. An analysis based entirely upon library research and although at times useful, is often inaccurate.

IBÁÑEZ, Rvdo. P. Esteban, O.F.M., *Diccionario Español-Rifeño*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1944. A compilation into dictionary form of the grammatical materials of Rvdo P. Pedro SARRIONANDIA, 1925, below, and not nearly as complete nor as useful as it should be.

———, "Voces Hispano-Latinas en el Dialecto Rifeño," *Verdad y Vida*, March-April 1947, pp. 365-381. Listing, with commentary, of the few Hispano-Latin roots in the Rifian language.

———, *Diccionario Rifeño-Español*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949. Same comment as for IBANEZ, 1944, above.

———, "Etnología Religiosa Bereber," *Actas del XIV*

Congreso de Sociología, Rome 1950, pp. 15. Of little value, a scissors-and-paste compilation, from other sources, of assorted items of belief.

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IBN KHALDUN, *The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History* (translated by Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. An excellent translation of the very first work, both in time and in importance, of Arab sociology.

INTERVENCIONES MILITARES DE LA REGION DE MELILLA, *Vademecum*, 1929. A statistical summary for the region during the year in question.

INTERVENCIONES MILITARES DE LA REGION DEL RIF, *Vademecum*, 1929. A statistical summary for the region during the year in question.

INTERVENCIONES MILITARES DE LA REGION DE YEBALA CENTRAL, *Memoria Relativa a las Kabilas Que Integran Esta Regional*, Tetuan: Casa Gomariz, 1934. A worthwhile compendium, containing an excellent description of the capture of Raisuni by ʻAbd al-Krim in 1924.

INTERVENCIONES MILITARES DEL TERRITORIO DEL RIF, *Vademecum*, 1946. Compiled under the direction of Lt.-Col. Andrés SANCHEZ PEREZ; contains much valuable data.

JACQUES-MEUNIE, Mme. D., *Le Prix du Sang chez les Berbères de l'Atlas*, Extraits des Mémoires Présentées par Divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, t. XV (Dieuxième Partie), Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1964. A good study, but thin, based more upon library research than upon fieldwork; its use of historical techniques is not always judicious.

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LAURE, Lt.-Col., *La Victoire Franco-Espagnole dans le Rif*, Paris 1927. Of little value barring an excellent campaign map.

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———, art. "Sorcery (also Witchcraft)," in GOULD, J., and KOLB, W. L., Eds., *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock, 1964, pp. 684–686. Excellent article, very clear and concise.

LE COZ, Jean, *Le Rharb: Fellahs et Colons*, 2 vols., Rabat: Centre Universitaire de la Recherche Scientifique, 1964. Very good study of the Gharb, historically oriented, by a human geographer, and one which contains structural insights as well.

———, "Les Tribus Guich au Maroc," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, No. 7, 1965, pp. 1–52. A very useful study.

LEO AFRICANUS (Juan Leon El Africano), *Descripcion de Africa*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1951. An abridged edition of the famous 16th century travel narrative; it contains only Part II, on Morocco.

LERCHUNDI, Rvdo. P. José, R.F.M., *Rudimentos del Arabe Vulgar Marroqui*, Tangier: Topografía Hispano-Arabiga de la Misión Catolica, A basic grammar for Moroccan Arabic as spoken in Tangier and Tetuan.

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LE TOURNEAU, Roger, *Fès Avant le Protectorat*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome XLV, Casablanca 1949. A fine study of the history, architecture, and even of the traditional economic and social systems of the city which is still Morocco's cultural capital, although it leaves a good many questions relating to kinship and marriage, for instance, unanswered.

———, *La Vie Quotidienne à Fès en 1900*, Paris: Hachette, 1965. An excellent summary and distillation of LE TOURNEAU, 1949, above, and has greater readability.

LEVI-PROVENÇAL, Evariste, "Une Liste des Surnoms Populaires des Tribus Djebala," *Archives Berbères*, II, 4, 1917, pp. 331–336. This is the first listing of the Bu Tiyur classification of Jbalan and Ghmaran tribes by animal and bird nicknames, a classification which is essentially non-totemic.

———, *Textes Arabes de l'Ouergha (Maroc Septentrional)*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, IX, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922 (a). Good collection of texts, mostly ethnographic in character.

———, *Les Historiens des Chorfa*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1922 (b). An excellent classic study of *shurfa*, those who have written about them, their genealogies, *baraka* and function in Moroccan society.

———, *Islam d'Occident: Etudes d'Histoire Médiévale*, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1948. A collection of essays, all of high quality, with "La Fondation de Fès" the most relevant for the present study.

LEWIS, Ioan M., The *Somali Lineage System And The Total Genealogy*, Hargeisa 1957, mimeographed. Very good and detailed study of the social structure of a tribally organized Muslim society of Northeast Africa.

———, *A Pastoral Democracy*, London: Oxford University Press (for the International African Institute), 1961. A full-scale ethnography, a very good one, of the Northern Somali.

———, "Problems in the Comparative Study of Unilineal Descent," in BANTON, Michael, Ed., *The Relevance* *of Models for Social Anthropology*, ASA Monographs I, London: Tavistock, 1965, pp. 87-112. Cogently discusses four "models" of agnatic lineage typology: Nuer, Tiv, Somali and Cyrenaican Bedouin.

LEWIS, William H., "Feuding and Social Change in Morocco," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, V, 1, 1961, pp. 43-54. An interesting article, but like GLUCKMAN, 1959, above, based upon an assumption of equilibrium behind the bloodfeud.

LIENHARDT, Godfrey, *Social Anthropology*, Home University Library Series, London: Oxford University Press, 1964. A lucid and balanced introduction to the subject.

LINGS, Martin, *A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century: Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1961. A good "spiritual biography" of the founder of the 'Alawiyin religious order in Western Algeria. The content of this work has, more recently, been given a sociological dimension by GELLNER, 1968, above.

LIPSON, Leslie, art. "Faction," in GOULD, J., and KOLB, W. L., Eds., 1964, above.

LLORD O'LAWLOR, Manuel, "El Territorio de Ifni y Su Derecho," *Boletin de la Sociedad Cientifica Hispano-Marroqui de Alcazarquivir*, No. 2, 1950, pp. 101-127. A very good study, containing extracts of several *qanuns* in Spanish translation, of the Customary Law of the Ait Ba 'Amran of Ifni.

———, "Un Canon Bereber Tripartito," *Tamuda*, V, 2, 1957, pp. 305-309. A brief content analysis of a *qanun* from the Ghmara.

LOBERA GIRELA, Candido, *Memoria Sobre la Organización y Funcionamiento de las Oficinas de Asuntos Arabes de Argelia: Proyecto de Bases para la Creación de Organismos Analogos en las Plazas del Norte de Africa*, Melilla: Tipografía de *El Telegrama del Rif*, Sept. 1905. This work shows clearly that the Spanish *Intervencion* system in their Moroccan Protectorate was derived from the French *Bureaux Arabes* of Algeria.

———, *Notas sobre el Problema de Melilla*, Melilla: Tipografía de *El Telegrama del Rif*, 1912. An important series of articles for the development of Spanish colonial policy toward the Rif prior to the rise of 'Abd al-Krim.

LOUTSKAIA, Mme. N. S., "A Propos de la Structure Intérieure de la République du Rif," *Recherches Africaines*, Conakry, No. 4, 1960, pp. 14-21. Beyond additional bibliography cited, the content of this article is without value and the tone is entirely Communist "party line."

MAITROT DE LA MOTTE CAPRON, A., "Le Roghi," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger*, 1929, pp. 514-576. Excellent article on the Pretender Bu Hmara, on all save his vicissitudes in the Rif. To be used in conjunction with JIMENEZ BENHAMU, 1948, above, and MALDONADO VAZQUEZ, ca. 1952, below.

MALDONADO VAZQUEZ, Eduardo, *El Rogui*, Ceuta: Imprenta Olimpio, n.d., but ca. 1952. The best biography extant of the Pretender Bu Hmara, and invaluable regarding his career in the Rif (and should be used in conjunction with JIMENEZ BENHAMU, 1948, above, and MAITROT DE LA MOTTE CAPRON, 1929, above), even though it is tortuously written, poorly organized, sometimes wrong in detail and unindexed.

MARCAIS, J., SUTER, G., AGARD, J., RUIZ DE LA TORRE, J., KARST, J., ANDRE, A., COUVREUR, G., JOLY, F., LE COZ, J., MAURER, G., and RAYNAL, R., "Fascicule Spécial Consacré à la Région Rifaine," *Notes Marocaines*, Nos. 9-10, Rabat 1957. A preliminary summary report on the physical geography of the Rifian chain.

MARCAIS, William, *Articles et Conférences*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, Algiers: Jules Carbonel, 1961. A collection in one volume of the author's previously published papers on North African history and linguistics. Of special importance is the brilliant paper "Comment l'Afrique du Nord A Ete Arabisée."

MARCY, Georges, "L'Alliance par Colactation chez les Berbères du Maroc Central," *Deuxième Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés Savantes de l'Afrique du Nord*, tome II, Algiers 1936, pp. 957-973. Description is good, analysis is faulty.

———, "Les Vestiges de la Parenté Maternelle en Droit Coutumier Berbère et le Régime des Successions Touarègues," *Revue Africaine*, LXXXV, 3-4, 1941, pp. 187-211. Based upon an erroneous premise: the theory of "originally matrilineal" descent among Berbers.

———, *Le Droit Coutumier Zemmour*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome XL, Paris: Larose, and Algiers: Carbonel, 1949. A posthumous work, the most complete study extant of the Customary Law of a given Berber tribal group in Morocco, although it only deals with "civil" rather than with "criminal" law.

———, "Le Problème du Droit Coutumier Berbère," *La France Méditérrannée*, 1939, I, pp. 7-70, reprinted in *Revue de Législation et de Jurisprudence Algérienne, Tunisienne et Marocaine*, 1954, pp. 127-170. An article of crucial importance for the overall study of Berber Customary Law, even though one may not always agree with the conclusions.

MARTIN, J., JOVER, H., LE COZ, J., MAURER, G., and NOIN, D., *Géographie du Maroc*, Paris: Hatier, and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale, n.d., but ca. 1964. A useful summary of the physical and cultural geography of Morocco, well mapped and well illustrated.

MARTOS DE CASTRO, José, "Lo Bereber en Marruecos y Sus Relaciones con lo Ibero," in ALTA COMISARIA DE ESPANA EN MARRUECOS, *Labor de España en Africa*, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. The ethnologically-oriented main thesis of this article is highly questionable, but it contains (pp. 328-333) a useful short summary of Rifian social structure.

MARX, Emmanuel, *Bedouin of the Negev*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1967. A good study of the social anthropology of Arab Bedouins in Israel.

MATEU Y LLOPIS, Felipe, "El Hallazgo de Plata Almohade en Beni Ammart, Rif," *Mauritania*, Tangier, Dec., 1943, pp. 348-349. A report on the discovery of a cache of Almohad coins in the Aith 'Ammarth.

MAURER, Gérard, "Les Pays Rifains et Prérifains," *L'Information Géographique*, 23, 1959, pp. 164-171. Summary article of Rifian physical geography.

———, "Les Paysans du Haut Rif Central," *Revue de Géographie du Maroc*, No. 14, 1968, pp. 3-70. Very good study of the human geography of the Ghmara and Sinhaja Srir tribes.

MENSCHING, Horst, *Marokko: Die Landschaften im Maghreb*, Heidelberg: Keyser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957. Good general study of physical and cultural geography of Morocco.

MERCIER, Henry, *Méthode Moderne d'Arabe Parlé Marocain: Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*, 2nd Ed., Rabat: Editions La Porte, 1951.

———, *Méthode Moderne d'Arabe Parlé: Dictionnaire Français-Arabe*, 2nd Ed., Rabat: Editions La Porte, and Tangier: Editions Eurafrique, 1959. Both the above are extremely useful dictionaries for Moroccan Arabic, probably the most complete dictionaries extant.

MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, Edouard, *Quelques Tribus de Montagnes de la Région du Habt*, from *Archives Marocaines*, XVII, Paris: Leroux, 1911. Excellent early ethnography of Northwestern Jbala tribes.

———, *Rabat et Sa Région*, vol. IV: *Le Gharb (Les Djebala)*, in series *Villes et Tribus du Maroc*, vol. VI, Paris: Leroux, 1918. Excellent early ethnography, containing a fine study of the Shurfa of Wazzan.

———, *Tanger et Sa Zone*, vol. VII of series *Villes et Tribus* *du Maroc*, Paris: Leroux, 1921. Excellent ethnographic description and history of Tangier and the Fahs.

———, *Apûntes para la Historia del Rif* (translated from the French by Clemente Cerdeira), Madrid and Ceuta 1926. The best existing work on the history of the Rif up to the date of publication; it stops short of the Rifian War 1921-1926.

MICHAUX-BELLAIRE, Edouard, and SALMON, G., "Les Tribus Arabes de la Vallée du Lekkous," *Archives Marocaines*, IV, 1905, pp. 1-151; V, 1905, pp. 1-133; VI, 1906, pp. 219-337. Excellent and very detailed early ethnography of the Lukkus Valley tribes around l-'Ara'ish and l-Qsar l-Kbir.

MIDDLETON, John, arts. "Lineage" and "Segment (also Segmentation)," in GOULD, J., and KOLB, W. J., Eds., *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock, 1964, pp. 391-392, 627-628. Good definitions.

MIDDLETON, John, and TAIT, David, Eds., *Tribes Without Rulers*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. An essential volume for the study of "acephalous" or "stateless" societies in Africa.

MIEGE, Jean-Louis, *Le Maroc et l'Europe (1830-1894)*, 4 vols. (first volume solely bibliography), Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960-1963; vol. 5, *Pièces Justificatives*, Aix-en-Provence and Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969. A colossal piece of work, one of great importance, which shows clearly that French "colonization" of Morocco began, in fact, very much earlier than the normally accepted date of 1912.

MIKESELL, Marvin W., "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco: Examples from the 'Northern Zone,'" *Geographical Review*, XLVIII, 4, 1958, pp. 494-511. A useful general survey of North Zone markets by a cultural geographer.

———, *Northern Morocco: A Cultural Geography*, University of California Publications in Geography, XIV, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961. An extremely good and workmanlike survey of the area, comprising the whole former Spanish Zone, nicely mapped and illustrated.

MILLIOT, Louis, "L'Exode Saisonnier des Rifains vers l'Algérie," *Bulletin Economique du Maroc*, I, 5-6, 1934, pp. 313-321, 397-402. The first systematic study of Rifian labor migration in the Orania region of Algeria, seen from the Algerian side of the border. Should be used in conjunction with BENEDICTO PEREZ, 1949, above.

MONLAÜ, Jean, *Les Etats Barbaresques*, Series "Que Sais-Je!", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964. An important little study on the "Barbary States" which also brings up the point of how to define a "Berber."

MONTAGNE, Robert, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc: Essai sur la Transformation Politique du Groupe Chleuh*, Paris: Felix Alcan, 1930 (a). The author's major work, an often highly perceptive historico-sociological study of "aboriginal" Berber tribal structures and alliance systems in the Western Atlas, and of the transformation of these through the "rise to personal power" of the three historical "Big *Qaids*" of the region. The historical analysis is, in general, as admirable as the structural analysis is faulty: the excellence of the "rise to personal power" theory is undisputed, but it is built upon tottering foundations, for a major thesis of the present study is that Montagne's analysis of alliance systems is completely wrong.

———, *Un Magasin Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka*, Paris: Larose, 1930 (b). Good study of Berber collective storehouses in the Anti-Atlas, Western Atlas and Ghmara.

———, *La Vie Sociale et Politique des Berbères*, Paris: Editions du Comité de l'Afrique Française, 1931. An admirable summary of MONTAGNE, 1930 (a), above, without all the defects of the larger work.

———, "Un Episode de la 'Siba' Berbère au XVIIIe Siècle, d'après la 'Rihla' de Sidi Mohammed ez-Zerhouni de Tasaft (Traduction Justinard)," *Hespéris*, XXVIII, 1941, pp. 85-98. This article clearly shows the hardening of the author's erroneous views on the structure and function of *liff* alliances, through an appeal to historical sources.

———, *La Civilisation du Désert*, Paris: Hachette, 1947 (a). A survey of Bedouin life and culture in both the Near East and the Western Sahara, which also stresses the notion of dual organization through *liff* and *saff* systems. Must be used with extreme caution.

———, "Abd-el-Krim," *Politique Etrangère*, July 1947 (b), pp. 1-33 (Spanish translation). A summary of 'Abd al-Krim's career up to date of publication; it is often wrong in detail and overplays the author's own minor role in 'Abd al-Krim's surrender.

———, *Revolution au Maroc*, Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1953. A highly colonialistic interpretation of the rise of Moroccan nationalism through a trio of portrait profiles of Marshal Hubert Lyautey, 'Abd al-Krim and the Sultan Sidi Muhammad bin Yusuf (later King Muhammad V).

MONTEIL, Vincent, *Maroc*, Collection "Petite Planète," No. 31, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1962. A useful little introduction; particularly good is the chapter on the French *Affaires Indigènes* system of tribal administration. The author himself was one of the administrators.

MOULIERAS, Auguste, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, 2 vols. (*Exploration du Rif* and *Exploration des Djebala*), Paris and Algiers: Jourdan, 1895-1899. The author, a French Arabist resident in Algeria, never visited the Rif or the Jbala, and hence both of these volumes are littered with errors; but they are equally the fruit of his labors of debriefing an Algerian *shaikh* who spent seven years traveling in the areas concerned, and the Jbala volume in particular has a considerable flavor of reality.

MURDOCK, George Peter, *Social Structure*, New York: Macmillan, 1949. An important work in the typology of kinship systems and social structures, which has come in for considerable criticism in recent years.

———, *Africa: Its Peoples And Their Culture History*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959. The same variety of cultural and structural typology as in MURDOCK, 1949, above, is applied here to the continent of Africa. The material on Berbers places far too much reliance on MONTAGNE, 1930 (a); above.

NICOLAISEN, Johannes, *Ecology and Culture of the Pastoral Tuareg*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Etnografisk Roekke, II, Copenhagen: Danish National Museum, 1963. A very good study, particularly of the kinship and sociopolitical systems of two Twareg groups, but at the same time a curious mixture in approach of continental European ethnology and British social anthropology.

NICOLAS, G., "La Sociologie Rurale au Maroc," *Tiers-Monde*, II, 8, Oct.-Dec. 1961, pp. 527-543. A history of the rural sociology of Morocco as seen through the work of three French savants: Michaux-Bellaire, the "grandfather"; Montagne, the "colonizing sociologist"; and Berque, the "decolonizing sociologist."

NOIN, Daniel, *Atlas du Maroc: Notices Explicatives, Population 1960*, Rabat 1963. Contains valuable material on and analysis of rural Moroccan population density, based on the 1960 Census.

Notes and Queries In Anthropology, 6th Ed., London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954. An invaluable companion to the ethnographer in the field, but badly in need of a new and revised edition.

ORTONEDA JIMENEZ, Jesus, *Estudio Sobre la Region del Rif*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930. Contains information on tribal origin traditions and on the allleged Ghumara-Sinhaja *liff* war.

OTERO, Santiago S., *En El Corazon del Rif*, Tangier 1930.

Aside from tribal population statistics, of little value.

OUARDIGHI, Abderrahim, *La Grande Crise Franco-Marocaine, 1952-1956*, Rabat: Imprimerie l'Etiole et Editions Ouardighi, 1975, pp. 112-136. An "official" and sometimes simplistic account by a journalist who was himself a former member of the Resistance, this book nonetheless contains much new material of value.

PANIAGUA Y SANTOS, José Maria, "Notas Sobre el Derecho Consuetudinario de la Propiedad en el Rif," *Archivos del Instituto de Estudios Africanos*, IV, 1, Madrid, June 1948, pp. 7-44. Contains useful insights into Rifian social structure, the role of the *jma'th*, and the contractual features of Customary Law concerning property.

———, *La Prescipción y el Rectracto en el Derecho Consuetudinario del Rif*, Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1950. Much less useful than PANIAGUA, 1948, above, as it seeks to force certain features of Rifian Customary Law into a quite inapplicable framework of Spanish legal theory.

PATAI, Raphael, *Golden River To Golden Road*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1962. A culture-area approach to the anthropology of the Middle East, and a number of its particular problems, containing much valuable information but overstressing, for example, the concept of "dual organization."

PAYNE, Stanley, *Politics And The Military In Modern Spain*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967. A solid study that contains certain insights into the Spanish Nationalist use of Rifian troops from Spanish Morocco during the Civil War, 1936-1939.

PEREDA ROIG, Carlos, *Los Horreos Colectivos de Beni Sech-yel*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939. Good short monograph on collective storehouses in the Ghmara.

PEREGRIN PEREGRIN, Ginés, *Rudimentos de Bereber Rifeño*, Tetuan 1944. A manual giving equivalents in North Zone Moroccan Arabic also, which could have been very useful, but is not.

PERISTIANY, John G., Ed., *Honour And Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965. An excellent collection of essays by social anthropologists; that by BOURDIEU, 1965, above, is of particular relevance to the present study. See also review by HART in *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1966, pp. 239-241.

———, Ed., *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities And Social Change*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1968. A somewhat more "mixed bag" of papers than PERISTIANY, Ed., 1965, above, but some of them are very good, and of relevance here is GELLNER, 1968, below. See review by HART in *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée*, VII, 1, 1970, pp. 233-236.

PETERS, Emrys L., "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 90, Part 1, 1960, pp. 29-53. Excellent article on Bedouin social structure generally, containing full treatment of the question of preferential marriage in the region.

———, "Aspects of Rank and Status Among Muslims in a Lebanese Village," in PITT-RIVERS, Julian, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1963, pp. 159-200. Excellent article, as good in its way as PETERS, 1960, above.

———, "Some Structural Aspects of the Feud Among the Camel-Herding Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Africa*, XXXVII, 3, London 1967, pp. 261-282. An interesting discussion of a crucial structural problem, although I do not entirely concur in its conclusions.

PILLING, Arnold R., art. "Moiety" in GOULD, J., and KOLB, W. L., Eds., *Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, London: Tavistock, 1964, pp. 436-437. A good definition which would exclude the Berber concept of *liff* alliances from this category.

PITT-RIVERS, Julian, Ed., *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1963. An extremely good symposium containing relevant articles by GELLNER, 1963, above, and PETERS, 1963, above. See also review by HART in *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, 1964, pp. 500-502.

PROTECTORAT DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE AU MAROC, SECRETARIAT GENERAL DU PROTECTORAT, SERVICE DU TRAVAIL ET DES QUESTIONS SOCIALES, *Répertoire Aphabétique des Confédérations de Tribus, des Fractions de Tribus et des Agglomérations de la Zone Française de l'Empire Chérifien au 1er Novembre 1939*, Casablanca: Imprimeries Réunies (Vigie Marocaine et Petit Marocain), 1939. An extremely useful compilation.

RAYNAL, René, "Quelques Aperçus Géographiques sur l'Evolution des Régions Humaines du Maroc," *Hespéris*, 1-2, 1952, offprint, pp. 1-16. Very important general article on the human geography of Morocco.

READER, D. H., *Zulu Tribe In Transition*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966. A good solid study which contributes the concepts of "wife-giving" and "wife-receiving" units to the present work.

REDFIELD, Robert, *The Primitive World And Its Transformation*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1953. A classic of anthropology containing the author's famous contrast between the "great tradition" and the "little tradition."

RENISIO, A., *Etude sur les Dialectes Berbères des Beni Iznassen, du Rif et des Sanhaja de Serair*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, XXII, Paris: Leroux, 1932. One of the most useful works extant on Rifian linguistics, with excellent texts.

ROBERTSON SMITH, William, *Kinship And Marriage In Early Arabia* (paperback edition with preface by PETERS, Emrys L.), Boston: Beacon Press Paperbacks BP 233, 1963. A classic of early Arab sociology, with an excellent introduction.

DE RODA JIMENEZ, Rafael, *Compendio de Sociologia Marroqui*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1939. Of limited general usefulness, but has interesting tidbits, and might profitably be consulted in conjunction with GARCIA FIGUERAS and DE RODA JIMENEZ, 3 vols., 1950-1955, above.

RODRIGUEZ AGUILERA, Cesareo, *Manual de Derecho de Marruecos*, Barcelona: Editorial Bosch, 1952. Very useful for all aspects of law in the Spanish Moroccan Protectorate.

RODRIGUEZ EROLA, Capt. José, "Estudio sobre los Chorfa Ajamelichen," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1952, pp. 49-84. An excellent and detailed historical study, containing also the appropriate genealogies of the Ikhamlishen *shurfa* of Targist and the Sinhaja Srir tribes.

RODRIGUEZ PADILLA, Isaias, *Cofradias Religiosas en el Rif y Diversos Taifas de Xorfas, Zauias y Santuarios*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930. An extremely useful survey of religious orders (with statistics on membership), holy lineages, and saints and saints' tombs in the Rif. At the time of publication the 'Alawiyin order had not yet achieved prominence in the region.

ROGER-MATHIEU, J., *Mémoires d'Abd-el-Krim*, Paris: Librairie des Champs-Elysées, 1927. An overhasty compilation by journalist-author interviewing 'Abd al-Krim on the French boat taking him to his exile in Réunion Island in 1926; littered with inaccuracies.

ROYAUME DU MAROC, MINISTERE DE L'ECONOMIE NATIONALE, DIVISION DE LA COORDINATION ECONOMIQUE ET DU PLAN, *Recensement*

Démographique (Juin 1960): Population Légale du Maroc, Rabat: Service Central des Statistiques, June 1961.

———, *Recensement Démographique (Juin 1960): Population Rurale du Maroc*, Rabat: Service Central des Statistiques, June 1962. Both the above volumes are invaluable for the results of the 1960 Moroccan Census.

ROYAUME DU MAROC, CABINET ROYAL: DELEGATION GENERALE A LA PROMOTION NATIONALE ET DU PLAN, *Résultats du Recensement de 1960*, vol. I: *Nationalité, Sexe, Age*, Rabat: Service Central des Statistiques, July 1964. A further breakdown resulting from the 1960 Moroccan Census.

RUIZ DE LA TORRE, Juan, *La Vegetación Natural del Norte de Marruecos y la Elección de Especies para su Repoblación Forestal*, Larache: Servicio de Montes, 1956. Very good study, with Arabic and Rifian names for all plants identified.

SAHLINS, Marshall D., "The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 2, Part 1, 1961, pp. 322-345. An interesting article, but its underlying assumption seems questionable.

SALMON, G., "Une Tribu Marocaine: Les Fahçya," *Archives Marocaines*, I, 1904, pp. 149-261. Good early ethnography of the villagers on the outskirts of Tangier, largely descended from the Rifian garrison left there by Mulay Isma'il in 1684.

SANCHEZ PEREZ, Col. Andrés, *La Accion Decisiva Contra Abd-el-Krim*, Toledo, n.d., but ca. 1931. Useful work on the final Franco-Spanish offensive against 'Abd al-Krim in May 1926.

———, "Zocos de Mujeres en Beni Uriaguel," *Africa*, (Madrid), May 1943, pp. 22-23. Useful article on womens' markets in Waryagharland, although the theory advanced for their origin is questionable.

———, "Abd-el-Krim," *Seleccion de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados por la Academia de Interventores Durante el Curso de 1949-1950*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1950, pp. 61-76. Especially valuable article for details on 'Abd al-Krim's early and formative years.

———, "Aprovechamientos Comunales y Formas de Cooperación en las Yemaas del Rif," *Selección de Conferencias Pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores 1950-1951*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, Delegación de Asuntos Indigenas, 1951, pp. 95-104. Very useful article on property, and on herding and agricultural contracts.

———, "Datos Historicos Sobre Ciudades Rifeñas," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados Durante el Curso de Interventores 1951-1952*, Tetuan: Alta Comisaria de España en Marruecos, Delegación de Asuntos Indigenas, 1952, pp. 29-47. Useful summaries of the history of Badis, Nakur and al-Muzimma.

SARRIONANDIA, Rvdo. P. Pedro, O.F.M., *Gramática de la Lengua Rifeña*, 2nd Ed., Tangier: Topografía Hispano-Arabiga de la Misión Católica, 1925. The best and most useful Rifian language grammar ever published, despite its somewhat outlandish transliteration.

SERRANO MONTAÑER, Alberto, *Enseñanza General Indígena*, Ceuta: Imprenta Imperio, 1930. Of little value.

SERVIER, Jean, *Les Portes du Ciel*, Paris: Robert Laffont, 1962. A detailed study of traditional Kabyle agriculture in Algeria, useful but marred by the author's preoccupation with questions of origins.

SHINAR, Pessah, "'Abd al-Qadir and 'Abd al-Krim: Religious Influences On Their Thought And Action," *Asian And African Studies: Annual of the Israeli Oriental Society*, I, 1965, pp. 139-174. An excellent and extremely perceptive article, on all counts.

SMITH, Michael G., "On Segmentary Lineage Systems," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 86, Part 2, July-Sept. 1956, pp. 39-80. A very important article on the inseparability of political relations and behavior from segmentary lineage systems.

———, *Government In Zazzau, 1800-1950*, London: Oxford University Press (for International African Institute), 1960. Excellent anthropological study of the complex history of Fulani-Hausa political relations in one part of Northern Nigeria.

SOBELMAN, Harvey, and HARRELL, Richard Slade, *A Dictionary of Moroccan Arabic: English-Moroccan*. Institute of Languages and Linguistics, Arabic Series, No. 3, Washington D.C., Georgetown University Press, 1962.

SOLIS PASCUAL, Capt. José, and MADRID LOPEZ, Lt. José, *Diccionario Arabigo-Español*, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1950. An extremely useful Arabic-Spanish dictionary, oriented toward usage both in the North Zone of Morocco and in the Spanish Sahara.

SPILLMANN, Capt. Georges, *Les Ait Atta du Sahara et la Pacification du Haut Dra*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, XXIX, Rabat: Felix Moncho, 1936. An ethnographic and historical study of a major Berber tribal group in the South-Central Atlas, the Jbil Saghru, the Dra Valley and the Tafilalt. The account of the "pacification" is excellent, but the ethnographic account, though certainly valuable, leaves much to be desired.

SURDON, Georges, *Esquisses de Droit Coutumier Berbère Marocain*, Rabat: Felix Moncho, 1928. Contains very good general material on Berber Customary Law in Morocco, albeit uninspiringly presented; with the Rif (which was not under French Protectorate sway) entirely left out.

———, *Institutions et Coutumes des Berbères du Maghreb*, Tangier and Fez: Les Editions Internationales, 1938. This work is that of SURDON, 1928, above, amplified to include the Customary Law of all Berber groups in the Maghrib; but the Rif is again left out.

SWEET, Louise E., Ed., *Peoples And Cultures Of The Middle East: An Anthropological Reader*, 2 vols., New York: Natural History Press, 1970. A highly useful symposium, very ably edited. Contains HART, 1970 (a), above.

ET-TABYI (pseudonym of MALDONADO VAZQUEZ, Eduardo), *Miscelanea Marroqui*, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1953.

———, *Retazos de Historia Marroqui*, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, 1955. Each of these two collections of articles contains a great deal of useful material, particularly on various aspects of Rifian history. All of them were previously published by the author (a lieutenant-colonel who had come into *Intervenciones* from the artillery, hence his *nom-de-plume* of *at-tabyi*) in the Tetuan daily newspaper *El Diario de Africa*.

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TILLION, Germaine, *Le Harem et les Cousins*, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1966. A Marxist view of Arab social structure in North Africa and the Near East, overemphasizing the role of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage without adducing sufficient documentary proof. Idealized statements abound, hard evidence is lacking. Of little value.

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———, "Enseñanza Musulmana," *Selección de Conferencias y Trabajos Realizados por la Academia de Interventores Durante el Curso 1949–1950*, Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1950, pp. 77–99. Discusses rural Islamic schools opened by the Spanish Protectorate.

———, *Manuela del Maestro Español en la Escuela Marroqui*, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1952. Very useful work, deceptively titled, dealing with a number of important aspects of Northern Moroccan and Rifian ethnography, and especially good on traditional Qur'anic instruction.

———, *Historia de la Acción Cultural de España en Marruecos (1912–1956)*, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1956. Of value only in that it brings VALDERRAMA MARTINEZ, 1950 and 1952, up to date by naming those North Zone Moroccans (some from Waryagharland), who have received higher university-level education and who have gone on for advanced degrees. The list is not a long one.

VIDAL, Federico Schmid, "Ensayo sobre Linguistica en el Rif Occidental," *Africa* (Madrid), Nos. 46–47, Oct.-Nov. 1945, pp. 32–37. A useful article which defines the linguistic position of the Sinhaja Srir tribes and of those of the Western Rif with respect to their neighbors.

———, "Breve Historia de la Cabila de Beni Itteft," *Africa* (Madrid), Nos. 61–62, Jan.-Feb. 1947, pp. 49–54; Nos. 66–67, June-July 1947, pp. 32–39. Good discussion and summary of the history of the Aith Yittuft of the Western Rif.

———, "Religious Brotherhoods in Moroccan Politics," *The Middle East Journal*, IV, 4, 1950, pp. 427–446. A very useful article by an anthropologist; a good summary of the problem up to date of publication.

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———, *Marriage Ceremonies In Morocco*, London: Macmillan, 1914. Detailed description and analysis of the marriage ritual of a number of Moroccan tribal groups, including that of the Aith Waryaghar. Of particular interest for the present study since there had, up until the mid-1960s, been very little change in the ritual in question in Waryagharland.

———, *Ritual And Belief In Morocco*, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926. This is the author's major work, a classic both in ethnology and Moroccan studies. It reveals a meticulous attention to detail, and the statements on the *baraka* and on *jnun*, for example, have yet to be surpassed; but the theoretical apparatus is totally outmoded.

———, "The Blood-Feud Among Some Berbers of Morocco," in EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E., FIRTH, Raymond, MALINOWSKI, Bronislaw, and SCHAPERA, Isaac, Eds., *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1934, pp. 361–368. A summary of practices relating to the bloodfeud among the Ait Yusi of the Middle Atlas, which postulates the "law of exact equivalence."

———, "Customs Connected with Homicide in Morocco," *Transactions of the Westermarck Society*, London, I, 1947, pp. 7–38. An excellent posthumous article which I was able to consult only after this book went to press; I was particularly pleased to note that the author's conclusions about the bloodfeud among the Aith Waryaghar tally almost completely with my own.

WITTFOGEL, Karl A., *Oriental Despotism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. A major historical study which advances the view that despotism of the oriental type originated in hydraulic and irrigation-based societies, as in the Ancient Near East and China.

WOOLMAN, David S., *Rebels in the Rif: Abd el-Krim And the Rif Rebellion*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1968. Very useful for Spanish military operations in Northern Morocco, 1921–1926, but otherwise must be used with extreme caution.

ZARTMAN, I. William, *Morocco: Problems Of New Power*, New York: Atherton, 1964. Concentrates on the "decision-making" aspect of the political process in Morocco, and has useful information on the role of the Royal Army.

———, *Destiny Of A Dynasty*, University of South Carolina Publications in International Affairs, No. 3, University of South Carolina Press: Greenville, S.C., 1965. A good summary of the role of the monarchy in the Moroccan political system.

Unpublished Sources

N. B. Only unpublished papers and documents of recognizable authorship by specific individuals or under the auspices of specific institutions or institutional bodies are listed here. A number of dated but unfortunately unsigned (or illegibly signed) Spanish administrative reports by various *interventors* are cited in the text or in appropriate footnotes; but these are not recorded here.

BLANCO IZAGA, Col. Emilio, *Las Yemaas Tradicionales Rifeñas de Ait Uariaguel*, MS. dated August 27, 1935 (possibly a typographical error for same date, 1934), 11 pp. MS. in the Spanish *Intervención* archives formerly at the *oficina* in Ajdir, consulted by the author in 1954. This most important memorandum not only provides initial and crucial evidence on reduplication and discontinuity of lineages and local communities within Waryagharland, but it also acted as the principal basis for the division of the Aith Waryaghar into the three *qaid*ates of Uta, Upper Ghis and Nkur. The administrative division in question was carried out the same year. This same paper would probably have been a chapter in Vol. I of BLANCO, *La Ley Rifeña*, if Vol. I had ever been published.

———, *Conferencia sobre Derecho Consuetudinario Rifeño (Ait Uariaguel)*, MS. dated December 17-18, 1935, and in possession of Sra. Agustina Moro de Blanco, widow of Col. Emilio Blanco Izaga, and consulted by the author in Madrid in 1960. This essay deals with far more than Aith Waryaghar Customary Law, and tries in fact to deal with the whole of Waryaghar sociopolitical structure (in some 40-odd typewritten pages, as it was never completed). It was to have been the opening chapter for Vol. I of *La Ley Rifena*.

———, *Noticia sobre la Yemaa Rifeña*, n.d., but ca. 1935-1936, MS. of 11 pp., consulted by the author in 1970 in the *Sección Africa* of the National Library in Madrid (Cat. No. W1/ñ). Very good and well-organized (but overly generalized) summary of the structure, function and attributes of the Rifian *jma'th*, oriented toward its reactivation and the restitution of its autonomy within a tribal framework under Spanish Protectorate auspices.

———, *Estudio Relativo a la Kabila Fronteriza de Gueznaia*, Anexo al Boletin de Información Num. 4, April 1940. MS. in Spanish *Intervención* archives formerly at the *oficina* in Ajdir, consulted by the author in part in 1954, and again in the *Sección Africa* of the National Library, Madrid, in 1970 (Cat. No. U/ñ). Contains very good material on the lineage composition of the local communities of the Igzinnayen, as well as excellent insights into tribal history. It also has a cogent if now entirely academic revindication of Igzinnayenland for Spanish Morocco, as the original protectoral border-line of 1912 cut right through the tribal territory, which after 1926 was entirely and effectively occupied by the French.

CAPAZ MONTES, Lt.-Col. Fernando Oswaldo, *Cabecillas Rebeldes en Gomara, Desde 1913 a 1927*, April 1928 (38 pp.). Consulted by the author in *Sección Africa* of National Library, Madrid (Cat. No. I'/p) in 1970. Very good paper containing a historical resumé of the Ghmara during the period in question, with biographical profiles of all tribal leaders of importance there who resisted Spanish penetration. The accent is on the 'Abd al-Krim period.

DELEGACION DE ASUNTOS INDIGENAS, SERVICIO DE INFORMACION, *Apuntes sobre la Cofradia Aliua*, January 1940. Consulted in *Sección Africa* of National Library, Madrid, in 1970 (Cat. No. U/m). A very worthwhile study of the 'Alawiyin or 'Aliwa religious order and its spread in the Rif and the Spanish Zone in general, up to the time of writing.

FONT Y JOFRE DE VILLEGAS, Cmdte. José, *Estudio sobre los Principales Cabecillas Rebeldes de Yebala, de 1913 a 1927*, July 1930 (32 pp.). Consulted by the author in the *Sección Africa* of the National Library, Madrid, in 1970 (Cat. No. I'/t). A good paper with historical summary of the Jbala during the period in question, and containing biographical profiles of all tribal leaders of importance, particularly those who resisted Spanish penetration.

GHIRELLI, Angelo, *Notas sobre la Islamización y Arabización de las Poblaciones Bereberes del Norte de Marruecos (Zona Oriental)*, 1927. (124 pp.). Consulted by the author in 1970 in *Sección Africa* of the National Library, Madrid. This long paper contains some real insights into the sociopolitical structure of some of the tribes of the Eastern Rif, and is, ironically, barring certain of the author's preconceptions, certainly his best work, considerably better than anything he ever published. See GHIRELLI, above, in section on *Published Sources*.

GLEICHEN, Capt. Count Edward, to RIDGEWAY, British Legation, Tangier, Morocco, July 1893 (ref. Foreign Office, London, FO 99/307—5767 and FO 174/295—5772). Made available to me by courtesy of Gifford B. Doxsee. Two good reports, partially ethnographic in character (with attention paid, for example, to the non-totemic tribal nicknames from the Bu Tiyur classification), on the tribes of the Northwestern Jbala, within the area encompassed by Tangier-Tetuan-l-'Ara'ish-l-Qsar l-Kbir. These studies could be profitably compared, for example, with *Estudio sobre la Kabila de Sumata*, ca. 1928 (117 pp.), consulted by the author in 1970 in the *Sección Africa* of the National Library, Madrid (Cat. No. GF 269). This last is an outstanding piece of unpublished Jbalan ethnography, despite its military orientation.

HART, David Montgomery, and RODRIGUEZ EROLA, José, *The Arabization of a Berber Political System: A Study in the Recent History of the Central Rif*, MS., 1956 (69 pp.). Chapter III of the present volume is in essence a revised and enlarged version of this paper, with up-dating in detail, but without much change in substance: that it was 'Abd al-Krim and not the subsequent Spanish Protectorate administration who was responsible for the Arabization of the Aith Waryaghar political system and for that of the same systems of other Rifian tribes.

MONTAGNE, Robert, *La Politica Africana de España*, translated by the Servicio de Intervenciones de la Region de Gomara, Chauen (Shawen), October 1939 (57 pp.). Consulted in 1970 in the *Sección Africa* of the National Library, Madrid (Cat. No. Afr. GF Ca. C-14). A very perceptive paper, at once admiring and unflattering, and one which is of great interest as an example of the way in which the French Protectorate saw the Spanish one. Nonetheless, the usual biases of the author emerge, in this paper as in his other writings, and the material on the Rif and on 'Abd al-Krim is full of inaccuracies.

OJEDA DEL RINCON, José, *La Kabila de Beni Tuzin: Estudio Economico-Social*, MS., 1954. An excellent ethnography on almost all counts; it is a pity that it was never published. (It was the "runner-up" monograph in a Spanish-Zone-wide contest held by the Delegación de Asuntos Indigenas in Tetuan in 1953 for the best tribal monograph by any single *interventor*.)

RODRIGUEZ EROLA, Capt. José, *Fronteras Linguisticas del Rif*, MS., 1952 (a). An excellent delimitation of linguistic frontiers, not only between the Rifian and Sinhaja Srir languages, but also among the various dialects

or sub-dialects of Rifian itself.

———, *Caidato del Nekor, Comarcal de Beni Uriaguel, Territorio del Rif*, MS., 1952 (b). Excellent short survey of Southeastern Waryagharland, full of relevant ethnographic detail.

———, *El Caidato del Alto Guis: Estudio Economico-Social*, MS., 1953. A superb ethnographic study by an *interventor* who worked up the overall questionnaire to be covered in the 1953 "contest" amongst Spanish *interventors* for the "prize" tribal ethnography in the North Zone. This monograph won first prize, and justifiably so, as it is excellent.

SANCHEZ PEREZ, Col. Andrés, *Estudio sobre la Ciudad de Nekor y Otros Lugares Historicos de la Cabila de Beni Urriaguel*, MS., 1934. Consulted by the author in 1970 at the *Sección Africa* in the National Library, Madrid (Cat. No., G/a). The substance of this report was later included in SANCHEZ PEREZ, 1952, in *Published Sources*, above.

SKIREJ, Qadi Ahmad, *Adh-Dhall al-Warif wa l-Muharabat ar-Rif*, MS., 1944. This manuscript is to be found in the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, and a photocopy was sent to the author courtesy of Kenneth Brown and Edmund Burke III. The MS. in question is a "history" of the Rifian War of 1921–1926 taken down by the Qadi Skirej at the dictation of SI MUHAND AZARQAN, 'Abd al-Krim's ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs. It is untrustworthy in almost all particulars, and maximizes its author's own not-overly-significant role in the war.

VILLALON DOMBRIZ, Cmdte. Juan, *Cabecillas Rebeldes en el Rif Desde 1913 a 1927*, July 1930 (36 pp.). Consulted by the author in the *Sección Africa* in the National Library, Madrid (Cat. No. I'/0). An excellent paper, with biographical summaries of Rifian "rebels" against Spain. From p. 8 onwards, the whole paper is devoted to 'Abd al-Krim, the internal organization of his wartime government, and his resistance to the combined powers of France and Spain. The view taken, furthermore, is a reasonably fair and balanced one.

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